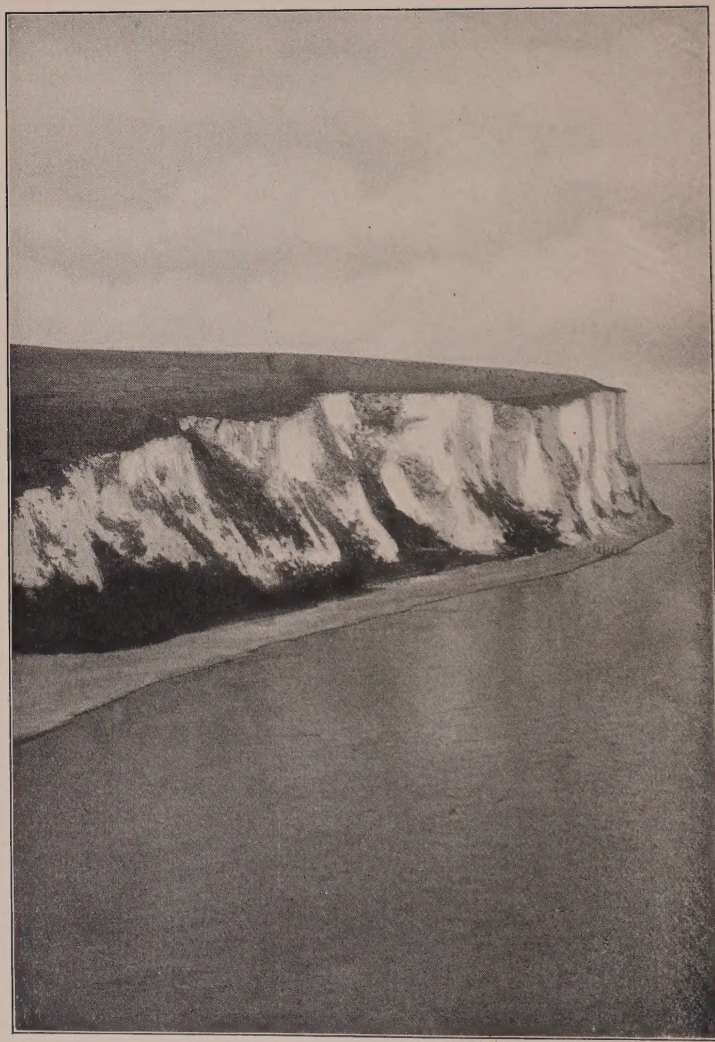
A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY



The Chalk Cliffs

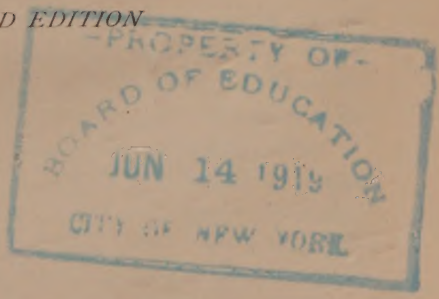
A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

REVISED EDITION



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PREFACE

In studying and teaching history I have been convinced of the desirability of making certain fundamental facts absolutely clear and familiar. An acquaintance with the physical and political geography of a country makes the events of its history seem real and natural; a knowledge of the race elements of a people gives the strongest impression of the continuity of its history; a study of the early political and ecclesiastical organization of a nation makes comprehensible later changes. I have therefore striven, in the first place, to give a full and clear description of early institutions and conditions.

Secondly, I have tried to select from the mass of historical detail what was significant rather than what was merely conspicuous, — what either gave shape and character to a considerable period of history, or was a clearly marked step in the general development of the nation. Detached episodes and merely striking occurrences, especially those in the field of military history, have been hastened over in order that more attention might be given to the really great movements and influential men.

Thirdly, I have clung pretty closely to the thread of English history, only introducing mention of other countries when their connection with England was especially close. Since England's story is so long and so eventful, I have felt that it had better here be told as simply, clearly, and continuously as possible, for its own sake, rather than to complicate it by including many facts drawn from the history of other countries.

Finally, I have omitted altogether statements and allusions the significance of which could not be explained in the book; and

have tried, on the other hand, to give a clear and adequate explanation of all matters that have been taken up. It is true that this practice may seem to disregard the teacher, who would presumably be competent to explain those things to which the author alludes and to interpret what he merely states. On the other hand, the student must usually deal with the text-book when he is alone, and may be glad to have everything clear at first; while the well-qualified teacher will find a more useful and interesting function in testing comprehension, providing further illustration, drawing out international relations, and adding personal details to the necessarily general statements of the text-book.

The desirability of using outside readings, both of general works and contemporary sources, in connection with the text-book, cannot be too strongly urged. A Book of Readings, made up of extracts from contemporary letters, chronicles, speeches, poetry, laws, treaties and other records, corresponding chapter by chapter and in many cases paragraph by paragraph to this book, has been prepared by the author. It is hoped that this will be used in connection with the text-book and will prove of service to both students and teachers in illustrating and giving further meaning and interest to English history. Indications of other works in which readings may be found, further guidance for the teacher's own study, and suggestions for the preparation of reports on special topics are added to each chapter. The most useful and accessible of the works referred to, which might well be provided in every school library, are named, with their publishers, in an appended bibliographical list.

It remains only to make a grateful acknowledgment to the many colleagues and friends who have given valuable assistance and good advice during the preparation of this book, and to those authors and publishers who have permitted the reproduction of maps and illustrations.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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LIST OF BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

GENERAL WORKS

Green, *A Short History of the English People*, 1 vol. Harper.
Green, *A History of the English People*, 4 vols. Harper.
Bright, *A History of England*, 5 vols. Longmans.
Gardiner, *A Student's History of England*, 1 vol. Longmans.
Traill, *Social England*, 6 vols. Putnam.
Dictionary of National Biography, 63 vols. Macmillan.
Rhŷs, *Celtic Britain*, 1 vol. S. P. C. K.
Scarth, *Roman Britain*, 1 vol. S. P. C. K.
Allen, *Saxon Britain*, 1 vol. S. P. C. K.
Hunt, *Norman Britain*, 1 vol. S. P. C. K.
Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*, 1 vol. Macmillan.
Montague, *English Constitutional History*, 1 vol. Longmans.
Cheyney, *English Social and Industrial History*, 1 vol. Macmillan.
McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, 3 vols. Harper.
Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, 1 vol. Ginn and Company.
Epochs of Modern History, 12 vols., referring to England. Longmans.
Twelve English Statesmen, 12 vols. Macmillan.
Kingsford, *Henry V*, 1 vol. Putnam.
Firth, *Cromwell*, 1 vol. Putnam.
Oman, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 1 vol. Macmillan.
Woodward, *Expansion of the British Empire*, 1 vol. Macmillan.
Morris, *Ireland, 1494–1898*, 1 vol. Macmillan.
Edwards, *Wales*, 1 vol. Putnam.
Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, 3 vols. Macmillan.
Mackinder, *Britain and the British Seas*, 1 vol. Appleton.
Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, 1 vol. Putnam.
Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars, and Other Essays*, 1 vol. Putnam.
Macaulay, Essays on *Burleigh*, *Bacon*, *Hampden*, *Milton*, *Temple*, *Clive*, *Hastings*, *Chatham*, and *Pitt*. Various editions.

Other works are referred to in the bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter.

COLLECTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 1 vol. Ginn and Company.
Kendall, *Source-Book of English History*, 1 vol. Macmillan.
Colby, *Selections from the Sources of English History*, 1 vol. Longmans.
Lee, *Source-Book of English History*. 1 vol. Holt.
Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, 6 vols. University of Pennsylvania. [The separate numbers in this series referring to English history are *The Early Reformation Period in England; Documents Illustrative of English Constitutional History; England in the Age of Wycliff; Manorial Documents; Documents Concerning Towns and Gilds; Documents Illustrative of Feudalism.*]
English History Illustrated from Original Sources, 1215–1715, 5 vols. Black.
Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, 1 vol. Macmillan.

Other sources are given in the bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter.

A full list of historical novels can be found in Nields, ***A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales***, 1 vol. Putnam.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHY OF ENGLAND

1. The British Isles. — The British Isles are cut off from the rest of Europe by the waters of the English Channel and the North Sea, and their people have therefore lived a life much apart from that of the other nations of Europe. The sea forms their natural frontier and has given as much independence to their history as it has detachment to their geographical position. Although in early times there were frequent invasions from the continent, as time has gone on and national unity been more completely attained, the island home of the English people has proved to be especially easy to defend. At several critical times good fortune has transformed the narrow seas[1] into a stormy and impassable barrier, and saved the island from conquest or from a difficult struggle on its own soil.

In the few instances in which successful invasions and settlements have taken place they have been more gradual in their progress than they would have been if the invaders had come by land. The country has had time to absorb Saxon, Dane, and

[1] "The narrow seas," or "the British seas," is an expression applied to the English Channel and that part of the North Sea which lies between England and Holland. England formerly claimed to have control over these waters.

Norman, and transform them into its own island race. The same is true of more peaceful influences. Many customs lying in the realms of language, law, trade, agriculture, and manufactures have been borrowed or learned by the English from foreigners. But they have received all these things slowly and gradually, and have thus assimilated them to their own national customs.

Yet this isolation of England and its detachment from the continent must not be exaggerated. The width of the intervening waters is not great. The Strait of Dover where it is narrowest is but twenty-one miles wide; the Channel but one hundred and twenty and the North Sea but three hundred miles where they are broadest. From a point about half way along the southern coast of England to another more than one third of the way along the eastern coast there is a stretch in which the British and the continental shores are so near to one another that in all but the most unfavorable weather a few hours' sailing will bring a boat from one coast to the other.

From a geological point of view it is only in recent ages that the British Isles have been separated by water from the continent of Europe. The ancient edge of the continent lay far to the westward of the present coast, and the seas around Great Britain and Ireland are comparatively shallow waters which have in a late geological period overspread the lower-lying lands. The earliest inhabitants of Britain came in all probability by land, not by water. It is scarcely more than an accident that the coasts of France, Belgium, and Holland are separated from those of England by a shallow sea rather than by a level plain. Both coasts are comparatively low and provided with numerous harbors. Hence the countries on the two sides of the narrow seas have always been easily accessible to one another. They are natural neighbors, much alike in the character of their coast, surface, productions, and even population.

There has been much besides these geographical features through all the later centuries of history to bring about intercourse between

England and the mainland. Scarcely any great influence that affected the continental countries failed to make at least some impression on England. As its history is studied it will be found that along with its distinctiveness and marked national peculiarities it has had much in common with the other countries of Europe and has been constantly influenced by them.

Within the group of the British Isles the geographical formation tends to separate Scotland, Ireland, and Wales from England and from one another. The long, narrow shape of the principal island made union of all its inhabitants into one nation difficult. The English and Scotch at its two ends naturally grew up into two separate peoples, and the mountains of Wales long kept the race which inhabited that region separate. The Irish Sea and St. George's Channel separated Ireland and its inhabitants from all of these.

Of these four principal divisions of the islands England is marked out by nature to be the most important. Its territory is a continuous, unbroken stretch, filling far the largest part of the larger island; it is provided with a greater variety of natural resources; and it is nearer to the continent of Europe. England has therefore always been in advance of the other divisions of the British Isles, and their history has been largely dependent on hers.

In ancient times and the middle ages the situation of England was on the distant verge of the world as it was then known. Since the discovery of America and of sea routes around the world, her position has been much more central and advantageous. In early times, therefore, England was a comparatively inconspicuous country in Europe; in modern times she has played a vastly more important part. Her position as an island and her location in the far northwest of Europe have given her a particularly favorable opportunity to develop commerce and to found a colonial empire.

Yet England is a small country. Its area, with Wales, is 58,320 square miles, — about equal to Scotland and Ireland

together, somewhat larger than the state of Pennsylvania, and almost exactly the same as the state of Michigan. It is 365 miles in length from north to south, and 280 miles in its greatest breadth from east to west.

2. **The Coasts and Rivers of England.** — That part of the coast of England which lies nearest to the continent is made conspicuous by the long line of white chalk cliffs that face the sea. They rise two or three hundred feet above the narrow strip of stony strand at the edge of the water, and extend for many miles along the southeastern and southern coast. These white cliffs are visible in clear weather from the opposite shore where the Channel is narrowest, and from far out at sea where the waters are wider. They have served as a landmark to friend and foe in all ages, and the old poetic name of Albion [1] is said to be due to the white front which Britain turns toward the continent.

Although much of the coast is cliff-bound, there are at least equal stretches of low-lying shore, especially on the eastern coast. Both the cliffs and the low shores are cut by many bays and harbors. Most of these are the mouths of rivers which have been converted into estuaries by the gradual sinking of the coast which has been in progress for long ages.[2] This subsidence has allowed the sea to flow part way up the courses of the rivers, filling with its waters the lower reaches of their valleys.[3] Harbors are therefore as numerous as the rivers; there is in fact no considerable stretch on the whole coast of England without its harbor. Especially is

[1] From Latin *albus*, white. Shakespeare describes England as

> that pale, that white-faced shore,
> Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides
> And coops from other lands her islanders.
>
> *King John*, Act II, sc. 1.

[2] Even within the last few centuries several hundred square miles of territory, including the sites of some thirty-five towns and villages, have gradually crumbled and slipped into the sea or been submerged by the advancing tides.

[3] See illustration of a small harbor on p. 11.

Hebrides
Moray Firth
Highlands
Ben Nevis
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
1000 Fathoms
100 Fathoms
50 Fathoms
Firth of Forth
Lomond
Central Lowlands
Clyde R.
Firth of Clyde
North Channel
Southern Uplands
Cheviot Hills
Tyne R.
Bann R.
Donegal Bay
Cumbrian Mts. of Lake Country
Isle of Man
Central Plain
Irish Sea
Anglesey
Shannon R.
Barrow R.
The Peak
Great Central
CAMBRIAN MTS.
Malvern Hills
Edge Hills
Cotswold Hills
St. George's Channel
Bristol Channel
Mendip Hills
Salisbury Plain
Exmoor
Polden Hills
Dartmoor
Lands End
English
Explanations.
Coalfields thus:
Elevations over 1000 Feet
Elevations 500 to 1000 Feet
Elevations 0 to 500 Feet
Depths 0 to 50 Fathoms
Depths 50 to 100 Fathoms
Depths 100 to 1000 Fathoms
Depths over 1000 Fathoms
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO
10 Longitude 8 West from 6 Greenwich

PHYSICAL FEATURES
of the
BRITISH ISLES.
0 50 100 150
Scale of Miles
4 Longitude East 6 from Greenwich 8
The Naze
100
100 Fathoms
Skager Rack
The Skaw
Cattegat
Danish
Peninsula
NORTH SEA
Dogger
Bank
Baltic
Sea
Frisian Islands
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Ems R.
Low Plain of Holland
Zuyder Sea
Rhine R.
Great European Lowland
Wash
Anglian Heights
Downs
Strait of Dover
2
4
6
10
12
56
54
52
50

this true of the southern and eastern coasts, although even on the more rugged western seaboard the deep and broad mouths of the Severn and the Mersey make possible such fine harbors as those of Bristol and Liverpool.

The rivers not only form harbors at their mouths but give access by water far into the interior of the country. At least they did so in earlier times when vessels were small. Of several of them the lower courses are navigable even by the larger vessels of the present day. The Thames, the Severn, and the Trent are long rivers draining the very center of the country. With their tributaries and with the smaller rivers, they make a complete network of water courses. This abundance of streams has been used in modern times to feed a canal system intersecting the country in all directions. The more rapid streams also provide water power.

3. **Surface.** — The cliffs which line so much of the coast give a false impression of the land that lies behind them. Much the greater part of England is a level or but slightly hilly country. It may be divided, as far as its surface is concerned, into three regions, — the southeast, the center, and the north and west. The first of these, covering almost two thirds of England, is undulating though intersected by several ranges of soft rounded chalk hills about five hundred or six hundred feet high. This was the earliest part of Britain to be inhabited by man, and until the last two centuries continued to be by far the most populous, wealthy, and influential. The level and slightly rolling lands which make up the greater part of it are fertile and in the main devoted to agriculture. Its open, treeless hills, downs or wolds, covered with soft, springy turf, are generally utilized for sheep pasture.

If a traveler passes from this region of smooth surfaces, gentle slopes, and moderate ridges northward or westward, he descends into the midlands or "great central plain" of England. This plain extends from the Bristol Channel northward to Liverpool and northeastward through the vale of York to the coast at Durham, broken only here and there by a few groups of rugged hills. In

early times it was thinly populated and backward compared with the region already described. It is now, except the region surrounding London, the richest, most active, and vastly the most populous part of England. Around its edges lie the coal fields; in it are the great manufacturing towns; it includes Liverpool and other great seaports, and contains stretches of country famous for their grazing and dairy products. Its rivers have been connected by canals; it is traversed in all directions by railroads and tunneled by mines; and in many parts its large towns almost touch one another. A district lying west of Birmingham in this region is known as the "black country." It lies upon a coal field, and is dotted with iron furnaces and manufacturing establishments, overspread with cinder heaps, blackened by smoke, and almost stripped of its vegetation by the fumes and soot. It is one great workshop, where labor goes on day and night, above ground and below. Other sections are devoted to equally active but less smoky industries, and not far away rich dairying districts form a peaceful contrast to the manufacturing towns.

Beyond this central plain rise the mountainous districts, — the high moors of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall in the southwest; Wales in the west; the Lake District in the northwest; and the Pennine Chain, rising from the midlands and extending north into Scotland. The population of the moors and mountain valleys is necessarily sparse and their industries are simple. But on the edge of the mountain ranges where they drop to the plain or the shore, the greater number of the mines of tin, copper, and lead lie, and here there are several large cities and a thicker population.

4. **Climate.** — The aspect of England compared with the continental countries is remarkably green. It is made so by the rich growth of grass and other herbage, and by the verdure and undergrowth of the woods. This luxuriance of growth is due to two causes, — the frequent rains and fogs and the mild climate.

There is often a superabundance of wet weather, especially in the west; a drought is very unusual. The weather is seldom very hot in summer or very cold in winter, although England is in the same latitude as Labrador in America and as central Russia on the continent of Europe. Plowing can be done in much of England as early as February and as late as November. These two conditions, the large rainfall and the mild and equable climate, are due to the position of the British Isles. They lie in the path of a current of southwest winds which blow more than half the days of the year. These winds give the surface waters of the ocean a set toward the northeast, and bring the warmer waters of southern latitudes to the western and southern shores of Great Britain and Ireland. The southwest winds also carry this warmth and the moisture of the ocean far inland, moderating the cold of winter and causing frequent rains and fogs.[1]

The reputation of England as a "foggy isle" is, however, partly due to the peculiar climate of London, which is situated in the valley of the Thames and particularly subject to fogs. Foreigners who spend most of their time there get a false idea of the whole country. The downs and uplands are often bathed in clear sunshine and blown over by crisp breezes while the river valleys are covered with a mantle of fog. On the moors and mountains the weather is often severe, notwithstanding the moderating influences just mentioned; and all over the island there are occasional though seldom prolonged periods of snow and freezing in winter. The weather is changeable from day to day, and the coasts are liable to sudden and violent storms.

5. **Forests and Swamps.** — In primeval times a large part of the island was covered with thick forests. They stretched dark and impenetrable over much of the great central plain; and even

[1] The warmer waters which bathe the shores of the British Isles are sometimes described as an extension of the Gulf Stream; but this is a mistake. The Gulf Stream disappears by the time it reaches the middle of the Atlantic.

in the more open eastern rolling country many of the upland regions and most of the river valleys were wooded. Whole sections of the country were separated from the rest by these forests. The largest forest in England covered the district known as the Weald, and stretched from Kent almost one third of the way across the island to the westward. The word "Kent," as well as the syllable "Win" in Winchester, is a Celtic word meaning an opening in the forest. Sherwood, where Robin Hood and his merry men hunted the deer; Arden, where Rosalind walked; and many other forests of later times were only surviving fragments of these wild, primitive woodlands.

An Old Oak still standing in Sherwood Forest

Great swamps filled the lower courses of many of the rivers. The "Fens" formed a broad, marshy expanse of several hundred square miles in the east of England. They were scarcely above the level of the sea, and formed a wilderness practically impassable and uninhabitable, except here and there where low hills of gravelly soil rose above the water. This region and several similar morasses were even wilder and more impenetrable than the forests.

Thus in early times but a small part of the land was open to habitation. Strips along the seacoast, steep hillsides bordering the river courses, bare moors and hilltops, occasional open stretches of the rolling country, formed the only dwelling places for early men. Even these open districts were divided from one another, hemmed in and bounded by the vast forests and swamps. The existence of the widespreading forests and fens exercised a deep influence on the early history of the country, and affected it strongly even in later times. The clearing and draining of the

English Verdure, Aldenham Park, Hertfordshire

Forests and Swamps of Early England

forest and swamp land for human occupation was the gradual work of civilization through many long centuries. Roman engineers and soldiers, industrious monks of the middle ages, villein farmers and enterprising landowners of successive races contributed their share to its accomplishment, and it has only been completed within the last two hundred years.

6. Natural Products. — There is scarcely one of the familiar mineral substances which is not found in greater or less quantities in England, and most of them are worked to some extent. Tin is the characteristic product of Cornwall in the southwest, and has always attracted attention, being a comparatively rare metal. It was highly valued in early ages. Mixed with copper it forms bronze, a metal less difficult to work and yet capable of taking a better edge than either the copper or the tin of which it is composed, and therefore very useful before men had learned to work iron. Lead is found and mined in the same region. Clay sufficiently good for brick-making is abundant, and finer clay, suitable for pottery, exists in several localities, especially in that part of the central plain which has come to be known as the "Potteries."

The most important mineral products of England in modern times are, however, her iron and coal. Iron ore exists plentifully and has been worked wherever fuel was found near by. Wood or charcoal was the earliest form of fuel used for this and for all other purposes for which fuel was needed. It was abundant and cheap. In time, however, wood became scarce, cities grew larger, needing a more concentrated fuel; the process of smelting iron by means of coal was discovered and made ever-increasing demands; and steam power was adopted for many uses. Coal therefore became more and more important, till it has come to be the basis of the prosperity, if not of the very existence, of England's teeming population.

The bare uplands and hills are especially suited to sheep raising, and England has therefore always been famous for its sheep and wool. The lower pasture grounds, with their grass kept

green by the frequent rains, are equally well suited to the grazing of cattle. All the familiar grains can be raised except Indian corn, for which the climate is too cool. Nor is it warm enough for grapes, tomatoes, and some other fruits and vegetables of temperate but sunnier climates. These can only be ripened along the southwestern coast. On the other hand, the east of England is particularly suited to wheat.

Fish are abundant off the coasts, especially in the North Sea, and fishing villages have been scattered along the shores through all periods of English history. The nucleus of many a large modern town is to be found in a little fishing settlement of earlier times.

Staithes Harbor, Yorkshire: a Typical Fishing Village on the Coast

General Reading. — MILL, H. R., *International Geography*, chap. xii. This is the best general description of the British Isles. MACKINDER, H. S., *Britain and the British Seas*, chaps. i, ii, xi, xix. These chapters on various physical features are much less technical and difficult to understand than the remainder of this book. The influence of the geography of the country on the settlements and conquests is brought out in many places in GREEN, J. R., *The Making of England*, and in GEORGE, H. B., *The Relations of Geography and History*, chap. x. The influence of the resources of the country on its prosperity is discussed in CUNNINGHAM and MCARTHUR, *Outlines of English Industrial History*, chap. ii. There is much picturesque description of the Fens in KINGSLEY, *Hereward*. LONGMANS' *Atlas* gives several good maps of England, showing its physical features.

CHAPTER II

PREHISTORIC AND CELTIC BRITAIN

7. Prehistoric Races. — Mankind lived in Britain for unnumbered centuries before any contemporary written records were made. In the chalk districts, tunnels and pits are still traceable where men of a race earlier than any of which we have recorded history searched for clear lumps of flint out of which to make arrowheads and other implements. In one of these tunnels a pick made of a deer's horn was recently found. The imprint of the fingers of the man who had laid it down, probably thousands of years ago, was still visible on the chalk-covered handle, and pick marks could be distinguished on the walls. Vast numbers of such remains have been found, as well as ornaments, weapons, bones of animals broken or marked by man, and portions of human skeletons. Burial mounds, foundations of houses, and groups of standing stones remain to prove the existence of these early races. Even the modern names of some rivers and of certain localities come down from the languages of men of whom we have no other record.

Miner's Pick, made of a Deer's Antler, found in the Prehistoric Chalk-Workings at Grimes' Graves, Suffolk

But knowledge obtained from such remains is slight, uncertain, and vague. Its study is a part of archæology rather than of history, and the men of whom only such knowledge is preserved are therefore described as prehistoric races. We scarcely know more

than that several such races existed successively in England; that they occupied principally the hilly regions, where they were more secure from wild beasts and where the soil, if poorer, was easier to cultivate; and that they used only stone and bronze weapons and implements.

It is customary to describe these prehistoric men as of three races. First were the paleolithic men, or men of the rough-stone age, who used rude weapons, ornaments, and implements of stone and bone. They probably lived in caves and depended for their subsistence on the wild beasts they captured and the vegetable products they found growing wild. Next were the neolithic men, or men of the polished-stone age, who used the well-shaped

Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain

stone, bone, and horn implements that are frequently found, and probably lived in some kind of artificial buildings, raised crops, kept domestic animals, knew how to weave cloth and to make pottery, and perhaps traded with other peoples. They built and deposited their dead in long burial mounds such as those whose remains still exist. They were small men, perhaps of the same race as is now represented by the Basques of Spain. Later than these came a race who knew the use of bronze, who buried their dead in small, round burial mounds, and who were probably the builders of Stonehenge, Kit's Coty House, and the other mysterious groups of standing stones which are found scattered through England. These are known as men of the bronze age, and may have been the earliest immigrants of the race dominant in Britain when our written knowledge of it begins.

8. Cæsar's Invasion and Description of Britain, 55–54 B.C. — During the fourth, third, and second centuries before Christ, occasional travelers or merchants from the civilized countries around the Mediterranean Sea are said to have brought home some knowledge of the island of Britain and its people, but their accounts are now lost or give but little information. With the middle of the century before the birth of Christ, however, our written history of Britain really begins. Just at this time Julius Cæsar was the Roman governor of Gaul, the country known in modern times as France. He seems to have come to the conclusion either that the Britons were giving aid to his restless subjects in Gaul, or that their conquest would carry still higher his fame and fortune. He therefore determined to invade the island. Late in the summer of the year 55 B.C., taking with him two legions, he made an attack on the southeast coast of Britain, and after active fighting with the natives secured a camping place and began foraging. As the autumn was far advanced, however, he soon withdrew and began arrangements for a more vigorous campaign the next year.

Kit's Coty House: a Prehistoric Group of Standing Stones in Kent

By the succeeding July he had prepared a force of five legions, that is, some twenty thousand footmen and two thousand cavalry, with full equipment, and these were embarked and safely landed on the British coast near the modern town of Deal. At first no resistance was made by the Britons, but as the Romans advanced inland their progress was contested daily, and involved constant skirmishing. There was at that time a confederacy of the British

The Celtic Tribes of Britain

tribes under one of their chieftains, whose fortified camp or village was at Verulamium, just north of London, near the modern St. Albans. The Romans succeeded in breaking up this confederation and eventually in obtaining the submission of the chief leaders of the Britons. By this time apparently Cæsar had discovered that it would be impossible completely to subjugate the country. He therefore merely took hostages and imposed a small tribute on the various British tribes through whose districts he had passed, then hastened to his ships and took his army back to Gaul. He had been in Britain altogether about three months. After Cæsar's departure the Britons seldom sent the tribute and no attempt was made to enforce its payment. As a later Roman historian remarks, Cæsar discovered Britain for his countrymen, he did not gain it for them. Nevertheless his campaigns prevented any possible alliance on the part of the Britons with the Gauls, and the account which he wrote of them made the Romans familiar with the distant island. They give us also our real starting point for a knowledge of the history of England.

9. **The Celtic Race.** — The greater part of the population of Britain at the time of Cæsar's military explorations seems to have belonged to the widespread Celtic race, the still earlier inhabitants having been absorbed or destroyed by them. There were, however, several branches of the Celtic inhabitants, — the Brythons or Britons proper, who occupied the southeastern part of the island; the Goidels or Gaels, who occupied the districts farther north and west; and perhaps the Picts and Caledonians in the far north. The first of these, those nearest the continent, were the most cultured. They were quite similar to the Gauls in appearance, customs, and language. It was with them only that Cæsar came in contact, and of them only that we have any full knowledge. It was they also who became a permanent element in the population of England and Wales, the Gaels being represented in modern times by the Irish and the western Highlanders of Scotland, and the Picts surviving probably in the eastern and northern Highlands.

10. Customs of the Britons. — The Britons were quite numerous, forming a thick population in the habitable parts of the country. They lived in small villages or hamlets, obtaining their subsistence by raising cows, swine, sheep, and goats, and by cultivating the soil. They raised wheat, oats, and barley. They had large flocks of sheep and many small horned cattle, like the modern Kerry cows, and made much use of milk and cheese. Their houses were built like wigwams, with conical roofs thatched with branches, ferns, or straw.

They had advanced beyond barbarism in many lines. They wove linen and woolen cloth in bright stripes and squares like Scotch plaid, and wore as ornaments gold, silver, and beaded buckles, necklaces, bracelets, and torques or collars. The mining and export of tin were carried on in the southwest, and iron ore was smelted in several parts of the country and worked into implements and weapons. Pottery of a very rude sort was made. Coins of gold, silver, and copper were used to a small extent, especially after Cæsar's invasion, when there came to be more commercial intercourse with the continent. A large number of coins have been found with the name of Cunobeline, a prince with dominions in the eastern part of the country, who is familiar in literature as Shakespeare's Cymbeline.

Coin of Cunobeline, Chief of the Catuvellauni, Trinobantes, and Iceni, about 5-40 A.D.

The Britons were divided into a large number of tribes or clans, each occupying its own region and each under a petty chief or king. No union existed among them, except when a chieftain conquered and subjected some surrounding tribes or when a temporary alliance was made to resist an invasion. Such alliances soon broke up again and the tribes fell into their old condition of disunion.

Wars among the British tribes were frequent, and permanent fortifications were kept up. Elevated and easily defensible spots

were chosen, earthworks thrown up, always in a circular form, and palisades placed upon these. Such a fortification was called a *dun*, and London and the names of many other places still preserve that termination in varying forms. The Roman invaders were much struck with the skill of the British in the use of their war chariots. These were low, two-wheeled carts drawn by a pair of their small horses or ponies, the hubs of the wheels being provided with short, straight, scythe-shaped blades extending out on both sides. Two men rode in each with a driver. The chariots were driven rapidly up and down the enemy's lines, striving to throw them into confusion or to find a place of entrance

A so-called "Celtic Bridge" on Dartmoor

among them. If such a breach was found, the fighting men leaped out and fought on foot, while the chariots were driven out, and retired to a distance, ready to take the warriors in again if necessary. Swords, short knives, bows and arrows, and spears were also used in fighting.

The Britons had many gods and were extremely superstitious, watching for signs and omens, dreading fairies and elves, and practicing curious rites and ceremonies. Every neighborhood had its sacred spring, rock, tree or other place of supernatural significance. Closely connected with religion was the existence of the class of Druids. This was a body or order of men into which admission was gained only by a long course of preparation,

consisting principally of committing to memory great bodies of verse, in which custom, law, morals, and religion were embodied. The Druids, therefore, were consulted on all important questions of law or policy. They were free from taxation and military service, and great deference was paid to their opinions and advice. They had charge of all sacrifices, and in serious cases put human beings to death to satisfy the anger of the gods. The oak tree and the mistletoe, which sometimes grows upon it, were considered by them as especially sacred and as having mystic powers of healing.

General Reading. — WRIGHT, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon.* WINDLE, *Life in Early Britain.* Both of these books refer to the periods of the next three chapters also. RHYS, J., *Celtic Britain*, is another small book on this period. Large works are, ELTON, C., *Origins of English History*, and GUEST, E., *Origines Celticæ.*

Contemporary Sources. — CÆSAR himself describes his invasion of Britain in his *Commentaries*, Book IV, chaps. xx–xxxviii; Book V, chaps. vii–xxiii (translated in Bohn's Library). Short extracts from Cæsar and several other ancient writers, including an interesting description of the tin mines by Diodorus Siculus, are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 11–17; from Cæsar and Tacitus in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 1 and 2; and from Tacitus in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 1. Still others are in CHEYNEY, *Readings in English History*, Nos. 7–13.

Special Topics. — In addition to the references given above, (1) a full discussion of the early races will be found in RIPLEY, *Races of Europe*, chap. xii; (2) a short description of the Druids in TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, chap. i, pp. 30–35; (3) of the social life of the Britons, *ibid.*, pp. 102–114; and (4) of their military system and other customs, *ibid.*, pp. 44–52. (These page numbers and those used throughout this book refer to the ordinary edition of Traill; the illustrated edition has much new and good material on these early periods in addition to the illustrations. The chapters and sections are the same in the two editions, and although the pages are different, the paragraphs devoted to the same subjects can readily be found.) (5) The Roman knowledge of the geography of Britain is given in TACITUS, *Agricola*, chaps. x–xiii, in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 1.

CHAPTER III

ROMAN BRITAIN

11. The Roman Conquest. — During the century succeeding Cæsar's invasion the Britons were advancing slowly in civilization and becoming more wealthy by trade with the continent, but they did not succeed in forming any better national union. As a result of the frequent internal dissensions, one exiled British chieftain after another appealed to the Romans for assistance. Opportunity was thus added to the ever-present inclination of the Romans to extend their conquests. Various motives of policy, however, delayed such an attack and the Britons retained their barbarian freedom.

The emperor Claudius finally determined to enter upon the conquest of Britain. He organized an army of four legions and placed it under an experienced general. In the summer of A.D. 43 the army set sail and landed in Britain, where the emperor joined them after the campaign. A series of small battles was fought in the country along the river Thames till the intrenched camp of the most powerful of the British chieftains at Camulodunum, the modern Colchester, was captured. This broke the resistance of the native tribes of the southeast. Britain was immediately organized as a Roman province, with a governor and a regularly established military force and civil administration. A succession of governors, partly by wars and partly by friendly alliances, gradually extended the Roman power and government all the way to the coast of Wales and far up toward the Highlands of Scotland. This conquest was completed by A.D. 82.

Forty years of warfare naturally included a number of hard contests. The Britons were not easily conquered. Caractacus, who

had led the first resistance, escaped the pursuit of the Romans by taking refuge with one unconquered tribe after another. These he incited successively to resistance. After nine years of struggle he was betrayed into the hands of the Roman governor and sent with his wife and daughter to be shown in a triumphal spectacle at Rome. The nobility of his bearing and the renown of his heroism extorted the admiration of the emperor Claudius and he was allowed to remain with his family in practical freedom at Rome.

After the capture of Caractacus the island of Mona remained for twenty years a refuge for unconquered natives and a gathering place for the Druids, who exerted their influence to prolong the national resistance. All the available troops, therefore, in the year A.D. 61, were gathered together, taken by the governor to the nearest point on the coast, and ferried across in flat-bottomed boats. The Roman historian Tacitus gives a vivid account of the attack, describing the native warriors, the wild British women, the praying Druids, and the superstitious dread of the Romans. But the natives were finally attacked and conquered, the sacred groves cut down, and a garrison established there.[1]

There were several insurrections of the half-subjugated Britons. The most serious of these was that of the Iceni under their queen, Boadicea,[2] in the year A.D. 61. The Iceni, who occupied the district between the Fen country and the east coast, were one of those tribes which had entered willingly into a dependent alliance with the Romans. On the death of their king, however, the Roman officials treated his dominions as conquered and seized his property. His widow resisted. The Roman governor then scourged her in public, sold other members of the family into slavery, and subjected her daughters to insult. The pressure of Roman taxation, restrictions on their accustomed freedom, and the abuses of

1 *Annales*, Book XIV, chap. xxx. (Translated in Bohn's Library.)

2 Her name should properly be spelled Boudicca, but Boadicea has long been the most familiar form.

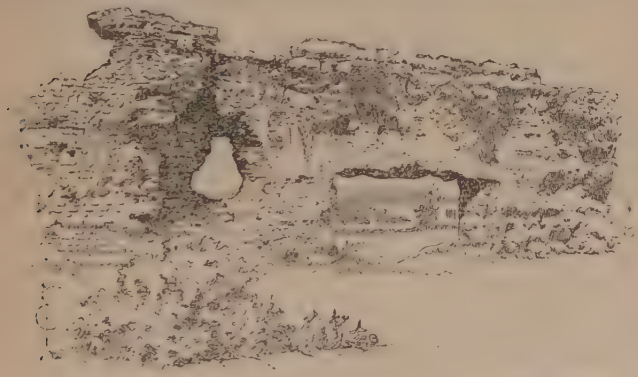
officials had already roused widespread discontent, and now the Iceni rose in wild revolt and some of the neighboring tribes joined them. The bulk of the Roman army was away on the frontier, and the scattered detachments of troops which had been left behind were destroyed by the natives in the first days of the rising. The Ninth Legion marched against them, but was defeated, and the three largest towns of the province, occupied by Romans and peaceful Britons, were ravaged and their population massacred. But it was only a short time till the governor had reorganized his forces, defeated the rebellious natives in a great battle, and punished all those who had been responsible for the uprising. Boadicea killed herself by taking poison.

12. **Romanizing of the Province.** — The work of pacification and organization, as was usual in Roman provinces, followed close upon the conquest. Much of this was due to the great Roman governor Julius Agricola. During his administration, which extended over seven years, from 78 to 85 A.D., he put down resistance wherever it showed itself, but exercised great kindness when submission had once been made. He established permanent military garrisons in skillfully chosen localities, selected his lower officials with great care, and forced them to deal justly with the people. He encouraged the use of the Latin language, the adoption of the Roman dress, the building of temples, public baths and forums, and private dwelling houses, and the adoption by the people of the civilized Roman ways. When the province was reduced to complete order he made a successful campaign far up into Caledonia to break the power of the northern tribes, which had from those mountainous regions repeatedly invaded the more civilized part of the island.

Thus within little more than a generation Britain had been brought completely under Roman government and had received the usual provincial organization for military, financial, political, and other purposes. A large number of new inhabitants had come to settle within it, and the old Celtic inhabitants had largely

adopted the customs of their rulers. For more than three hundred years Britain was a comparatively peaceful and orderly Roman province, though the outlying portions to the north and west continued to be troubled from time to time with risings or with invasions of barbarians from outside the border.

13. **Growth of Roman Towns in Britain.** — Britain under the Romans, during these three centuries, presented a striking contrast to its condition while it had been still occupied only by the



Remains of Public Buildings of the Roman City of Uriconium

native Celtic tribes. One of the chief differences was the prevalence of city life. The cities which grew up had in many cases a military origin. Three legions were regularly stationed in Britain. The Second, which was known as the "Augustan," had its headquarters at *Isca*, or Caerleon, in the south of Wales; the Sixth, the "Victorious," at *Eboracum*, the modern York; the Twentieth, the "Valiant-victorious," at *Deva*, the modern Chester. The Ninth, the "Spanish," served in Britain during the early period of conquest, but disappears from the records, either used up in the constant petty warfare or overwhelmed in some calamity which has not been recorded. Detachments from these legions were scattered in numberless smaller or larger posts throughout the country.

The Roman military garrisons were permanent stations to which recruits were sent from time to time from all parts of the Empire. They were thus gradually transformed into towns or cities, inhabited, in addition to the enlisted soldiers, by a population engaged in trade and handicrafts, by officeholders, and by those soldiers who had fulfilled their term of service and settled down with their families in the neighborhood to which they had become attached.

Many settlers from other parts of the Roman Empire, not only those engaged in the military and civil service of the government, but merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, and persons occupied in other capacities, came with their families to live in Britain, and furnished additional population for the cities spreading around the military camps. In this and other ways grew up more than a hundred and fifty towns or cities the location of which can be identified either by records of that time or by ruined remains still existing. The sites of some of these are occupied by modern cities; some are now represented by mere villages or by a few mounds or pieces of wall in the open country. The location of a great many of the Roman towns is shown by the termination "caster," "cester," or "chester" in the modern names. All these forms represent the Latin word *castra*, a camp, and almost invariably show that a military post was established there in Roman times.[1] Some others, as Lincoln, have the termination from the Latin word *colonia*. In most of these places and in many others remains of Roman buildings still exist which show that they were in Roman times not merely military camps, as might be inferred from the names, but populous towns with public buildings, temples, shops, and dwelling houses. The walled portion of the towns was small, but extensive suburbs probably surrounded them.

[1] Instances of this are Lancaster, Doncaster, Ancaster, Tadcaster, Bracaster, Chester, Chichester, Cirencester, Leicester, Gloucester, Dorchester, Ilchester, Manchester, Rochester, Silchester, and many others.

ROMAN BRITAIN
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
Longitude West
from Greenwich
Habitancum
Pons Aelii
Coriosopitum
Luguvallium
Vinovia
Verterae
Brocovium
Lavatrae
Cataractonum
Isurium
Coccium
Eboracum
Cambodunum
Mancunium
Abus Fl.
Lindum
Mona
Canovium
Segontium
Deva
Metaris Aest.
Branodunum
Uroconium
Causennae
Venta Icenorum
Ratae
Durobrivae
Letocetum
Manduessedum
Venonae
Sitomagus
Durolipons
Camboricum
Maridunum
Gobannium
Nidum
Isca Silurum
Glevum
Verulamium
Camulodunum
Durocornovium
Venta Silurum
Londinium
Thamesis Aest.
Regnum
Spinae
Sabrina Aest.
Aquae Sulis
Calleva
Durnovaria
Durobrivae
Durovernum
Rutupiae
Lemanis
Dubrae
Sorbiodunum
Venta Belgarum
Anderida
Clausentum
Vindogladia
Regnum
Portus Magnus
Isca Dumnoniorum
Durnovaria
Vectis
Saxonicum
Litus
THE M-N. WORKS

14. **Roman Building.**—The walls of these towns, as in all Roman building, were massive, provided with towers, gateways, and guardrooms. The materials for building were largely stone and mortar, the stones on the outer surface being almost invariably squared and carefully fitted together. Along with the dressed stones were used a great many bricks or tiles of burned clay, longer and broader, but thinner, than modern bricks. Both on stones and bricks the mason's or brickmaker's signs or initials were often placed. Inscribed tablets were also very commonly used for memorials. From these inscriptions much of our knowledge of Roman Britain is obtained. The materials used by the Romans in their buildings were so good that many of their structures still exist after almost two thousand years of neglect and exposure.

Roman Arch still standing in the City of Lincoln

The most famous Roman structure in Britain was the wall built by the emperor Hadrian from sea to sea across a narrow part of the island, to form a line of defense against the turbulent northern tribes. It was more than seventy miles long, extending from the river Tyne just below Newcastle to the shore of the Solway Firth on the western coast. It was about eight feet thick and twelve to fifteen feet high. Some eighteen permanent walled camps were distributed along its course, "mile-castles" served as places of defense for smaller bodies of troops, and small watch turrets were placed at even more frequent intervals. A military road ran along the southern side of the wall, and a line of earthworks and a ditch were carried parallel to it. A somewhat similar line

of defense was constructed at the still narrower place between the Firth and the Clyde, but was not successfully held, and the region between these two walls was always debatable ground between the provincials and the barbarians to the north of the province. The Wall of Hadrian was the wonder of successive races of invaders, and even to-day in its remains gives impressive testimony to the power and boldness of the Romans.

15. **Rural Life.** — Scattered through Roman Britain were many villas or country houses, whose remains show wealth, luxury, and refined tastes on the part of the owners. These were probably

A Part of the Roman Wall

lords of large estates which were worked by slaves or dependent tenants. Some of these villas were so large as to have readily accommodated a household of a hundred or more persons. The mosaic or figured stone floors and the frescoed walls and ceilings of these houses were often ornate and beautiful. Warmth, so dear to sun-loving Italians, was obtained in the larger buildings by laying the tiled floors over vaulted passages, through which warm air was made to pass from furnaces. Remains are also found of villages in which the native laboring population lived, using Roman pottery and other such utensils, but apparently very poor, and probably enjoying but little of Roman civilization, except the good order of the country.

16. Roads.—The cities and military camps were connected by roads extending over the length and breadth of the island. The Romans built and kept up their roads in all the provinces of the Empire with the greatest care and skill, and many of those constructed in Britain in the second, third, and fourth centuries still serve as the foundations of modern roads, or are visible as tracks across uncultivated downs and moors. The main roads were constructed of several layers of prepared stones and mortar, and were intended primarily for military purposes. Others were cross roads for more ordinary traveling and for trading uses, and still others were mere private roads or rural byways.

Several roads leading from the seaports on the southeast coast united at the city of *Durovernum*, the modern Canterbury, from which a broad road led away over the high ground, through the modern city of Rochester, to the Thames opposite London. Here was a bridge across the river. From London four great roads diverged like a fan. One passed westward and southwestward through the richest and most populous district of Roman Britain; the second extended northwestward into the midlands, and thence to Wales and the far north; the third road ran due north to York and on up into Scotland; the fourth extended northeastward to the eastern coast. Other main roads extended across the island, joining these and leading from one of the principal cities or seaports to another.

These main highways were but the principal threads of the great network of roads by which all parts of the province were made easy of access. Along them were scattered the cities, towns, and villas, and a constant stream of trade and travel must have flowed in the wake of the military marching and transport for which they were primarily intended.

17. Industries.—Iron ore was smelted in a number of the forest regions of the southeast and the central plain, and lead was mined in Cornwall for use in the province and for export to the continent. Copper, tin, silver, and gold were mined to some

extent. Great quantities of pottery were made in various districts where suitable clay existed. The method of manufacture of some kinds of ware has become a lost art, never rediscovered since Roman times. Articles made of glass are found very widely, though it is not certain that they were manufactured in Britain. Indeed, all these articles were frequently imported into Britain from Italy and from other provinces.

The Romans considered Britain one of the great grain-growing and cattle-raising provinces of the Empire, and occasionally wheat made its way from that province all the way to Rome. On the other hand, the cherry, the walnut, the elm, perhaps the beech, and other trees, as well as some new breeds of domestic animals, were introduced by the Romans. The Roman landowners introduced also certain methods of cultivation, customary arrangements of payment from their tenants, and divisions of the farming land which survived into far later centuries.

Notwithstanding this progress in farming, the occupations of the people of Britain which distinguished the Roman period from earlier and later times were manufactures and commerce, not agriculture. The prevalence of trade is shown by the great quantities of coined money that existed. Roman coins have been found in vast numbers now for many centuries. Some have been lost or melted down, but many thousands still exist in public and private collections. They have frequently been found in hoards, in earthen jars where their owners hid or kept them, or in purses that their owners lost. A few years ago, during some excavations at Silchester, a Roman bath was disclosed. In the opening of one of the lead pipes a pile of some two hundred coins was found, and close to it in a corner of the bath a human skeleton. It seems probable that the man had just hidden or was just seeking the money when death overtook him. Other coins have been found scattered among the ruins of houses, in the streets or the outlying fields of ancient towns, and along the roads. They represent coinage of all the emperors from Augustus

to the latest days of the province. Mints existed at London, Dover, and perhaps other places, where money was coined; and great numbers of coins must have been brought over from the continent. The familiar figure of Britannia on modern English coins is taken from certain coins of the province issued under the emperor Hadrian.

18. Language and Religion. — It is evident from what has been said that civilization was highly developed in Britain during the Roman period. The population became very much mixed, on account of immigration from all parts of the Empire. It is probable that Latin became almost the universal language. Thousands of inscriptions have been discovered in that language and none in the Celtic formerly in use. It is true that many of the rivers and mountains preserved their Celtic or even pre-Celtic names. No doubt also in the rural districts and in the more remote parts of the country a large part of the original British population and even of the descendants of those early races which preceded the Britons still survived with their language and customs almost undisturbed through the whole Roman period.

A Roman Altar dedicated to Jupiter by Aelius Rufus, found at Tynemouth

The same gods were worshiped here as at Rome, as well as some known only to this or other outlying parts of the Roman Empire. Burial inscriptions and votive offerings reproduce their names. Temples and altars were dedicated to Jupiter and to most of the other Roman deities, and to various minor deities of the streams, the fields, the roads, and the mountains. For instance, on a small altar discovered at Rochester is the inscription, "To the goddess Minerva, Julius Carantus dedicated this." On another, found at Tynemouth, the inscription is "Aelius Rufus, prefect of the fourth cohort of the Lingones, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus."

An altar near Chester, where springs are numerous, is inscribed "From the Twentieth Legion, the Valiant-victorious, to the nymphs and fountains."

Christianity probably made its way early into Britain as into other parts of the then known world, but there is no trustworthy record of its earliest history. There were certainly individual Christians in Britain in the third century of the Christian era. The old legend of the martyrdom of St. Alban places that event at the beginning of the next century, and bishops of London and York attended a church council in Gaul in 314. Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire after the year A.D. 324, but its extension and influence in Britain could hardly have been very great, as scarcely more than a single Christian emblem or inscription has been found among the Roman remains, and the mention of the new faith in contemporary writers is slight and obscure.

A Christian Emblem, representing the First Two Greek Letters of the Name Christ: on a Bar of Lead found in the River Thames

19. Decay of Roman Britain. — As time passed the prosperity and good order of the Roman Empire declined. It is altogether probable that in Britain, as in other provinces, wealth and population were decreasing, and it is certain that invasions from beyond the borders were more frequent. One of the causes of the loss of prosperity was the heavy taxation which was necessary to pay the expenses of the army, of the officeholders, and of the other needs of the imperial government. Land taxes, poll taxes, taxes on imports and exports and on sales had become so heavy and were so badly distributed that property decreased in value, many people found it impossible to make a living, and vast numbers, even in times of order and safety, were utterly miserable.

During the fourth century of the Christian era the government of the Empire was everywhere experiencing increasing difficulty

in defending its frontiers against the barbarian races outside of the borders. Its armies were engaged in almost constant conflicts with various tribes which were trying to make their way into the Empire. In some cases the barbarians came to plunder and then go away; in others they made their way within the frontiers and became permanent though unwelcome settlers. Many of these barbarians were taken individually or by bands into the military service of the Roman government, and became an efficient but dangerous element in the army.

In Britain the principal enemies from outside the frontiers were the Franks and the Saxons, who ravaged the southeast coast from the sea; the Scots from the north of Ireland, who made frequent descents upon the northwest coast; and the Picts or Caledonians, who still invaded the province from time to time as they had done in the earlier years of the Roman occupation. The first of these were the most destructive, as they attacked the most populous and wealthy part of the province. To protect the people against them, a line of nine forts was erected along the southeastern coast, and a fleet was regularly kept in the Channel. These forts and the fleet were under the command of an official known as the "Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain." His office was no sinecure and he was constantly engaged in beating off invaders. Notwithstanding the coast defenses, the great wall on the north, and the military stations established in the northwest, the Picts, Scots, and Saxons made repeated attacks and frequently ravaged great sections of the country. In 368 we hear of marauders capturing slaves and cattle within a few miles of London.

20. Withdrawal of the Roman Troops. — The weakness of the military defense of the province during this period was largely the result of the repeated efforts of the commanders of the troops in Britain to seize the control of the whole Empire. Detached from the rest of the Empire in their island province they had opportunities to gain the attachment of their troops and to strengthen

themselves till they were practically independent. They were then tempted to revolt against the central government and to take troops to the continent to fight for imperial sway.

Several successful emperors began their careers in this way. But such attempts were in most cases calamitous failures. In 383 Clemens Maximus was proclaimed emperor in Britain, and soon afterwards gathered most of the troops in the island and took them with him to the continent to contend with the legitimate emperor. He was eventually killed, and few of his troops ever returned. Although reënforcements for the garrison in Britain were sent over a few years later, these had soon to be withdrawn again to protect Italy against the Goths, and the British legions remained permanently weakened. In 407 a general named Constantine was proclaimed emperor under the name Constantine III by the soldiers in Britain, and he and his troops passed over together to the continent, where after a period of success he also was defeated and killed. This left the province practically without troops. In 410 the emperor Honorius, finding himself unable to send troops, wrote from Italy urging the cities of Britain to provide for their own defense. The government of the province had always been in the hands of the military commander, so the withdrawal of the garrison left it without any representative of the central government of the Empire. Deprived of its military garrison, deserted by the higher imperial officials, and abandoned by the emperor, Britain ceased to be a province of the Roman Empire.

21. **Relapse into Barbarism.** — A period of some two hundred years follows of which we have only a few glimpses of confusion and increasing barbarism. When the province was abandoned by its rulers and defenders it might be expected that it would simply fall back into the tribal independence and savage simplicity of life of the Celtic times before the Roman conquest, three hundred years before. But this was impossible. Britain was now occupied by a mixed race of which the Celts were only one element.

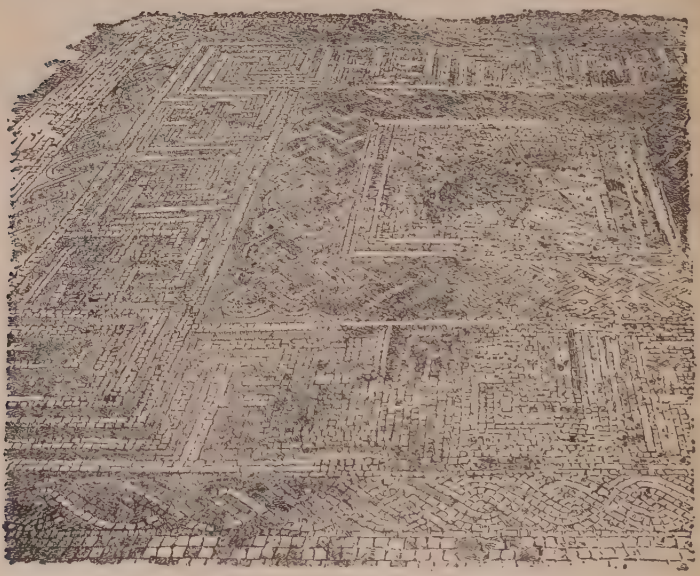
Its people were used to the ways of civilization, lived to a considerable extent in cities, and carried on varied occupations.

On the other hand, there was no organized government left, and no national feeling on which to base any, since the Romans had governed Britain for centuries in the interest of the Empire as a whole, without regard to the wishes of the inhabitants of this one province. Roman law had doubtless superseded the old tribal customs. It was hardly to be expected that the Britons could, under the circumstances, organize a new government for themselves. There was no military force and no capacity for self-protection or defense, as the whole Roman military system was based on the standing army, without any local militia or habit of bearing arms among the common people. If it had been impossible for the legions to protect the frontiers against barbarians, it is no wonder that the unarmed, untrained, and unorganized population of the province proved unable to defend their land. The country was already, in all probability, going backward in wealth and population, and even the cessation of Roman taxation could not restore or keep up prosperity in such times of confusion and calamity.

There are almost no contemporary records written in Britain during this period, and almost no references to Britain in writers of other provinces. We know little more than that it was a time of much warfare and confusion, invasion and new settlement; that the old cities lost their inhabitants; that civilization gradually died out; that Christianity disappeared; that the Latin and Celtic languages alike ceased to be spoken in the greater part of the country. All these gave place to a new language, a new religion, and new customs brought in by invaders.

Certain material structures, such as roads, bridges, and buildings, remained; the draining and clearing of swamps and forests was a permanent benefit; a few new animals, trees, and plants had been introduced; methods of agriculture were preserved to later times; and many boundaries then laid down were permanently kept. Except for these things Roman Britain had passed entirely away.

22. Summary of the Roman Period. — The period of Roman supremacy in Britain was a single episode rather than part of the continuous progress of the development of the English nation, but it was an episode of much interest. After the beginning of the conquest, A.D. 43, the Romans rapidly introduced a highly developed civilization, which retained its dominance until the



Roman Mosaic Pavement recently uncovered at Aldborough

withdrawal of the legions in 407. Those two dates mark the beginning and the end of civilization in Britain for many centuries. It is impossible to believe that no influence was exerted on later English history by the period of Roman control, but it was less than in any other European province of the Empire. The new barbarian settlers, mixed though they may have been with the old population, had to begin the work of creating a civilization and building a nation almost anew.

General Reading. — The best short account is in the little book, SCARTH, *Roman Britain*. The book by WRIGHT, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, referred to at the close of the previous chapter, is particularly good for Roman Britain. The fullest and best narrative of the events of this period is in RAMSAY, *Foundations of England*, Vol. I, chap. vii. CONYBEARE, *Roman Britain*, is another good small book.

Contemporary Sources. — TACITUS, *Agricola*, sects. 8–40; *Annales*, Book XIV. Tacitus was the son-in-law of Agricola, and probably learned from him by word of mouth what he records of the period of conquest and organization of the province. Several translations of the works of Tacitus have been published. The most convenient is the "Oxford Translation," in Bohn's Library. Extracts from Tacitus are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, No. 19, and COLBY, *Sources*, No. 3, and, along with other documents, in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 14–24. Almost all we know about the period of decay is in GILDAS, published in *Six Old English Chronicles* (a volume in Bohn's Library).

Poetry and Fiction. — TENNYSON, *Boadicea;* COWPER, *Boadicea;* CHURCH, A. J., *The Count of the Saxon Shore;* CUTTS, E. L., *The Villa of Claudius;* ARNOLD, *Phra the Phœnician;* KIPLING, "A Centurion of the Thirtieth," "On the Great Wall," and "The Winged Hats," in *Puck of Pook's Hill*.

Special Topics. — (1) The Roman Wall, in MOMMSEN, *Roman Provinces*, Vol. I, chap. v, and WRIGHT, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, pp. 156–158; (2) Roads, in WRIGHT, pp. 221–225; (3) Villas, in TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 76–82 and 93–95; (4) Towns, *ibid.*, pp. 15–18; (5) The Army, *ibid.*, pp. 56–64; and (6) Roman Influence in Britain, *ibid.*, pp. 18–25.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY SAXON ENGLAND. 400-830

23. Settlements of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. — Of the various barbarous enemies that ravaged the province of Britain during the fourth and fifth centuries, the Picts and Scots made no permanent settlements and may therefore be left without further notice. On the other hand, the invaders that came by sea from the continent of Europe gradually became not only marauders but conquerors and settlers. The Teutonic tribes that occupied the northwestern coast of Europe had long been in the habit of making forays into the cultivated provinces of the Roman Empire. Time and time again, following the coasts of what are now Holland and Belgium till they came in sight of the white cliffs of Britain, they passed across the strait to the island, then made their way either northward along the east coast or westward along the south coast, rowing into some river mouth or landing on some unwatched beach and ravaging the adjoining country. During the period of decay of Roman Britain their invasions became more frequent and their numbers greater. These marauders were principally Angles, Saxons, Frisians, and Jutes, coming from the seacoast of the Netherlands, northwestern Germany, and southern Denmark.

At some time during this period they began to settle in the land they had formerly merely ravaged. According to an old tradition, when the Britons were especially hard pressed by the Picts and the Scots, they invited the sea rovers in to defend them, giving them land for settlement in return. This earliest permanent settlement is reported to have been in 449, under the

leadership of two chieftains, Hengist and Horsa. The facts, names, and dates given in the early chronicles are, however, fragmentary, confused, and uncertain. These chronicles were written in much later times, and give us at best only the dim outlines of the process of settlement of these newcomers into Britain.

During the fifth and sixth centuries bands of invaders continued to come over from the same lands for the purpose of obtaining settlements for themselves on the coast of Britain or farther inland. Each body seems to have come under the leadership of its own chieftain or *ealdorman*, and to have made what terms it could, peaceful or hostile, with the Britons. Some districts were no doubt but thinly populated, and the invaders simply occupied the country as fellow settlers with the Britons who were already there. In other parts there were bitter struggles and long sieges, and only after successive battles were the invaders able to hold the land and either subject the Britons to their control or drive them out of the district altogether.

The newcomers were seldom satisfied with a mere foothold. On some parts of the coast leaders with numerous followers immediately after they had landed entered upon a course of warfare and conquest of the country lying inland, while in other parts the detached bands of early settlers were only later drawn together by some warlike leader who then proceeded to extend his dominion by conquests from the Britons far into the interior of the country. In this way, before the year 600, fully one half of the island had been more or less completely occupied and conquered by the Teutonic tribes from the continent, and a number of petty kingdoms had been formed, each under its own ruler.

24. The Early Kingdoms. — In the northeast the country from the Firth of Forth to the Humber River had been formed into two kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira. These were frequently combined into one, which was then spoken of as the kingdom of the Northumbrians. Its people were Angles. Another group of Angle tribes had occupied the district between the Humber and

the Wash, had conquered the natives far inland to the westward, and formed the large kingdom known as Mercia. Still further down the eastern coast, in the old district of the Iceni, were the North Folk and the South Folk, who were together known as the East Angles.

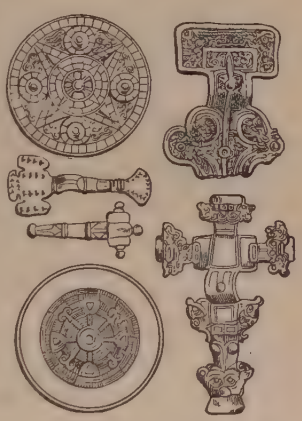
The country to the south of this was occupied by Saxons, except two small districts which were settled by Jutes. Those who had occupied the land just north of the Thames River were the East Saxons. A branch of these, who had gone westward and captured London and the land around it, were known as the Middle Saxons. The land in the extreme southeast had been occupied by Jutes who became known as Kentishmen.[1] Their kingdom extended to the Thames on the north and to the great forest on the west. The narrow strip of land between this forest and the Channel on the south was the kingdom of the South Saxons. The old city of Anderida had been captured by them, a later chronicle says, as early as 491, and every Briton in it killed.

The Isle of Wight and the mainland just north of it were early settled by a body of Jutes. The most important settlers and conquerors here, however, were the West Saxons, who came somewhat later. They landed in Southampton Water about 500 A.D., under their leader or *ealdorman* Cerdic. The land here lay open to the northward and westward, with Roman roads extending in all directions into the heart of the country. But the native population was probably more numerous and wealthy here than in any other part of Britain, and the Saxons had to fight their way step by step. In twenty years they had brought under control the district which now makes up the county of Hampshire. Under successive rulers in the remainder of the century they made further advances, capturing a number of old cities and conquering the country across the Thames and some distance up the

[1] The name Kent is from the Celtic word "Caint," an open place. The Jutish inhabitants called themselves "Caintwara," or dwellers in the Caint. Canterbury, or Caintwarabyrig, means the town of the Caintwara.

SETTLEMENTS
of the
ANGLES, SAXONS and JUTES
0 50 100
Scale of Miles.
Explanations.
Angles
Saxons
Jutes
Native Britons
Longitude West from Greenwich
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Firth of Forth
Firth of Clyde
Clyde R.
Tweed R.
Cheviot Hills
Bernicians
Deirans
Tees
Ouse R.
Humber R.
Gainas
Lindiswaras
Middle Angles
Trent R.
Mersey R.
The Wash
North Folk
South Folk
EAST ANGLES
South Angles
Ouse R.
EAST SAXONS
Middle Saxons
Thames R.
KENTISHMEN
Surreymen
SOUTH SAXONS
Meonwara
Isle of Wight
Wilsaetas
Somorsaetas
Dorsaetas
WEST SAXONS
Hwiccas R. Severn
Bristol Channel
CAMBRIAN MTS.
NATIVE BRITONS
Cumbrian Mts.
Solway Firth
Isle of Man
Isle of Anglesey
North Channel
St. George's Channel
Strait of Dover
THE M.-N. CO., BUFFALO, N.Y.

valley of the Severn. This difficult military conquest resulted in making the West Saxons the strongest and most compact race of the Anglo-Saxon invaders. The seven kingdoms formed by the Northumbrians, Mercians, East Anglians, East Saxons, Kentishmen, South Saxons, and West Saxons are often spoken of as the Heptarchy, though there was no fixed and permanent grouping into this number. Sometimes conquest reduced two or more under one ruler; at other times local rebellions or other causes of separation made the number of independent kingdoms greater.



Early Anglo-Saxon Dress Fastenings

25. The New Race. — It is impossible to tell how far the people of these petty kingdoms were pure Teutonic settlers from Germany, and how far they were a mixed race including descendants of the old inhabitants of Britain. It is incredible that the earlier population should have been actually exterminated, yet what proportion survived we have no means of knowing. It is especially unfortunate that contemporary records are almost absolutely wanting for the period in which the very foundations of the English race were being laid.

Nevertheless there can be no doubt that a very large proportion of the population sprang from the newcomers. Their language, religion, government, and, in the main, their customs, rapidly superseded those of Celtic and Roman Britain.

26. The New Language. — The new settlers spoke dialects of the Low German branch of the Teutonic group of languages, nearly allied to the languages of the Scandinavian peninsula, of the Netherlands, and of northern Germany. Alongside of this new language, Latin and, in all except the western part of the

country, Celtic disappeared. Only a few words of Latin and Celtic origin were retained and became a permanent part of the language of the country.

Little if any of the language of the invaders existed in written form, though *runes*, or rude letters copied from Latin or Greek capitals, were known to them before they had come into Britain, and were used to a slight extent for inscriptions on stones, on horn implements, and other objects. Soon after their settlement in Britain some scholars who were familiar with written Latin began in imitation of that language to write down their own words as they sounded, thus giving rise to a written as well as a spoken language. This was first done among the Angles of Northumbria. Native written language was therefore known as English,[1] even in the Saxon kingdoms, to which the custom of writing soon spread. From this use of the word English as applied to the language, added to the fact that the Angles were the most numerous of the invaders and had overspread the larger part of the island, grew the custom of applying the term English to the whole new race. The name *Angle-land* or England was eventually given to the whole country which the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes occupied. In modern times Anglo-Saxon is the expression usually applied both to the people of the period and to their language.

Poems and songs already existed which only needed to be written down to become a body of literature, and this was done soon after the new race entered Britain. War songs, poems celebrating the successes of their leaders, sagas or rhythmical tales of adventure, poems personifying the changes in nature, with descriptions of summer and winter, sea, storm, clouds, and winds, made up the poetic possessions of the Angles and Saxons at the time of their emigration from the old lands to the new. A famous piece of literature which has survived from this time is *Beowulf*,

[1] Engle and Angle were equivalent forms, sometimes one, sometimes the other being used; but it has become usual to speak of the people as Angles, the language as English.

a long narrative poem describing the adventures of a hero of that name. It tells how he slew a fierce dragon named Grendel, and afterwards a still more terrible monster, the mother of Grendel; how he lived as a virtuous king and then in his old age was killed in a contest with another dragon. The tale with its wild scenery and vigorous figures of speech shows a spirit of strenuous effort, love of battle, barbaric loyalty to friends and cruelty to foes, and fearlessness of death. It holds that every man has his *weird*, a fate which must be endured and against which all resistance is in vain. Yet for all the fierce, wild life the poem represents, Beowulf's followers declare of him after his death that he was

> Of all men the mildest, and to men the kindest,
> To his people gentlest, and of praise the keenest.

Another poem, commonly called the *Ruined Burgh*, appears to describe the remains of an old Roman city as it appeared to a West Saxon poet.

> Windowless is this wall of stone; weirds have shattered it.
> Broken are the burgh-steads, crumbled down the giants' work;
> Fallen down are the roof-beams, ruined are the towers.

27. The Religion of the Anglo-Saxons. — The religion of the new settlers was similar to that of the other Teutonic races. Woden was the great war god, whose name forms part of many place names in England[1] and survives in our word Wednesday. He was the reputed ancestor of the royal line of almost every one of the petty kingdoms. Thor was the god of rain and storms and thunder, whose name is preserved in our Thursday. Tuesday, Friday, and perhaps Saturday are also named from early English deities. Other powers of good and evil, greater and lesser, were worshiped or dreaded. The early English were as superstitious as other barbarians, and their minds were full of stories of mythical heroes, of giants, witches, monsters, and strange beings scarcely

[1] Such as Wodensbury, Woden's Dyke, and Wanborough.

belonging to this world. They believed, as the more ignorant of their descendants have always since believed, in signs, in lucky and unlucky places and times, in elves, goblins, pixies, and fairies. But of this mythology there are left only a few vague indications in the names of places, in old legends, and in the fairy tales that have survived but are now told only to children.

There were priests devoted to the worship of the gods, and inclosures, altars, and images dedicated to the various deities. The priests do not seem to have exercised the influence over the English which the Druids had over the early Britons. Nor did the religion of the early English have so strong a hold upon them that it proved difficult afterwards to induce them to abandon it.

28. Government. — There is still less known of the government than of the language and religion of the new race, and nothing like a clear conception of it can be obtained till a time long after the settlement. The chieftains who led the first bodies of settlers had probably held no very elevated position in their home land. In the process of migration and as a result of the conquests they made in Britain they took the title of king and obtained increased authority. Nevertheless the great men of the nation still exercised considerable power, and the kings were scarcely more than leaders of their nation in war. Family or clan organization was important, and the heads of families had much influence. There was no such thing as equality among the people, *eorls* or nobles being clearly distinguished from *ceorls* or common men. Slavery was also common. Law was merely custom, and was explained and applied in special cases by the people themselves in gatherings held at regular intervals.

Coin of Cuthred, King of Kent

29. Barbarism. — One of the most marked changes from Roman Britain was the almost entire cessation of city life. The old towns had sunk into ruins in the times of confusion, or had been destroyed in the storms of the conquest. The newcomers

were used only to agriculture, cattle raising, fishing, and hunting. They were not sufficiently advanced in knowledge or wealth for city life. They saw no attraction in the enjoyments of towns; their pleasures were found in hunting and warfare. Walled cities were even a matter of dislike to them. They connected them with confinement and with mysterious powers. Love of liberty, lack of industrial and trading knowledge, and fear of magic alike led the Angles and Saxons to prefer the open life of the woods and fields. Therefore, although some of the cities such as London, York, and Canterbury may have retained some population and even, possibly, an organized government, yet they shrank into small, unprosperous and insignificant towns, while others disappeared altogether. The great body of the population lived in small villages or in country houses surrounded by banks or hedges.

Nor were the Anglo-Saxons traders. Their crude agriculture and still cruder handicrafts gave them but little with which to trade, nor were they sufficiently civilized to have needs not satisfied by their own efforts or by plundering. The roads therefore had much the same fate as the cities. Most of them were neglected and disregarded. A few, however, remained in use and were even kept in repair. Portions of them have remained, as has been said, even to this day, and detached sections of many more are still traceable. Four of the old roads retained such importance as to be given distinctive names by the Anglo-Saxons and to be frequently mentioned in their records as boundaries or means of communication. The best known of these is Watling Street, the Roman road from the southern ports to London, thence northwestward to Chester, across the island again to York, and finally northward to the great wall. Its name is a good indication of the mixture of races, combining the Roman word *strata*, meaning a paved road, with the name of a race of heroes of Anglo-Saxon mythology, the Waetlings. Ermine Street, the great northern road to Lincoln and thence to York, was likewise

named for a Saxon deity, Eormen. The Icknield-way was a Roman road extending from the southwestern part of the country across to Norwich and the eastern coast, and the Fosse-way was another extending from Exeter and Bath to Lincoln. The Roman bridges were likewise preserved in some cases; in others neglected till they disappeared.

For such slight trade as existed, the remaining Roman money must have nearly sufficed. Still the early Saxons had some silver coins of small value, either brought with them or minted soon after the settlement, in imitation of the Roman coinage.

30. The Mission of Augustine. — In many ways England had gone back to much the same state of barbarism as that in which it had been before the Roman conquest, and the work of civilization had to be begun almost anew. One of the first steps of this advancement, was the reintroduction of Christianity.

Rome was at this time the source of much missionary effort. An old story tells how Gregory, a Roman deacon, in going to the market place and seeing some boys with white skin, fair faces, and fine hair exposed by a merchant for sale as slaves, was struck with their beauty and asked their race. When he was told they were Angles and came from a heathen land, he declared that they looked rather like angels, and ought to be rescued from paganism to become joint heirs with the angels of heaven. When he was chosen pope, some years afterwards, he organized a body of monks as missionaries, placed them under the direction of a Roman priest named Augustine,[1] and sent them to England. After passing through France and obtaining some new companions and interpreters they crossed the Channel and landed on the shore of Kent in the spring of 597.

The way was prepared for them. The people of Kent already had more intercourse with the continent than those of the more

[1] This Augustine must not be confused with the great African bishop of the same name, who lived two centuries before. The story referred to is in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, chap. i.

distant parts of England, and the wife of Ethelbert,[1] king of Kent, was a daughter of the Frankish king who reigned in Paris. She was a Christian, had been accompanied to England by a Christian bishop, and was already using for private worship an old dismantled Roman church on the outskirts of Canterbury.

Therefore, when Augustine and his companions sent word to the king of their arrival and of the messages they had brought, the matter can hardly have been new to Ethelbert. With true

Church of St. Martin at Canterbury

barbarian dislike of confinement, however, and doubtless with some fear of magic, he arranged to meet the missionaries in the open air. Augustine and his companions came to the conference bearing a silver cross and a picture of Christ painted on a board, and singing the litany. Augustine then preached to the king and his attendants. He was listened to patiently, and with his companions allowed to come to Canterbury and given permission

[1] The Anglo-Saxon form of this name is Æthelberht. The ancient forms of proper names will be used in this book only when the name has disappeared altogether from use and has no modern equivalent.

to teach and preach. Some time afterwards Ethelbert himself, with many others, accepted Christianity and was baptized.

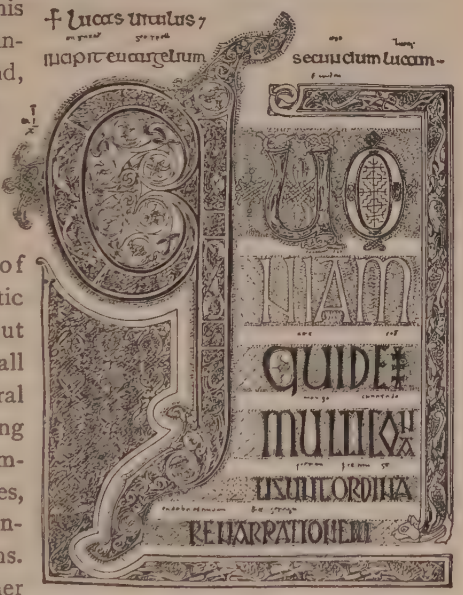
Augustine soon went to the continent and was ordained by consent of the pope "archbishop of the English"; then returned and proceeded to spread and organize the Christian church in that country. At first Queen Bertha's chapel of St. Martin at Canterbury was used, then another old Roman church was repaired and became the predecessor of Canterbury Cathedral. Other buildings and lands were granted to them, and the work of conversion and the establishment of new centers was carried as far as the influence of Ethelbert extended, which was at that time far beyond the limits of Kent.

31. **Christianity in Northumbria.** — With the death of Ethelbert difficulties arose, and the progress of Christianity became very slow. In most of the kingdoms of the south and center of the country there was much resistance. In Northumbria, however, circumstances were more favorable. About thirty years after the arrival of Augustine in Kent, Edwin of Deira obtained the crown of Northumbria and married a Kentish princess. She brought to Northumbria with her Paulinus, a Kentish priest, ordained bishop for the purpose of introducing Christianity into the north. This bishop urged Edwin and his court to become Christians, but for a long time without success. Finally, as one of the most picturesque of the old stories recounts, the king and his nobles yielded to the preaching of Paulinus, and the old gods were deserted.[1] Soon the king and the leading men of the Northumbrians were baptized, and a church was built, first of wood and later of stone, which afterwards became York Minster. Christianity was thus established in the north.

32. **The Scottish Missions.** — Even when a defeat of the Northumbrians by the heathen king of Mercia brought a wave of paganism back over the country and drove Paulinus, with the widow and children of Edwin, back to Kent, the process of

[1] See the story in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, chap. xiii.

conversion was only stopped for a moment. Scottish monks from the northward now came to Northumbria and preached Christianity among the people. Their leader was Aidan, a monk and bishop, educated and ordained at the monastery of Iona, who presented himself to King Oswald, a successor of Edwin, and formed a friendship with him that remained unbroken through both of their lives. Aidan and his monks were granted Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, lying off the Northumbrian coast, as a dwelling place, and made it a new center for the spread of religion and the establishment of churches. Enthusiastic missionaries sent out thence passed through all the northern and central parts of England, winning converts among the common people, the nobles, and the rulers, and reconverting the East Saxons. In the meanwhile other missionaries came from the continent to the East Angles and West Saxons; and by 650, scarcely fifty years after the arrival of Augustine and twenty after Aidan, all England except Sussex had become Christian. The South Saxons, cut off from the rest of the English by forest and swamps, were converted later in the century. Of course much of this conversion must have been merely nominal. Remote districts must



Initial Letter and Opening Words of a Manuscript Copy of St. Luke's Gospel in the Lindisfarne Gospel Book, written about 700 A.D.

have long remained untouched by it, and we have records which show that charms, signs, belief in various supernatural beings, and strange local customs and legends still survived and made up much of the everyday religion of the people. The old heathenism as a matter of popular custom died slowly.

33. The Synod of Whitby. — As Christianity became more widespread, dissensions arose, among those who were preaching the new religion, that prevented their coöperation and the formation of a united religious body. There were in reality two forms of Christianity in the British Islands: one existing among the Celtic races and taught by the missionaries who came from them, the other that which had been introduced by missionaries who came directly from the continent. The Britons in the western part of the island had retained their Christianity from Roman times. It had been carried thence to Ireland by St. Patrick just about the time of the departure of the Romans from Britain. Almost at the same time the Scots, who occupied the north of Ireland, began to make conquests and settlements on the western coast of the land of the Picts.[1] Here the monastery of Iona was founded by Columba and became a new center of missionary activity. This Celtic branch of the Christian church in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and Northern England followed somewhat different customs from those of the church as it had grown up in the continental countries. It differed in the calculation of the date of Easter, in the forms used in baptism, and in the tonsure or ceremonial cutting of the hair of churchmen. The Celtic clergy were enthusiastic and devoted to the work of preaching and teaching among the common people, but they had adopted

[1] Scot was simply the Roman name for Gael, that branch of the Celts of Britain which lived in Ireland. In the sixth century the Scots began to make settlements on the western islands and mainland of Caledonia, the country of the Picts. These conquests and settlements extended over a larger and larger region until the Scots became the most important part of the population and the whole country came to be called Scotland.

a very simple, almost disorderly form of church government. The abbots of the great monasteries like Iona and Lindisfarne were the most influential church officials. The priests wandered from place to place baptizing, saying mass, performing the ceremony of marriage and other rites of the church; and even the bishops, in Ireland and Scotland at least, were only priests fulfilling somewhat higher functions, but having no settled territory under their charge. On the other hand, the missionaries who had been sent from the continent, and the English churchmen who had visited France and Italy and then returned to England, held the continental view of the date of Easter and of similar questions. They were also strongly impressed with the power and authority of the church as it was being more carefully organized in the continental countries. When by appointment to bishoprics in the center or north of England they came into contact with the Celtic clergy, they quarreled with them on these disputed points and strove to force them to conform to the continental customs. These disputes finally led to the calling by the Northumbrian king, in 664, of a council of churchmen and others at Whitby, where, after a long discussion, the king gave his voice in favor of the southern customs. The Celtic customs from this time forward were given up in England, and gradually passed away even in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.

34. Organization of the Christian Church in England. — The Christian church in England thus took shape as one united body, with the same customs, teachings, and organization as were in existence in all other countries of western Europe which looked to Rome as a religious center. Bishoprics were established, churches built, and the people converted and taught. Next came the more complete internal organization of the church. This was largely borrowed from the continental countries, where the old organization and civil administration of the Roman Empire had been adopted by the Christian clergy and adapted to the needs of the church. The work of organization in England was

principally carried out between 670 and 690 by Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury.

Theodore was a Greek monk and had been trained in Greek philosophy and theology. He spent some time at Rome and came under the influence of the Roman ideas of church organization. When he was sent to England there were seven bishops, whose districts corresponded pretty nearly to the old kingdoms. By the influence of Theodore several of these districts were soon divided, usually on the lines of the original tribal settlements, so that there came to be fifteen dioceses or bishops' sees, all recognizing the bishop of Canterbury, who was known as the "archbishop." Later a second archbishopric was founded. The northern bishoprics were placed under the supervision of the bishop of the Northumbrians, with his principal seat at York, who therefore became known as the "archbishop of York." Each bishop was required to attend to the affairs of his own diocese only, not intruding into any other, and priests were placed strictly under the jurisdiction of their own bishop. Throughout the country priests were gradually established, and churches built in each village. In 673 at Hertford was held a meeting or synod of all the bishops, at which rules were adopted for churchmen in all the dioceses alike; and such church councils were held frequently afterward. Thus England was organized into a single body for religious

Church at Bradford-on-Avon: the only Complete Church surviving from Saxon Times

purposes, while it was still divided politically into a number of independent kingdoms.[1]

35. **Monasteries.** — There were other churchmen in England besides the bishops and the parish priests. These were the numerous groups of monks who lived in monasteries in various parts of England. Monks and nuns are men and women who take vows to live according to some religious rule governing all the actions of life.[2] The rule followed in most of England after Christianity had become thoroughly established was the rule of St. Benedict. Benedictine monasteries usually arose in this way. A body of men or of women gathered around an abbot or an abbess and bound themselves by the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. That is to say, they promised not to marry, not to possess any private property, and to obey their abbot in all things. A pious king or noble granted them land, which was added to from time to time by the gifts of others. Supported partly by the rents from this land and partly by their own labor, they lived according to the requirements of their rule, more or less completely withdrawn from the usual occupations and interests of the world. Thus monasteries were established in many out-of-the-way places, such as Peterborough and Croyland in the Fen district between East Anglia and Mercia, Malmesbury and Sherborne farther west, and Lindisfarne, Whitby, Wearmouth, and Jarrow in the far north.

36. **Revival of Civilization.** — With the organization of the Christian church and the foundation of monasteries came a distinct advance in all parts of English civilization. Men trained as clergymen, especially those who had traveled to the continent,

[1] See map of England divided into dioceses opposite p. 56.

[2] They are therefore spoken of as the "regular" clergy, from the Latin word *regula*, a rule. The clergy who were not monks or nuns were called the "secular" clergy, because their work lay in the ordinary world, from the Latin word *sæculum*. These included the bishops, parish priests, and others connected with the organized church outside of the monasteries.

learned of the old Roman civilization which had been destroyed in England during the times of barbaric violence, and used their knowledge in the introduction of higher ways of living. In the monasteries the monks and their dependents raised better varieties of grain, fruits and vegetables, kept up fish ponds, and even produced some kinds of crude manufactures. The more ambitious bishops and abbots succeeded in erecting stone churches and monastery buildings, and in obtaining for use in them glass windows, vessels of brass, gold and silver, ornamental clothing for religious services, and finally even books, religious and classical. At first these articles were imported from the continental countries. This led to some trading; afterwards men were brought over who could make them; and they were soon frequently manufactured in England itself. Thus under the influence of established church government regular industry and peaceful development of the country went on in a higher degree, notwithstanding the continuance of much violence, disorder, and warfare.

37. **Education and Literature.** — Literature also awoke to a new life. Archbishop Theodore had been accompanied in his travels through England, in his work of regulating the church, by a monk named Hadrian, born in Africa but brought up in the south of Italy, where Greek was still spoken. Both therefore spoke Greek and encouraged its study. A school was started at Canterbury in connection with the church there, and somewhat later a similar one at York, while in most of the monasteries pupils were regularly taught to read and write English. The elements of Latin instruction, as well as the services of the church, were taught in a number of cathedral and monastic schools.

There came to be a considerable amount of writing of a more varied kind, partly under the influence of the old Anglo-Saxon literary spirit, partly of the new classical learning. Lives of saints, allegories, narratives, and descriptions of natural scenes were written in prose and poetry, in Latin and in English. Of some churchmen of the time, noted for their knowledge and their ability as

writers, the names and writings have come down to our own times, but there were also lesser poets whose names and songs have alike now disappeared but whose productions then gave abundant material to the gleemen who wandered through the country, singing their ballads in halls and on village greens.

The most famous early Saxon writer was Bæda, "The Venerable Bede," as he is called. He was a monk who lived his whole life in the monastery of Jarrow. As a boy he was taught in the monastery school and afterwards studied the books which had been gathered there, and became familiar with most of the knowledge then available. He became school teacher to the monks and boys in the monastery, but found time during a long lifetime to write some fifty-five works of his own. He wrote text-books and larger works in Latin, translated one or two Latin works into English, and composed some English poetry. He was the first historian of the English people, and his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* is still the source to which we go for most of our knowledge of the very early Anglo-Saxon period. He died 735 A.D. Shortly before the time of Bede a poet had become famous in the Northumbrian monastery of Whitby. This was Cædmon, a servant of the abbey, unlearned but gifted with poetic genius and impressed with the picturesqueness of the Bible stories. These he paraphrased, as they were told to him, in English verse; others imitated him in the same poetic forms and subjects, and thus a series of poems reproducing a large part of the Bible was constructed and became well known.

38. **Internal Strife of the Kingdoms.** — England was far better organized in an ecclesiastical than in a political way. Churchmen from one part of the country were frequently appointed to office in another, and councils attended by bishops from all England were held, while the kingdoms from which they came were still in constant warfare with one another. These were the kingdoms which had been formed in the early years of the conquest and settlements. Upon the conquests of the natives had followed

wars among the invaders themselves. Civil wars also occurred in each kingdom between rival claimants for the crown. After the beginning of the seventh century these wars were more systematic, led to some permanent results, and brought some order out of the chaos. The Northumbrians in the north, the Mercians in the center, and the West Saxons in the south of the country, the three kingdoms which had room for expansion, became much more powerful than any of the other kingdoms. East Anglia, Essex,[1] Sussex, and Kent were ruled by under-kings or chieftains subordinate to the ruler of one or other of the three great kingdoms, or were simply added to their dominions. There were instances of revolts of these dependent kings, but most of the contests from this time forward were between the Northumbrians, the Mercians, and the West Saxons.

39. **Northumbria.** — During the first half of the seventh century Northumbria was decidedly the most powerful state in England. Its kings gained repeated victories over the countries farther south and even at times held rule over almost all of England, as well as over what are now the Lowlands of Scotland. The city of Edinburgh or "Edwin's burgh" marks the northern limits of the power of Edwin, the first Christian king of Northumbria, who reigned from 617 to 633, while later Northumbrian kings reduced the Picts, the northwestern Britons, and the Scots to dependence. Northumbria was also the leading state of England in literature, learning, and trade. A series of defeats near the end of the seventh century, however, made its permanent supremacy in the central and southern parts of England hopeless.

40. **Mercia.** — Mercia then became more prominent. The kings of this country had a series of contests with the native Britons of Wales which resulted in forcing the latter to become tributary. Other wars occurred with the West Saxons to the southward. During the eighth century, especially under Æthelbald

[1] The territorial terms Essex, Sussex, Middlesex, and Wessex gradually took the place of the tribal names East Saxons, etc.

The Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms and the Three Native Principalities, ca. 800 A.D.

and Offa, whose reigns together covered the period from 716 to 796, Mercia was in her turn the most powerful state in England and held all the districts to the eastward and southwestward, including London and Kent. The Mercian kings issued a specially good coinage and seem to have paid much attention to the growth of trade. A separate archbishopric was for a while created at Lichfield, and the Mercian king had some intercourse with Charles the Great and other kings on the continent, and with the pope. Several of the Mercian kings abdicated the throne, as had those of Northumbria, and went on pilgrimages to Rome, or retired to English monasteries. Notwithstanding their good fortune in war, the Mercians were never successful in completely conquering either the Northumbrians or the West Saxons, and there were frequent revolts of the Kentishmen and East Anglians. In 796, Offa, the last of the great Mercian kings, died, and the kingdom soon lost its greatness and eventually its independence.

41. **West Saxon Overlordship.** — The West Saxons had by conquests gradually built up an extensive kingdom to the north, east, and west of their original capital at Winchester. In wars waged sometimes with the natives on the north and west and sometimes with the Angles of Mercia, the South and East Saxons, and the Kentishmen, they kept up their fighting habits and successfully resisted conquest by the Northumbrians and Mercians. Descendants of Cerdic, the first king, always ruled in Wessex, but there were many contests within the family for the crown. In one of these disputes Egbert,[1] a prince of the royal family, was exiled, and, according to the custom of the time, took refuge at the court of Charles the Great, king of the Franks. After remaining there for thirteen years and doubtless seeing much of Charles's warlike and statesmanlike policy, he was recalled to be king of the West Saxons in 802. Within the next few years he had completed the conquest of the natives of the west, adding what are now Devonshire and Cornwall to his dominions. He

[1] The Anglo-Saxon form of this name is Ecgberht.

ENGLAND
divided into Bishoprics.
0 50 100
Scale of Miles.
Longitude West 4 2 from Greenwich 0
56
54
52
50
Firth of Forth
Firth of Clyde
North Channel
Solway Firth
Cheviot Hills
DURHAM
CARLISLE
Tees R.
YORK
YORK
Isle of Man
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
Humber R.
Mersey
Isle of Anglesey
BANGOR
ST. ASAPH
COVENTRY AND LICHFIELD
LINCOLN
The Wash
NORWICH
CANTERBURY
HEREFORD
Severn R.
WORCESTER
ELY
LONDON
Thames R.
ROCHESTER
ST. DAVIDS
LLANDAFF
Bristol Channel
BATH AND WELLS
SALISBURY
WINCHESTER
CHICHESTER
EXETER
Isle of Wight
Strait of Dover
St. George's Channel
ENGLISH CHANNEL
THE M.-N. CO. BUFFALO, N. Y.

then entered into a contest with Mercia and the states dependent upon it, defeating them and making them all acknowledge his supremacy. Finally, in 830, he took an army to the borders of Northumbria, where the king of that country came to meet him and agreed to accept Egbert's overlordship. In the same year he forced submission upon the chieftains of Wales. Thus for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire all Britain acknowledged, in name at least and for the time, the supremacy of one ruler.

42. Summary of the Early Saxon Period. — The year 449, the traditional date of the arrival of the first Teutonic settlers, mythical as in all probability that date is, represents the most important event in the history of the English nation, the entrance of its founders into Britain. The new race, although barbarous, had in it elements which the old Roman civilization had lacked: it was vigorous, independent, and self-reliant; families of this race were larger, and therefore population would increase; a larger proportion of the people had influence on the government and the law, and these were therefore more suited to popular needs. Slight as their economic, political, and social development was, they proved to be a race capable of great progress in the surroundings which their new island home furnished to them. The arrival of Augustine in 597 represents the first great step of this progress, — the conversion of the English to Christianity, their organization as one united church body, and their connection by this means with the continent, where the remains of ancient civilization were better preserved and society was more advanced. The attainment of a general overlordship of England by Egbert in 830 was not the creation of a real nation but it was a preparation for it. Several of the separate kingdoms still went on, frequently with kings who were practically independent, and there was probably little or no national feeling. Nevertheless the kings of the West Saxon royal family never afterwards gave up their claim to be the rulers of all England, and thus a center existed around which national union was afterward built up.

General Reading. — GREEN has three works covering this period: his *Short History of the English People*, chap. i, sects. 1–4; *History of the English People*, chaps. i and ii, and *The Making of England*. The last of these is the most complete, and occupies a whole volume. The first contains almost as much as the second and will be referred to as preferable and recommended for this and all the succeeding chapters except the last two. A much more accurate though not so vivid account is RAMSAY, *Foundations of England*, Vol. I, chaps. ix–xiii. GRANT ALLEN, *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, is an excellent short book on the period. The Anglo-Saxon church is well described in WAKEMAN, *History of the Church of England*.

Contemporary Sources. — TACITUS, *Germania*, includes a description of the customs of the Germans from whom the Anglo-Saxons sprang, and gives some idea of the condition of the new race before they entered Britain. Extracts are given in COLBY, No. 4, and KENDALL, No. 2. The most valuable and interesting contemporary record of the whole Saxon period is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle;* but for the conversion to Christianity and a number of other parts of the early history, BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*, is most valuable. Some of the most interesting sections in the latter are Book I, chaps. vii, xii, xxv, xxvi; Book II, chaps. i, ii, ix, xii, xiii, xvi; Book III, chaps. v, vi, ix–xii, xvii, xxv; Book IV, chaps. iii, xviii, xix, xxiv, xxviii–xxxii. Both the *Chronicle* and Bede are translated and published in one volume in the Bohn series under the name of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*. Extracts are given in LEE, Nos. 22–24; COLBY, Nos. 5 and 6; and KENDALL, Nos. 3 and 4. COOK and TINKER, *Select Translations from Old English Poetry*, contains good examples of the poetry of this period. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 25–37.

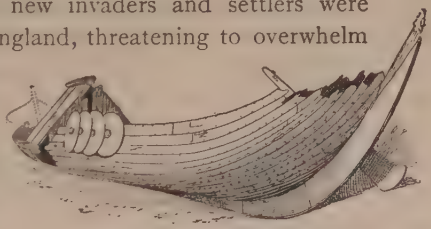
Poetry. — ALEXANDER SMITH, *Edwin of Deira*. The romances of Arthur and his knights seem to refer to the period of the contest between the Britons and the West-Saxon invaders, but in the only forms in which they can now be found they are imbued with the spirit of later mediæval romance, as in MALORY, *Morte Darthur*, or with modern ideals, as in TENNYSON, *Idylls of the King*.

Special Topics. — (1) Conversion of Edwin, BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, chap. xii; (2) Synod of Whitby, *ibid.*, Book III, chap. xxv; (3) Cædmon, *ibid.*, Book IV, chap. xxiv; (4) Beowulf, COOK and TINKER, *Translations from Old English Poetry*, 9–24; (5) Venerable Bede, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. i, sect. 4; (6) Classes of People among the Early Anglo-Saxons, TRAILL, Vol. I, pp. 122–129; (7) Heathen Religion of the Anglo-Saxons, *ibid.*, 149–153; (8) Establishment of Christianity, *ibid.*, 153–161; (9) Dress and Amusements of the Anglo-Saxons, *ibid.*, 222–227.

CHAPTER V

LATER SAXON ENGLAND. 830-975

43. The Incursions of the Danes. — The supremacy obtained by Egbert, king of the West Saxons, as has been said, was not a real union of England. No measures were taken to unite the whole country under a government exercising its power from Winchester, the West Saxon capital. As a matter of fact, the West Saxon kings had now to enter into a struggle to retain any of their dominions, for new invaders and settlers were making their way into England, threatening to overwhelm the English much as the latter had overwhelmed the Britons three centuries before.



Remains of a Danish Ship

Just at the close of the eighth century, while Egbert had been in exile at the court of Charles the Great, these new enemies began to ravage the shores of the British Isles and of the continent. They were known among themselves as "Vikings," in England generally as "Danes," in Ireland as "Ostmen," and on the continent as "Northmen." They came from the shores of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, in boats carrying thirty or forty men each, built shallow though long, and thus capable of being rowed far up the rivers. Thus they landed at entirely unexpected places. Since they were heathen they did not hesitate to plunder monasteries and nunneries, whose gold and silver ornaments, jeweled robes and utensils, numerous flocks of sheep and undefended crops of grain furnished them abundant booty.

The progress of civilization had also produced much in the possession of the people of country and town that was attractive to these barbarians. So not only monasteries but towns and whole stretches of country were devastated. In addition to seizing what they could carry away they inflicted terrible cruelties upon those who fell into their power, and made havoc with fire and sword for the pure love of destruction. The lands along the coasts and rivers of France and Spain suffered grievously from these ravages, but England was still more unfortunate, since her territory was open to the sea rovers on all sides. The first recorded attack on England was in the year 787 A.D. A few years later the "pirates" came again, plundered the monastery of Lindisfarne, and murdered its monks; then they appeared again and again, till scarcely a year passed without visitations on some part or other of the coast and even far inland. The *Chronicle* tells how "Hereberht the ealdorman was slain by the heathen men, and many of the Fenmen with him; and afterwards, the same year, in Lindsey, and in East Anglia, and in Kent many men were slain by the enemy." And again: "This year King Æthelwulf fought at Charmouth against the crews of ninety-five ships, and the Danish-men maintained possession of the field."

The English seemed unable to drive them away. A united resistance could seldom be made to invaders who appeared so suddenly and in such unexpected places. The ealdorman or local chieftain could call out the men of his part of the country to fight in a body known as the "fyrd," and generally this local force was all that there was to oppose the pillagers. But even when a body of Danish plunderers was opposed by the king with a more considerable army the invaders were apt to be more than a match for the English. They used great battle-axes which were more effective than the spears and swords of the English; all their warriors were protected by coats of linked mail and helmets, while these were used only by a few of the leaders among the English; and they fought with a fierce recklessness which was

almost irresistible. "The Danes had possession of the field" closes up many an entry in the *Chronicle* during this period.

44. The Danish Army. — Soon another stage of invasion was entered upon by the Danes. Large bands began to make their headquarters in various parts of the country, remaining permanently in England and living by ravaging. These bodies of plunderers drew together till they formed a united body, — "the army," as the English called it, — which in successive summers made long forays through Kent, East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, and in the winters settled down to enjoy their booty. Their usual plan was to row up some river or deep harbor, fortify a camp by throwing a dike across a headland or other favorable spot, drag their boats on the shore, seize horses where they could find them, and sweep pillaging across the country, till the slowly gathering fyrd under the ealdorman of the district became dangerous, or till rumors came of an army marching to meet them. Then they retired to their camp and if necessary soon rowed away to a new landing place. We hear how in East Anglia "King Edmund fought against them, but the Danes got the victory and slew the king and subdued all the land and destroyed all the churches they came to. They came to Medeshamstead and burned and beat it down, and slew the abbot and monks and all that they found there. And that place which before was full rich they reduced to nothing." The heathen army became constantly more numerous and more bold, till most of England lay at its mercy. One part of the country after another was laid under contribution for its support or was swept clear of everything which the invaders wanted. The monasteries were destroyed; villages burned; London, Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester,

Danish Battle-Axe (length, 15 inches; weight, 7 pounds)

York, and other old towns sacked, and the rising prosperity and culture of the country crushed.

45. **Formation of the Danelaw.** — Little by little the Danish invasion entered upon a third stage, — that of settlement. A Danish half of England grew up. The "army" had spent most of its time in East Anglia, eastern Mercia, and southern Northumbria. In these portions of the country the old lines of kings had died out and Danish kings or "jarls" [1] held the mastery over the people. The native English population was already doubtless much reduced, and the less restless spirits among the Danes settled down among them, seizing lands where they wished them, even while those who wished still to plunder continued their raids through the parts of the country still unravaged. The same Danish warriors who had joined in plundering forays or followed their king as fighting men in the great army, when they found such occupation too dangerous, distasteful or unprofitable, settled down as farmers or embarked on trading ventures. New settlers came from Denmark and Norway to settle in the parts of England which were under the rule of Danish kings and chieftains.

The extent of this immigration and settlement can be traced by the Danish names of places, which were either new settlements or old English towns and villages renamed by their new inhabitants and rulers. Whereas in the Anglo-Saxon districts names of villages and towns usually end in *ton* or *ham*, in the districts occupied by the Danes or Northmen they end more commonly in *by* or *thorpe*. Gradually the whole east and much of the north came to be more Danish than English in population, in customs, and in law. It was even acknowledged by the West Saxon kings to be independent. In the unending struggle on their part to protect Wessex from Danish plundering they were so hard pressed that they were glad to purchase temporary immunity for the west and

[1] The Danish word *jarl*, pronounced *yarl*, corresponded to the English word ealdorman, and later gave rise to the word *earl*, the ruler under the king of a division of the country.

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south by yielding to the Danes the north and east. In 886 A.D. an agreement was entered into between Alfred, the West Saxon king, and Guthrum, a Danish king, defining the boundaries between them as follows: "First, concerning the land boundaries: upon the Thames, and then up on the Lea, and along the Lea to its source, then right to Bedford, then up on the Ouse to Watling street."[1] According to this treaty England was practically divided into two parts, one under the Danes and one under the West Saxon kings. Because all matters were settled by Danish law in the former district it came to be known as the "Danelaw."

46. The Danes as Traders. — The Danelaw differed in many respects from the more purely Anglo-Saxon parts of England. Men of this section even yet are taller and lighter in complexion than the average of the rest of the country, and it is generally believed that this is due to the Danish mixture in the population. The most marked change introduced by the Danes was the habit of trading with foreign lands and the consequent growth of towns in England as centers at which trade was carried on. In Norway, Denmark, and Sweden there was an active trade with Ireland and Iceland, with the coast lands of the Baltic Sea, and with distant regions to the southward. Even yet Arabic coins are found in the Scandinavian countries, where fairs were held to which merchants came from various parts of Europe and the East. Danish traders from England took part in all the lines of commerce of which they had known before they came to England.

At places where traders gathered and lived, new towns grew up. Old towns, which may have survived from Roman times, — though reduced to almost nothing in population and wealth in

[1] This agreement is commonly known as the "Treaty of Wedmore," though it did not take place there. What really occurred at Wedmore took place eight years before, when Guthrum made a temporary peace with Alfred, was entertained by him, and was baptized as a Christian, together with thirty of his followers. It is also known as the "Treaty of Chippenham," but with no more propriety, as it is not known where this agreement was drawn up.

the meantime, — were revived, gained inhabitants, and adopted modes of life which were very different from those of the country villages. The "Five Boroughs" was a name given to Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln, five towns under Danish control, each of which had a government of its own with special town courts and laws, but forming a sort of confederacy among themselves. York, Chester, and other old towns of the north became more prosperous, seaport towns grew up along the coast, and London itself regained its old trading life and was occupied by a population a large part of whom were Danes.

Gradually the Christian population among whom they had settled drew the Danish invaders from their heathenism, larger numbers of them betook themselves to peaceful occupations, and distant raids attracted those devoted to warfare to France, Spain, Scotland, and Ireland. The old bishoprics were reëstablished, and some of the monasteries rebuilt. Wars between the rulers of the Danelaw and the West Saxon kings occurred from time to time, but they were wars, not mere plundering raids.

47. King Alfred. — The turning back of the tide of Danish conquest, the restriction of Danish rulers and settlers to the eastern half of the country, and the reorganization of the West Saxon monarchy within its narrower limits were largely the work of the West Saxon king, Alfred.[1] Alfred has been loved by all subsequent generations because of his personal character, and admired and respected because of his abilities and of the work that he accomplished. He was the youngest son of King Ethelwulf of Wessex and grandson of Egbert. He was born in Wantage about 842 A.D. and died about 900 A.D. He was taken to Rome twice in his early boyhood, and made the acquaintance of the pope then reigning and of various other prominent churchmen and rulers. He was of weak health, though he was devoted to hunting and was a skillful and active leader in war through his whole life. Nevertheless his inclinations were distinctly intellectual. A story

[1] The Anglo-Saxon form of his name is Ælfred.

has come down of a promise made by his mother to her five sons to give a certain illuminated manuscript of Saxon poems to the one who would first commit them to memory. Alfred, although the youngest, immediately betook himself to the task and with the help of his teacher learned the verses and obtained the prize. His fondness for literature and eager desire for knowledge remained lifelong characteristics.

As Alfred grew to manhood the Danes were ravaging not only the coast lands and Mercia but the West Saxon lands also, and soon after his accession to the throne he was actually forced to abandon the struggle temporarily and retire to the forests, leaving all England to the attacks of the invaders. But this was the worst of the storm. Soon the spirit of the West Saxons revived. In a chance engagement a Danish force was defeated and their famous war flag called "The Raven" was captured. Alfred seized this opportunity to come down from the moors to build a fort and man it with a small garrison at Athelney. Then, gathering the fyrd from the western districts about him, he made a series of attacks upon the invaders. Hard fighting forced the Danes in 878 to enter into an agreement with Alfred by which the Danish king with his principal followers accepted Christian baptism as a sign of their intention to cease plundering. This was at Wedmore, as already described, and was followed a few years afterwards by the Treaty of Wedmore, which laid the foundations of the Danelaw. The peace was but poorly kept, for Guthrum was only one of several Danish rulers, and those who reigned over other districts or who came to England later were not bound by his agreements. So fighting by no means came to an end. Yet Alfred more than held his own in the half of England which was under his control, and every Danish invasion of it was repelled.

48. **Military Reforms.** — It was in these later contests that Alfred's originality in military devices showed itself. He kept some soldiers under arms so that they should not be taken off their guard; he reorganized the fyrd by calling out only one half

of the fighting men at a time, so that the cultivation of the fields might not come to a standstill; he built "burghs" or fortified camps, where soldiers could be stationed permanently; he provided for the fortification and guarding of the towns so that the invaders could be held in check till the fyrd came; and built and manned vessels so that he might meet the Danes on their own element and deprive them of their old unrestricted freedom of invasion and retreat by sea. The result was that not only the south and west of England were more securely defended but that a military system was organized which was afterwards used to drive the Danes out of the Danelaw.

49. Reforms in Law. — In the more peaceful years of Alfred's reign he devoted the same energy, originality, and broad-minded judgment to the works of peace that he had applied to the contest with the invaders. One of the fruits of this was the new body of laws or "dooms" which he issued. Written collections of laws or formal statements of the customary law on certain subjects had been already drawn up and promulgated by various kings, with the agreement of the "witan" or great men of the country. The earliest of these was issued by Ethelbert, king of Kent, about the time of Augustine, at the close of the sixth century. Other collections had been issued from time to time by Kentish, Mercian, and West Saxon monarchs. That now issued by Alfred was gathered principally from these earlier codes. His work consisted in laying down general principles, in selecting and restating old rules, not in the establishment of new ones. As he declares in the preface to his laws, "Those things which I met with, either of the days of Ine, my kinsman, or of Offa, king of the Mercians, or of Ethelbert, who first among the English race received baptism, those which seemed to me the most right, those I have gathered together, and rejected the others." There are many provisions in these laws on a great variety of subjects, as, for instance, "If any one fight in the king's hall, or draw his weapon, and he be taken, it shall depend on the doom of the

king whether he have life or death"; or, "If any one dig a water-pit, or open one that is shut up and close it not again; let him pay for whatever cattle may fall therein." But most of the clauses declare the forms of punishment and the amounts of fines for criminal offenses.

50. **The New Literature.** — Probably the most conspicuous work done by Alfred was the reëstablishment of education and literature after their decay during the ravages of the Danes. The old literary and learned life of the northern monasteries represented by Bede and Cædmon had disappeared. Alfred made a new center for learning and literature at his capital of Winchester, infused new life into them, and himself set the fashion of writing prose works in English. For even in Wessex, where the marauding of the Danes had not been long continued, and still more so further east and north, ignorance and loss of interest in intellectual matters were almost complete. Alfred himself declared, "So clean was learning decayed among English folk that very few were there on this side of the Humber that could understand their service books in English or translate aught out of Latin into English, and I think there were not many beyond the Humber. So few of them were there that I cannot bethink me of even one when I came to the kingdom." He says again, "In old times men came hither from foreign lands to seek for instruction, and now if we are to have it, we can only get it from abroad." So he was compelled to draw learned men into Wessex by appointing them to positions as abbots and bishops or about his court. From the western districts of Mercia, from Wales, France, and Germany, Alfred gathered, one by one, a group of learned men as teachers and churchmen. He established three new abbeys, and helped some of those which had been destroyed by the Danes to regain their prosperity.

He also set up a school for young nobles and others of well-to-do parentage in his own court, where they were taught to read English and, if they went on far enough, Latin. Here English

poems as well as more serious books were learned and the old heathen and early Christian poetry translated into the West Saxon dialect, in which we now have them. It is probable that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the most important source of information about early English history, was put into form at this time. Old annals which have since disappeared may have been used, Bede was drawn upon, and the results put together into an English chronicle. This was subsequently kept up as a contemporary record, according to Alfred's instructions.

The king himself after he grew to middle life learned to read Latin, and translated several books into English with the object of making them more accessible. He expanded these and introduced into them a number of additions from his own experience or from other sources. He says, "When I remember how the knowledge of Latin had formerly decayed throughout England, and yet that many could read English writing, then I began among other various and manifold occupations of this kingdom to translate into English." He translated and reëdited in this way Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Orosius's *History of the World*, and some other works. He apologizes for the crudity of his work by saying, "Do not blame me, if any know Latin better than I, for every man must say what he says and do what he does according to his ability." He had no need to make excuses, for his style is clear and vigorous, and he left a model of good English prose writing which afterwards bore fruit in much writing in the language of the people.

51. **Alfred's Interests and Character.** — Alfred took a keen interest in affairs beyond the limits of his own country, though his active life gave him no chance of leaving England after he became king. Still he sent representatives with gifts and messages to Rome and to other distant lands, encouraged foreign traders to bring their wares to England, and engaged Frisians to man his newly built ships and to teach seamanship to his people.

The strong impression which King Alfred has left on later times is as much the result of what he was as of what he did. Everything

under feng. ⁊ mid sibbe ongæn sænde;

AN. dccl.xxxvi.

AN. dccl.xxxvii. Her þam berlit ric cyning offan dohter eadburge ⁊ onhis dagum comon æreft. iii. scypu nord manna of hæreða lande. ⁊ þa rege refa þærtorad. ⁊ hie polde drifan to þæs cyninges tune þehe-nyfte hpæt hie þæron. ⁊ hine man offloh þa; Dæt þæron þa æreftan scipu de nisera manna þe on engel cynnes land ge sohton.

AN. dccl.xxxviii. Her þæs sinod gegaderad on norþ hymbra lande æt pincan heale. on. iiii. non. Septemb. ⁊ aldberht abb ford ferde inhripum.

AN. dccl.xxxix. Her þæs alf pald nord hymbra cyning of slægen fran sigan. on. viiii. k. octob. ⁊ heofon lic leoht þæs lome gesepen þær þær he of slægen þæs. ⁊ he þæs be byrged on haguftaldes ee. innan þære cyrican. ⁊ sinod þæs gegaderod æt aclea. ⁊ osred alchredes sunu feng to rice æfter him se þæs his nefa.

AN. dccxc. Her ian bryht arce biscop ford ferde. ⁊ þa ilcan geare þæs ge coren æþel heard abb to arce biscop. ⁊ osræd nord hymbra cyning þæs bespicen ⁊ of rice adræfed. ⁊ æþel red æþel paldes sunu eft feng to rice.

The Years 786–790 of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

that is known about him shows him as singularly lovable. He had the highest ideals of his duties and opportunities as king, and seems to have carried them out with a combined ability and devotion almost unknown among rulers. Notwithstanding his position, his gifts, and his success, he was exceedingly simple-minded, sincere, and devout. In all the records of him that exist there is not a single statement that puts a blemish upon his great and good character.

52. Closer Union of England. — The work and the personality of Alfred resulted not only in saving and reëstablishing the West Saxon monarchy but in preparing the way for a more complete union of all England than the mere overlordship obtained by Egbert. Sussex and Kent had been absorbed into the West Saxon kingdom during or soon after the time of Egbert. On the expulsion of the old Mercian royal line by the Danes all of that kingdom which did not become part of the Danelaw was treated by Alfred as part of his own dominions and placed under his son-in-law as ealdorman. The common body of laws, drawn from Kentish, Mercian, and West Saxon codes alike, the chronicle of all England, the new literature, the united military operations, and the personal influence and policy of Alfred and his successors bound all these parts more closely together. Although almost one half of England was, at the time of the death of Alfred, still under the rule of Danish kings and jarls, the rest was held firmly by its West Saxon kings and united more closely than ever. Events soon led to the increase of their dominions.

53. Winning Back of the Danelaw. — Notwithstanding the several periods of peace obtained by Alfred during his reign, at the time of his death he was engaged in war not only with new Danish invaders but with the rulers of the Danelaw, who gave them support. This contest continued under Edward[1]

[1] The Anglo-Saxon form of his name is Eadweard. This Edward, the son of Alfred, is known as Edward the Elder. His reign was from 901 to 924. He was buried beside his father at Winchester, in the "New Minster" which Alfred had begun and which he himself finished.

and Æthelstan, the son and grandson of Alfred, and was steadily favorable to the English. The same conflict was carried on by Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd, the "Lady of the Mercians," as she was called, because she and her husband Ethelred had been appointed by the king to rule English Mercia. The English leaders had learned the Danish methods of fighting and were in a position to use them more effectually than the Danes themselves. The result of the wars was to win for the West Saxon kingdom the Danelaw, piece by piece. The Danish kings who ruled over old East Anglia, Essex, and York, the jarls who ruled under them, and those who held the district of the Five Boroughs were, in the course of time, one after another defeated and driven into exile and their dominions added to those of the English king. The difficulty in reuniting them was slight. The Danish population was not disturbed, except those who were killed in battle, and no distinction was made between the two races. Nobles of Danish blood came to the meetings of the great men of the country called by the English kings, and Danes were made priests, bishops, or abbots on the same footing as Englishmen.

The rule of the West Saxon kings was extended during the same period not only over all the lands which had ever been settled and ruled by Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, but over the old native kingdoms to the west and north. From time to time, compelled by invasion or by the threat of it, or induced by good policy, some of the Celtic princes would make more or less complete submission to the English king. In 926 Æthelstan was acknowledged as their superior king by Howel and Owen, kings of the two divisions of Wales, by the king of Cumbria or Strathclyde, and by the king of the Scots, who by this time ruled most of what we now know as Scotland. There was always after this time a real though often neglected claim on the part of the English kings to rule over the whole island of Britain. This was indicated by the form of the titles used by them. Alfred, like his predecessors, had only called himself "King of the West Saxons,"

until late in his reign, when he seems to have adopted the title "King of the Anglo-Saxons," which was used also by his son Edward. Æthelstan in his documents added the title "Ruler of all Britain" to the older title, and some such title was used by all his successors.

54. **Rural Life in England in the Tenth Century.** —The reign of Alfred and the seventy-five years which followed were a period in which almost everything which was characteristic of later Saxon England was rapidly taking shape. By the time of Edgar[1] the "Peaceful," his great-grandson, who reigned from 957 to 975, the race, language, religion, customs, form of government, and divisions of the country were, in their main characteristics, what they were long to remain, and in some respects what they are still. The foundations of the nation had now been laid. What these foundations were will be described in the remainder of this chapter, which refers to the period about 950 A.D.

Coin of King Edgar, 957-975

The people, generally speaking, lived in villages, in one-roomed cottages, which were built of upright poles, laced in and out like basket work with cross poles, the cracks being filled with a coating of mud or plaster and the whole thatched with straw. The timber-built dwelling of the landowner who was lord over the village, or perhaps sometimes the whole village, was surrounded by a mound and ditch, with a palisade upon it. This inclosed hall or village was called a *tun*. The group of villagers were spoken of as the *tunscip* or township. The name "town" or "township" came later to be applied to the whole village with the lands which stretched around it. All the domestic animals and familiar grains were known and raised, though the cattle were very small and the crops raised were poor. Agriculture was much cruder than in Roman times, and famines were frequent. Swine were valued

[1] The Anglo-Saxon form of his name is Eadgar.

more than any other domestic animals, as they could be fed from the acorns and beechnuts which grew in the forests and woods that were then scattered almost everywhere over England. One nobleman in his will bequeaths two thousand swine, and another leaves a piece of land to the church on condition that two hundred swine are fed upon it for the use of his wife.

Most of the people in the country were in a position of subordination to the thegns, and owed to them payments, services, and support. There were many slaves, some being born bondmen, others captured in war and sold into slavery, and still others reduced to slavery for debt or for crime. Slaves were often freed by will as a pious act.

55. **Town Life.** — Although the great mass of the population were country dwellers, occupying these rural villages or hamlets, towns were beginning to spring up again not only in the Danish districts but in other places. By the middle of the tenth century probably some fifty or sixty places had come to have a much larger population than the ordinary villages. Such a borough or city had a market and some trade, a wall, several churches, and local laws or customs acknowledged by the king. It was under the special peace of the king, and a royal officer represented him in it. Yet town life grew up but slowly. Much of the work of the townsmen was still expended upon the land and pasture fields outside of the walls, and they had very generally to perform services and make payments to the king or to some other lord, like villagers. More varied forms of industry, however, were growing up as a basis for town life. In some places fishing furnished not only food for the fishermen but, in the form of smoked or salt fish, provided something to sell to traders, and led to trade with other parts of England and with foreign countries. This was the origin of a number of towns on the coast. Other places were favorably situated for trade because they were on harbors or rivers, or were centers of attraction because they were the location of monasteries with sacred relics to which

pilgrimages were made. Such places came more and more to be occupied by men who made most or all of their living by buying and selling, or by handicrafts, such as blacksmith's work, carpenter's work, weaving, shoemaking and other work in leather, and even finer work, such as the making of jewelry and musical instruments. Thus towns grew up in which life was quite different from that in the country villages. London became again, as it had been in Roman times, and as it was always afterwards to remain, the principal city in England, quite displacing Winchester, the old West Saxon capital, from its position of relative importance. In several of the towns "moneyers" were established, who received silver from the king and coined it into silver pennies, which remained the usual form of money for many centuries. On most of the coins of this period the name or initial of the "moneyer" appears, as well as that of the king.

Instead, therefore, of the barbaric life of the early destroyers of the civilization of Roman Britain, who had supported themselves and occupied themselves by plundering, hunting, and a little agriculture, there had come now into existence much more varied forms of livelihood and a much more civilized type of life, though it was still poor, rough, and coarse compared with modern life. Hunting and hawking and outdoor trials of skill served as the more active amusements of the upper classes, while the tricks of jugglers, quiet games, such as draughts or checkers, and songs of gleemen or minstrels, gave indoor interest when the chase was impossible.

56. Poetry in the Tenth Century. — Religious poetry like that of Cædmon was still written, Bible stories serving as its subjects. But there were also many war songs and ballads on subjects of personal interest. The English as a nation were very fond of ballads and songs, and their gleemen made and sang them on all occasions. Most of these of course have disappeared, but some have been preserved by being inserted in the *Chronicle*. One of the best is a ballad on the battle of Brunanburh, fought in 937

between King Æthelstan and a combined army of Danes, Scots, Picts, and Welsh. It begins:

Æthelstan king,
Of earls the lord,
Ring-giver to his men;
His brother with him,
Edmund the ætheling,
Gained life-long glory
By slaying in fight,
With the edge of the sword,
At Brunanburh.

The whole poem has life, spirit, and warlike ring. Another of gentler character describes the death of Edgar in 975:

Here brought to an end
His joys on earth
Edgar king of the English;
Chose for himself another light,
Pleasant and beautiful,
Left this frail
This transitory life.

Another battle-poem referring to a fight with the Danes at Maldon in 991, and describing the death of Earl Byrhtnoth, exists only in fragmentary form, its beginning and end both being lost, but it gives a fine glimpse of the life and ideas of the time. When the sea rovers demand tribute the old ealdorman answers their messenger as follows:

Hear, thou Viking, what this folk say.
Spear-points they will give for tribute,
Swords of old time, venomed edges,
Battle-gear that brings no profit!
Viking herald, take the message!
Here stand I, an earl, and guarding
With my host our fatherland.

57. **Prose Writing.** — There was not so much writing in prose as in poetry. Still, Alfred's work set a good example. Certain parts of the *Chronicle* were written with fullness and skill, and in

the monasteries religious works and some others on medical and scientific subjects were written in either Latin or Anglo-Saxon. The most famous of the monastic writers who used the native language was Ælfric, who lived just at the close of the tenth century, a hundred years after Alfred and three hundred after Bede and Cædmon. He was a monk living most of his life either at Winchester or at Eynsham near Oxford, where he became abbot of the monastery. He wrote voluminously both in Latin and in Anglo-Saxon, and translated many things from Latin into the latter language; among them a Latin grammar, a reading book for boys, a number of homilies or short sermons for unlearned priests, and various theological works. His influence led to more writing in Anglo-Saxon by a number of less important writers. Most of the Bible was translated about this time into Anglo-Saxon, some of its books being translated word for word, others in a short paraphrase or abridgment.

58. **The Old English Language.** — Anglo-Saxon or Old English was thus established as a settled literary language, of which grammars and glossaries were prepared for the use of students at the time, and in which there was a considerable body of familiar literature. Its similarity to modern English is easily recognizable, though it cannot be read without special study of its forms, constructions, and many of its words. As an example, a few words from the *Chronicle* under the year 1005 may be taken; a statement that might unhappily have been made for many years.

Her	on	thyssun	geare	waes	se	mycla	hungor	geond
Here	in	this	year	was	so	great	famine	throughout
Angel	cynn	swilce	nan	man	aer	ne	gemunde
English	people	such as	no	man	before	ever	remembered
swa	grimme.						
so	severe.						

A special form of letters was generally though not always used.

59. **Learning and the Church.** — There were many studious and even learned men in the monasteries, except at times of the

greatest confusion and disaster; and after the middle of the tenth century this class increased. Some nobles also could at least read and write, and these encouraged by their patronage the production of books by the learned clergy.

This increase of learning and literature was largely due to the reëstablishment of the monasteries after the ravages of the heathen Danes. Now, as in the early Saxon times, the Christian church represented the more intellectual elements of civilization, and the prosperity of the church brought about the elevation of education. As the Danelaw was won back by the West Saxon kings, and as the Danish settlers accepted Christianity, the bishoprics were restored, though with somewhat different boundaries, and most of the destroyed monasteries were refounded and newly endowed with lands. It was in these monasteries alone that the literature, learning, and art of the time existed, and in these that the chronicles of the times were preserved and continued. The influence of several famous and powerful bishops and abbots in the tenth century was second only to that of the kings and great ealdormen.

60. **Dunstan.**—The most conspicuous churchman of this period was Dunstan, the son of a West Saxon thegn, who was educated at the monastery of Glastonbury, to which learned monks from Ireland often came, and at the king's court at Winchester. He lived to become successively an abbot, a bishop, and archbishop of Canterbury. During the reigns of Edgar and his immediate successors, from about 957 to 988, Dunstan was the principal adviser of the king and in many ways the real ruler of the kingdom. From his time forward the archbishop of Canterbury came to have an almost invariably recognized right and duty to be the principal adviser of the king. Dunstan was a witty, eloquent man, a good musician, mechanic and artist, and the shrewdest statesman of the time. He made Glastonbury, of which while still a very young man he became abbot, a prosperous and orderly monastery, with a famous school library. From Glastonbury as a

Some of the Principal Early Monastic Houses

center many monks went out to build again the old monasteries and to organize new ones. Dunstan was untiring in his efforts to obtain grants of land and privileges from the king for these

monasteries and bishoprics, and at the same time to see that the religious bodies kept themselves in order. At least eighteen abbeys were established directly or indirectly by his influence. The whole monastic revival which was such a marked feature of the tenth century owed much to Dunstan. After his death Dunstan became a popular hero and saint, legendary accounts of his life were written, and for centuries afterwards numberless tales about him were told among the people.

61. Political Organization. — The form of government also had by this time become definitely established. The king was elected to the throne by the nobles and great churchmen of the country. Although the form of election was always gone through with, it was not customary to go outside of the royal family in choosing the king, and the choice fell as a matter of course on the oldest grown-up son of the late king, if there was one. When elected the king was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury with religious ceremonies, and took an oath to rule with justice, diligence, and piety. Many of the forms regularly used now in the coronation service have come down almost unchanged from the time of Edgar or even before.

62. The Witenagemot. — The great ealdormen, royal officers, bishops, and abbots met from time to time to give advice to the king and to discuss with him important matters of a public character. These great men of the country were known as the *witan*, and their meeting was spoken of as a *witenagemot*.[1] Occasionally the witan acted in opposition to the king or forced him to follow their judgment, though strong kings succeeded in acting with almost complete independence. For the most part, however, the king summoned the witenagemot and with its agreement appointed the great officials of church and state, promulgated changes in the law, made grants of land, arranged for military expeditions and national payments, and in general carried on the work of

[1] The word *gemot* (in which the *g* is hard), *mote*, *mōt* or *moot*, was used for any kind of a formal meeting.

ENGLAND
divided into Shires.
0 50 100
Scale of Miles.
Longitude West from Greenwich
Firth of Forth
Clyde
SCOTLAND
Tweed
Firth of Clyde
North Channel
Solway Firth
Cheviot Hills
NORTH-UMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
Cumbrian Mts.
WEST MORELAND
Tyne R.
Tees R.
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
Isle of Man
IRISH SEA
YORK
Ouse R.
LANCASHIRE
Mersey R.
Humber R.
Isle of Anglesey
CHESTER
DERBY
LINCOLN
NOTTINGHAM
Trent R.
The Wash
STAFFORD
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
NORFOLK
CAMBRIAN MTS.
WALES
ENGLAND
WARWICK
NORTHAMPTON
HUNTINGDON
SUFFOLK
CAMBRIDGE
HEREFORD
GLOUCESTER
OXFORD
BUCKINGHAM
HERTFORD
ESSEX
St. George's Channel
Severn R.
WILTSHIRE
PERKSHIRE
Thames
Bristol Channel
SOMERSET
North Downs
SURREY
KENT
HAMPSHIRE
SUSSEX
South Downs
Strait of Dover
DEVON
DORSET
Isle of Wight
CORNWALL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
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government, with the witan as advisers. There were instances where the king was deposed by the witan, and it was of course they who elected him.

63. **Shires.**—All England south of the Humber was by this time divided into shires. In the southeastern part of the country these corresponded to the early independent kingdoms, the shires of Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex being the same as the kingdoms of the Kentishmen and of the East, South, and Middle Saxons. Norfolk and Suffolk were the north and south "folk" or branches of the East Angles. Farther westward the shires corresponded to the successive settlements or conquests of the West Saxons, while in the center of the country the shires seem to have been organized around the fortresses by the West Saxon kings when they reconquered the country from the Danes, on the model of the same divisions of their own older dominions.

Each shire was governed by an ealdorman appointed by the king and the witan. Sometimes one ealdorman would hold control over several shires. He was usually a great noble having extensive lands in the part of the country which he governed, and in some cases was no doubt descended from the earlier royal family of that region. In some other cases he was a relative of the West Saxon king. He was a sort of viceroy or governor, upon whom devolved the calling out of the fyrd or fighting force of the shire and many other powers of local government. The greater part of the resistance to raids of the Danes was made by the ealdormen of the shires upon which the attacks fell. In later times the word *earl* was used instead of ealdorman.

There was also in each shire a *shire reeve*,[1] an official directly appointed by the king and dependent on him. He collected the king's income in the shire, enforced the law, and saw that other affairs of ordinary government there were attended to. The landowners and other chief men of the shire gathered from time to time, ordinarily twice a year, in a *shire mote* or shire court.

[1] From which our word *sheriff* is derived.

At this meeting messages from the king were announced, lawsuits between important men settled, and other business attended to. The ealdorman, the sheriff, and the bishop were required to be present to explain and to carry out the law.

64. **Hundreds.** — The shires were divided into smaller divisions which in the southern part of the country were known as *hundreds*, in the northern as *wapentakes*. In these also there was a periodical gathering of the more important men. They should meet according to law as often as once a month. This hundred court was the place where most of the judicial work of the people was done in early times. One of King Edgar's laws says, "In the hundred, as in every other gemot, we ordain that folk-right be pronounced in every suit." This included the punishment of crimes, the decision of disputes about right to land, and similar questions. The king kept an oversight over the shire and hundred courts, used his power to require them to do justice, and occasionally himself gave decisions on cases that were appealed to him. Nevertheless the people themselves in these local gatherings were the judges in their own lawsuits, and no other courts than those of the shires and hundreds existed.

65. **Justice.** — When a person was charged with a crime in a hundred or shire *mote* there were two customary ways of testing his guilt or innocence, the oath and the ordeal. These were both forms of appeal to God to show which party was telling the truth. The oath, or wager of law, was a requirement to furnish at the next court a certain number of persons known as compurgators, who would each take a solemn oath that the oath taken by the party for whom they were swearing was a valid and credible oath. The number of oath takers and the decision whether it should be the accuser or the accused who should take the oath and furnish the compurgators were decided by the court.[1] The

[1] This was also called *compurgation*. The order of the court was usually expressed: "He shall appear six handed," or whatever the number might be, meaning that he shall bring that number of compurgators with him.

oaths of men of high rank were considered of more value than those of men lower in station. The oath of a thegn, for instance, equaled the oaths of six common men.

Instead of an oath an ordeal might be demanded. The most common forms of ordeals were by hot iron and by water. A piece of iron was made red hot in a fire built in the church, blessed by the priest, and then carried by the accused, who had already performed solemn religious ceremonies, a certain number of paces before dropping it. His hand was next bound up and left covered for three days. The coverings were then removed. If his hand showed proofs of divine interposition to protect it from being burned or to heal it, he was considered innocent. If, however, it was blistered and sore, his guilt was supposed to be proved, and he failed in his case accordingly.

In the ordeal of water, appropriate prayers were said at a pond or stream, after which the culprit, tied with a rope, was thrown into the water. If he was received by the water and sank, his innocence was proved; if, on the other hand, the water rejected him and he floated on its surface, guilt was indicated. In either case he was promptly drawn out and then freed or subjected to the customary punishment for the offense, as the case might be.

Still other forms of ordeal were occasionally used. The fear of undergoing the ordeal must have often led men to confess or take to flight before the time came. The knowledge that it would act in this way was probably quite as much of a justification for it as the belief of the people in its reality as a test. Nevertheless nothing better in the way of judicial trial had yet been invented among these primitive people, and it was at least better than to leave men to fight out their disputes, or blood feuds.

The law which was enforced in the hundred mote and shire mote was "folk-right," that is to say, customary law as it was known to the people of each locality or as it had been put in more formal and general terms in the "dooms" or bodies of laws issued by successive kings. The most marked characteristic of

the laws of the time was that almost all crimes and misdemeanors were punished by requiring a money payment from the culprit. Large parts of the written laws consisted of statements of the amounts to be paid by offenders for offenses of different degrees against various persons. For instance, one section of the laws of Alfred provides, "If a man's thigh be pierced through let thirty shillings be paid him as a compensation; if it be broken the compensation is likewise thirty shillings. If the leg be pierced below the knee there shall be twelve shillings as compensation; if it be broken below the knee let thirty shillings be paid him as compensation; if the great toe be struck off let twenty shillings be paid him as compensation; if it be the second toe let fifteen shillings be paid as compensation; if the middlemost toe be struck off there shall be nine shillings," etc.

A regular sum was even payable from a murderer or his family to the family of the murdered man. This was called the *wer* or *wergeld*. It differed in amount according to the rank of the man killed, just as the value of an oath depended on a man's rank in society. For instance, one of the codes declares, "A ceorl's wergeld is by Mercian law two hundred shillings; a thegn's wergeld is six times as much, that is, twelve hundred shillings," etc. The custom of money payment for crimes no doubt originated from the fact that early law was a substitute for private warfare, so that a man or his family was forced to accept a money equivalent from an offender instead of attacking him violently. The fine was not all to compensate the person injured or his family and friends, for part of it went to the king in recognition of his position as general keeper of the public peace which the culprit had violated.

66. Classes and Ranks. — The earliest division of classes among the Anglo-Saxons had been that of *eorl* and *ceorl*, those of noble and those of common blood. This distinction, however, gradually passed away. At the same time other distinctions had arisen, mainly those of official rank rather than of blood.

Etheling is a term frequently used, meaning a member of the royal family, a prince. *Childe* seems to have meant much the same thing. The *ealdorman* or *earl* has already been spoken of as the ruler of a shire or group of shires. A *thegn* was the sworn follower or dependent of the king or of an earl or any other great person. He frequently received a gift of land from his patron, and was considered to owe him special loyalty and service on that account. Gradually thegn came to mean merely an important landholder, a member of the gentry, though he might still be bound by personal bonds of devotion to the king or to some earl or bishop. Below these were the ordinary population, in various grades of freedom and independence according to the terms on which they held their lands or the extent of their personal subordination to the thegns above them. Still below these were the slaves.

67. Summary of the Late Anglo-Saxon Period. — Scarcely had the West Saxons in 830 definitely obtained the superiority over the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms when the storm of the Danish invasions broke upon England and raged more or less constantly for more than two centuries. Nevertheless during the reign of Alfred, from 871 to 900, the tide of conquest turned, and the foundations of a reorganized government and civilization were laid. During the three quarters of a century that followed Alfred's death the parts of England that had been governed by Danish rulers were won back, the church reëstablished, the form of government tolerably well settled, and a literature, the earliest in modern Europe in the language of the people, formed. The customs that became established at this time, notwithstanding many later changes and influences, became some of the fundamental permanent institutions of the English race.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. i, sects. 5 and 6, gives a vivid account of this period. It is the subject of the same author's *Conquest of England*, chaps. i–vii. More accurate detail is given in RAMSAY,

Foundations of England, Vol. I, chaps. xiv–xix. KEARY, *Vikings in Western Christendom*, chap. xii, describes the Danes in England. BOWKER, *Alfred the Great*, contains several chapters by different scholars. PAULI, *Life of Alfred*, is a well-known biography: one of still higher grade is PLUMMER, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*. An excellent little biography for younger readers is TAPPAN, Miss E. M., *In the Days of Alfred the Great*. The Anglo-Saxon language is well described in LOUNSBURY, *History of the English Language*, chaps. ii and iii; the literature in EARLE, *Anglo-Saxon Literature*.

Contemporary Sources. — The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is much fuller on this period than on that of the previous chapter. Especially interesting entries are those for the years 827, 833, 851, 871, 878, 894, 937, and 978. A volume of Bohn's Library called *Six Old English Chronicles* contains a translation of ASSER, *Life of Alfred*, from which most of our detailed knowledge of him is drawn. Numerous extracts from the Anglo-Saxon laws are given in LEE, 24–39, and from Asser in COLBY, 8, and in KENDALL, 6–9. The literature is well represented in COOK and TINKER, *Translations from Old English Poetry*. Other documents are to be found in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 38–47.

Special Topics. — (1) Effect of the Danish Invasion in England, TRAILL, Vol. I, pp. 140–147; (2) the Anglo-Saxon Codes, *ibid.*, 164–173; (3) Saxon and Danish Methods of Fighting, *ibid.*, 176–184; (4) Townships, Hundreds, and Shires, MONTAGUE, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 8–11; (5) King and Witenagemot, *ibid.*, pp. 11–14; (6) Dunstan, GREEN, *Conquest of England*, pp. 269–287; (7) Ordeals, *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 12–14; (8) Ravages of the Danes, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the years 855–897.

CHAPTER VI

THE DANISH AND THE NORMAN CONQUESTS. 975-1071

68. Renewed Invasions by the Danes. — During the tenth century, while the West Saxon kings had been winning back the Danelaw and beating off the scattered bands of Danes and Norsemen who still occasionally swept down on the coasts from their headquarters in Ireland, in the islands off Scotland, and on the continent, three strong kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, had grown up in the Scandinavian peninsulas. About 980 a new series of attacks were made thence upon England. These new invaders were not mere separate bands under private chieftains; they came under the leadership, or at least under the authority, of the king of one or other of the three Scandinavian kingdoms. Their expeditions were therefore more persistent, more extensive, and more systematic than the old pillaging raids.

Ethelred II, the "Unready," or the "Ill-counseled," as he is called, the son of Edgar, had a long reign, from 978 to 1014, but showed himself incapable and irresolute and but poorly fitted to cope with so great a national invasion. Besides the inactivity of the king there were two special causes for the weakness of the country in its resistance to a well-led attack from abroad. One of these was the poor organization of the central government. Too little power was in the hands of the king, and too much in the hands of the earls and shire courts. A change had been coming about for some time by which each ealdorman or earl had a whole group of shires under his control. Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia, and the other old divisions of the country seemed likely to be reconstructed in the form of a few great earldoms. These were

held subject to the king but by noblemen too powerful to give much obedience to him. Therefore united plans and action against the invaders were scarcely ever obtained. The second difficulty was that the mass of the people were becoming less free and less suited to warfare. Laws were being passed and changes were taking place which kept them more closely occupied in farming, and placed them more under the control of the thegns than they had been in earlier and more barbarous times. The fyrd was thus inferior to what it had been. Under these circumstances the king and the earls with their English forces seem to have been quite incapable of offering a successful resistance to the new armies of the Danes. Time and again the English were defeated by the invaders.

69. **Danegeld.** — England was, however, as a result of the long period of peace and more advanced industrial life, wealthier than it had been. In default of sufficient military strength the king and witan made use of this greater wealth. They entered into a treaty with the Danes, agreeing to pay them a sum of money as the price of peace and freedom from further plundering. The first such treaty was entered into in the year 991, £10,000 in silver being paid to the fleet and army which had been sent by Olaf, king of Norway. In order to make this payment it was necessary to collect a tax from the people. This money was called the Danegeld or Dane tax. It was the first tax collected from the whole English nation. It proved, however, to be only a temporary settlement. New invasions took place, and besides sums which were paid to Danish invaders as tribute by separate districts, towns, and monasteries, new payments from the whole nation had to be made repeatedly by the king and witan. The resistance of the country became less and less strong, till finally, when Swegen, king of Denmark, led an army in person through the country, Ethelred fled from England with his family, and in 1017 Cnut[1] the Dane, son of Swegen, became king of all England.

[1] His name is also spelled Canute.

DOMINIONS OF CNUT,
about 1035.
Longitude East 5 from Greenwich 10
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Irish Sea
English Channel
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
WALES
IRELAND
DENMARK
NORWAY
Berwick
Hamborough
Cheviot Hills
Durham
Whitby
Scarborough
York
Lincoln
Chester
Derby
Nottingham
Shrewsbury
Leicester
Stamford
Thetford
Norwich
Warwick
Burrh
St. Edmunds
Gloucester
Colchester
London
Winchester
Dover
Sandwich
Taunton
Hastings
Exeter
Roskild
Lund
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70. Reign of Cnut. — Once having become the accepted king in place of the ruler of the old West Saxon line, Cnut sent many of his fighting men back to Denmark and carried on the government of England without making any distinction between his Danish and English subjects. He was declared elected to the crown by the witan of all England, was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, and like the kings of English race issued a new body of laws. He retained the Danegeld, however, as a form of permanent national taxation, using its proceeds to pay a body of *housecarls*, a small standing army or bodyguard, made up no doubt mainly of soldiers of his own race. His power and popularity in England became so great that he felt at liberty to go at two different times to his kingdom of Denmark, and he also visited Rome to keep a vow he had made years before.

Cnut kept profound peace in England, secured the acknowledgment of his overlordship by the Welsh princes and the king of Scotland, appointed capable earls, shire reeves, bishops, abbots, and other officials, enriched cathedrals and abbeys with grants of land and valuable rights, and in other ways showed himself a good ruler. He divided England more clearly, however, into five great earldoms, which would be likely to weaken it under a king less strong than himself. His two sons, Harold and Harthacnut, who reigned successively after him, left a short and bad record. On the death of the second of them in 1042, as there was no capable man of the Danish line to claim the throne, the witan chose as king, Edward, son of the exiled king Ethelred, who represented the old West Saxon line.

71. Foreign Connections of England. — Notwithstanding the fact that Edward was a direct descendant of Alfred, of Egbert, and of Cerdic, he was almost as much of a foreigner as Cnut. Marriages between members of the English royal family and of those of the continental countries had been frequent. Alfred's stepmother was a Frankish princess. Many of his descendants married into the royal or noble families of Europe. Exiled English

princes also had found a refuge on the continent since Egbert had lived at the court of Charles the Great. These foreign marriages and protection given to exiles, along with increasing trade and the influence of the church, did much to keep England in connection with the other parts of Europe. A certain royal marriage which had taken place shortly before the Danish conquest was of more than usual importance because it drew England into closer relations with the one continental land which was destined to exercise an especially strong and permanent influence upon its history. This land was Normandy.

72. The Origin of Normandy. — At the time the Vikings were carrying their expeditions most widely through Europe a body of Northmen under a chieftain named Rolf or Rollo, after making raids in several parts of France, obtained permission from the king of the West Franks to settle down in the district about the mouth of the Seine River. This was in A.D. 912, and from that time forward this northern district of France was occupied largely by Northmen. They intermarried with the earlier inhabitants, and gradually adopted their Christian religion, their French language, and their more civilized customs. Like the population of the Danelaw in England, they soon became almost indistinguishable from those among whom they lived and from the people of other sections of France.[1] The name Northmen was still kept, however, under the form Normans, and their country was known as Normandy. The successors of Rollo ruled as dukes of the Normans, nominally dependent on the king of France but in reality almost independent. Their capital was at Rouen. By later grants and in conflicts with the neighboring nobles they carried the boundaries of the lands dependent on them on the west

[1] The Scandinavian races have in many times and countries shown a special capacity for adapting themselves to the customs of the people among whom they have settled. In Ireland, Scotland, Germany, and Russia they have become a part of the native races of those countries, and in the United States they are now rapidly mingling with our population.

as far as Brittany, on the east as far as Flanders, and on the south as far as Anjou and the direct dominions of the French king.

73. Normandy and England. — The Norman dukes frequently gave support and protection to the fleets of their fellow countrymen, the Danish invaders of England. For the purpose of forming a closer connection with Normandy and preventing this, the English king Ethelred in 1002 married Emma, daughter of Richard, duke of the Normans. Afterwards when Ethelred was driven from his throne by the Danes, with his wife and children he took refuge at Rouen, where his sons were brought up. In this way a connection was created which eventually brought England, the larger, more populous, and wealthier, yet more backward and disorganized, country, much under the influence of Normandy.

74. The Reign of Edward the Confessor. — When the Danish line ran out, and Edward, son of Ethelred, was recalled to the English throne, he had spent twenty-five out of his thirty years of life in Normandy, and was a Norman rather than an Englishman in language, knowledge, tastes, and feelings. He was also accompanied to England by Norman relatives, nobles, and churchmen, and other adventurers came later from Normandy to England.

Edward was a timid and even an effeminate man, whose harmlessness and religious habits later caused him to be known as the "Confessor," or the "Saint." He had none of the statesmanship of Cnut, which would have enabled him to make himself a thorough English ruler notwithstanding his foreign habits; nor the vigor which would have enabled him to beat down all opposition. His long reign of twenty-four years, therefore, was a period in which the king was alternately under the influence of the native English nobles and of his Norman associates.

The process of grouping shires in the hands of great earls had gone on through the reigns of Ethelred and Cnut until all of England was divided into five or six provinces or earldoms, the earls of these being almost independent, although appointed by

the king. The real government of England during most of Edward's reign was in the hands of one of these men, Godwin, earl of Wessex. Godwin had been a West Saxon thegn, appointed earl by King Cnut. He had been Cnut's right-hand man, earl of the largest group of shires in England, governor of the kingdom when the king was absent in Denmark or in Rome, his principal adviser at home, a prudent statesman, a skillful leader in war, and rich in lands scattered through a great part of England. Therefore when Edward came to the throne there was little doubt that the influence of Godwin would be all-powerful.

Except for a short period this was the case. Godwin carried on the rule of his own earldom and obtained the appointment of three of his sons to other earldoms, kept an influential position in most of the witenagemots that were held, and usually controlled the policy of the king. Moreover, when Godwin died, most of his power and influence descended to his son Harold, who continued to hold the most powerful position next to that of the king until the death of Edward in 1066.

On the other hand, Norman influence was by no means unimportant. Edward's closest personal friends and companions were his Norman relations and connections. Two of them possessed small earldoms, two others were bishops. There was also a constant immigration of Norman clergymen of lesser rank, tradesmen and craftsmen, such as builders and masons, and others. England was already being quietly but none the less deeply influenced by Normandy. At this period the Norman towns Rouen, Caen, Bayeux, Coutances, Falaise, and ten or twenty others were growing larger, and their citizens were devoting themselves to trade and manufactures. The Normans were great builders, and churches, castles, and town buildings in Normandy were being built strongly of stone, while in England they were still almost invariably built of wood.

The development of peaceful pursuits was made more possible at this time than it had been in the past by the adoption in

Normandy of what was called the "Truce of God." The Truce of God was a plan or agreement widely urged by the clergy in the early part of the eleventh century, and later introduced officially into some countries and provinces for the purpose of diminishing the constant violence and warfare. In its earliest form it was a proposal to refrain from the use of arms altogether, but as modified later and as introduced as a law into Normandy by the duke and his council in 1042 it only provided that there should be no private warfare or other fighting or disorder from sunset of each Wednesday till sunrise of the next Monday. Therefore while Ethelred and Cnut and Edward the Confessor were ruling in England, Normandy was becoming a wealthy and populous country, well fitted to exercise influence over England should they be brought into closer contact.

75. **Duke William and Earl Harold.** — The dukes of Normandy found it a difficult task to keep their turbulent barons in order, and time and again revolts of these barons had to be put down by hard fighting. When Robert, the fifth duke from Rolf, died in 1035 he left in the charge of guardians an only son named William, a mere child of seven years and of illegitimate birth, his mother being the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. There seemed small probability therefore that he would be able to retain his position and grow up to rule the duchy. Several times plots were made by various nobles to seize him from his guardians, and he had to be hidden or carried away secretly to some other place. Nevertheless his guardians were faithful to him, and he proved, while a mere boy, to possess an energy and ability even greater than that of his ancestors. He grew taller than most men of his time, was constantly active in hunting or in fighting, and in the difficulties of his position as he grew up developed shrewdness, tenacity of purpose, and quickness of decision. After he became a man he had three severe contests, — with a group of rebellious Norman barons, with the ruler of a neighboring province, the count of Anjou, and with his lord, the

king of France. From all of these he came out victorious, and strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of the count of Flanders, the next great province to the east of Normandy.

In 1051 William visited his cousin, the king of England. William was at that time a man of thirty-four; his greatness on the continent was already well established, and there is little doubt that he had already formed the plan of having himself chosen to be Edward's successor as king of England. Edward had no children or near relatives. He was Norman in his feelings and attached to Norman associates. William was his second cousin, his mother and William's grandfather being sister and brother. William afterwards claimed that Edward promised to use his influence to obtain the crown for him, and this is very likely true, and the promise may well have been made during this visit. Certainly England was being drawn naturally into a very close connection with Normandy and was already somewhat used to having foreign kings.

During the latter part of Edward's reign, however, nothing was done to strengthen William's claim, nor was it announced in any way. William was making good his position as duke of Normandy and as the greatest of the provincial rulers of France. On the other hand, Earl Godwin, and after his death his son Harold, were becoming more and more completely the rulers of England in the name of the king, and were gathering the earldoms into the hands of members of their family.

It was quite certain that either the great English earl or the great Norman duke would be the next king of England. The advantages of being on the ground and of more nearly representing the national feeling were in favor of Harold. Greater ability and the advantages which the attacking party always has were in favor of William. Chance also gave William an added superiority, for, while cruising in the Channel, Earl Harold was shipwrecked on the coast of Ponthieu near Normandy and became an unwilling guest of the duke. He did not escape from

his courteous but shrewd host till he had taken an oath that he would aid William to obtain the English crown.

The test came when Edward the Confessor died in January, 1066. Whatever may have been his earlier promises to William, on his deathbed he acknowledged Harold as the natural claimant to the throne. The very next day the witan, who were gathered at London, elected Harold king, and he was crowned in Westminster Abbey.

Earl Harold and King Edward (from the Bayeux Tapestry[1])

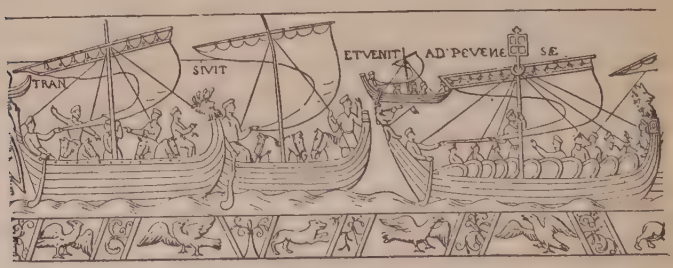
76. Invasion by William. — On the other hand, at the news of Harold's election, Duke William immediately gave way to a wild fit of anger, asserted his claim to be elected king of England, denounced Harold as a usurper, and began preparations for an invasion of the country. He first consulted his principal nobles and then held a general assembly of all the barons of Normandy, appealing to them for advice and assistance in his great adventure. He then sent ambassadors to the king of France, to the neighboring dukes and counts, and to the pope. To the pope he represented Harold as an oath breaker and the English people as but lukewarm in their obedience to the head of the church. He thus obtained from Pope Alexander a consecrated banner and his blessing on the work of making the English church and people more obedient. William appealed to the duty and the affections of his own Norman subjects, and promised to them

[1] The Bayeux Tapestry is a band of coarse linen, about 230 feet long and 20 inches wide, on which scenes from the Norman Conquest are worked in worsted thread. It is now preserved in the cathedral at Bayeux in Normandy. It is supposed to have been completed soon after the Conquest.

and all others who should follow him rich rewards from the conquered country. Earldoms should be given to nobles, bishoprics and abbacies to the churchmen, and the blessings of the church to all. The lands of Harold and of all others who resisted William would be at his disposal with which to enrich those that helped him.

As a result, within a few months many leaders with goodly groups of followers gathered from all parts of Normandy and the adjacent provinces to the rendezvous which William had appointed. Transport boats were built and contributed by the great nobles, and in September of the same year, 1066, William crossed the Channel, and was ready to fight with Harold to make good his claim to the crown.

There proved to be no one to resist his landing. King Harold with his army was far in the north. He had obtained information of William's preparations and had kept an army on the southern coast all summer, watching for William's landing; but it was



Norman Vessels crossing the Channel (from the Bayeux Tapestry)

almost impossible to keep together over harvest time an army made up largely of peasant farmers, and when William's invasion was delayed Harold at last gave up the effort and most of his troops were scattered to their homes. Scarcely was this done when a new rival, a third claimant for the crown, Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, who represented the claims of the line of Cnut,

appeared far up in Yorkshire. Harold hastened to the north with his housecarls and personal followers, to meet him. He fought with the Norsemen and their allies the victorious battle of Stamford Bridge, but had no time for rest, for it was while he was on this campaign that the news came that William had landed.

77. **The Battle of Hastings or Senlac.** — The Norman army landed at Pevensey, marched eastward to Hastings, and was

Part of the Battle of Hastings (from the Bayeux Tapestry)

ravaging that region when Harold returned hastily to London, where he had summoned the great earls of the north and the midlands to meet him with their forces. Edwin and Morkere, however, two brothers who held the earldoms of Mercia and Northumbria, held back and failed to join the king. Harold gathered an army as best he could from the surrounding country to increase the body of his housecarls and personal followers, and marched southward, while William awaited him in his camp at Hastings. As the distance between the two armies became less, Harold took up a position on the hill of Senlac,[1] seven miles north of Hastings, thus blocking the advance of the invaders and compelling the attack to be made by them.

[1] The battle has been called both Hastings and Senlac. The former is preferable on account of its greater familiarity, although the battlefield is really some seven or eight miles from the town of Hastings. Senlac is the name given to the hill by one of the contemporary writers.

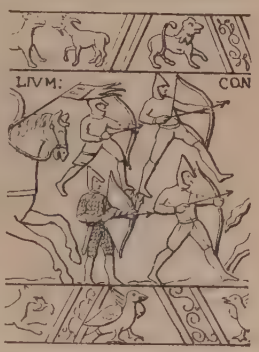
William accepted the challenge, marched northward, and here the critical battle was fought. It was a long and hard contest, lasting from nine in the morning till after six in the evening. The English held their position the greater part of the day against the continuous attacks of the Normans, and even won temporary successes; but their resistance to the ever-changing attacks of the Normans grew weaker, till in the late afternoon the center of their line was at last overwhelmed by a sudden concentrated onset. Harold and his two brothers were killed as they fought under the combined standards of their family and of the West Saxon royal house; their thegns, housecarls, and the men who had come at the summons to the fyrd were killed or driven into hopeless flight.

The southeast of England now lay open to William, but there was no certainty yet that he would be acknowledged by the English as king. The division of England into great, almost independent earldoms had left Harold complete royal power only in the south and east; the earls of Mercia and Northumbria had neither given him assistance at the battle nor had their dominions yet been invaded by William. The greater part of England was still unconquered, and in fact Edgar, "the Ætheling," a youthful but ambitious descendant of the old West Saxon line, was chosen king on the death of Harold by the witan gathered at London.

78. **The Conquest of England.** — William acted with the greatest skill and vigor. He sent detachments of troops through the southeastern shires, ravaging in some places, receiving submission in others. Then he marched with his main body of troops from Senlac back to Hastings, then to Dover, and thence by the old Roman road through Canterbury to Southwark, which is just across the river from London. Finding that the people of London and the north still showed no sign of inviting him to become king, he set Southwark on fire as a warning, marched westward, then northward, crossed the Thames at Wallingford, and then passed

some distance eastward to Berkhampstead, so as to put himself between the still unconquered parts of England and the great city which had practically become the capital of England.

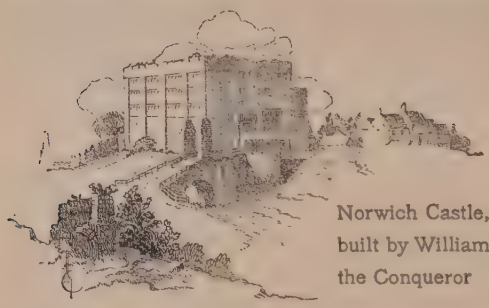
At this the witan gave way. A number of the great nobles, churchmen, and citizens, including Edgar Ætheling himself, who had not yet been crowned and quietly ignored his own recent election, came out of London, offered William the crown, and invited him to come to the city for his coronation. Then, or shortly afterwards, the two great northern earls made their submission. On Christmas Day, 1066, William was elected and crowned in Westminster Abbey. The old ceremonies were used, and he took the same oaths as the English kings before him had taken.



Norman Archers (from the Bayeux Tapestry)

William was now, in form at least, king of England, and immediately began the exercise of the powers and duties of his position. Nevertheless the conquest of England was far from complete. This conquest was the work of the next four years. In 1067, while William was on a visit to Normandy, two revolts occurred in England and were put down by those to whom he had left the government of the country. In the spring of 1068 William returned and took an army into the southwest to punish the resistance of Exeter and other towns and districts in that part of the country, which had preserved a sullen half-independence. Later in the same year there were signs of a rising in the center and the north, where Edgar Ætheling and the earls Edwin and Morkere were trying to gain help in throwing off the yoke of the new king from the king of Denmark. William organized an army and led it thither, building castles in Warwick, Nottingham, and York, and filling them with strong garrisons, as he had done the

year before in London and some of the western towns. As he marched northward he received the submission of the earls and of many other influential Englishmen without fighting. On his way back and later he located and ordered the building of castles in a number of other towns. Within the next year or two there were again risings of the English under native leaders in the north and northwest. These were put down by William in person. He brought an army with him and occupied York and other towns, built castles, and harried the surrounding country without mercy. He then crossed the moors to Chester and crushed out with a heavy hand the independence which that city had sought to maintain.



Norwich Castle, built by William the Conqueror

The last resistance was made in the marshy country of the east of England, where a party of English outlaws under a leader named Hereward held out against the government of William till late in the year 1071, when they were defeated and captured. England was at last completely conquered. Through every part of the country William had ridden with his army. There was scarcely a shire in England in which he had not appeared as conqueror or master. There had been no show of rebellion which had not been overcome and no resistance which had not been punished.

79. Summary of the Period of Conquest. — The conquest of England by Cnut in 1016 was not relatively very important, as it brought little that was Danish or new into England. Cnut ruled England purely as a native king, appointing Englishmen to the most influential positions and drawing his laws from the earlier Anglo-Saxon codes. Except in name and in the method by

Campaigns of William the Conqueror. (The lines indicate his military journeys through the country. The places marked ⊙ indicate the towns where he had castles erected.)

which he obtained the crown he might have been an ordinary successor of the West Saxon line of kings.

On the other hand, the Norman Conquest had an importance which it is almost impossible to overestimate. It opened a new era for England and gave to its history a direction and character far different from that which it would have had except for this conquest. This permanent effect was due to at least three causes. In the first place, the conquest came at a critical period not only in the history of England but of other European countries. The large countries or nations were at this time breaking up into small separate provinces under half-independent earls, counts, dukes, or other great nobles. This tendency had been quite as well marked in England as on the continent. But the victory of William the "Conqueror," as he is called, introduced a strong, centralized, orderly government which reversed this tendency to subdivision as far as England was concerned. The result was that England for the next four or five centuries had a stronger government than any other country of Europe. In the second place, the conquest was made by a race of people who had a genius for government and political organization. The dukes of Normandy, who now became kings of England, and the Norman nobles who held the highest positions in England under them, were a vigorous and gifted if brutal and cruel race of men. They organized a system of taxation, developed the law and law courts, kept records, and introduced other improvements in government far more rapidly than the Anglo-Saxons had shown any signs of doing. In the third place, the conquest was important because it brought England into closer contact with a part of the continent where trade, the development of town life, building, and intercourse with other parts of Europe were going on with the greatest activity. England was detached from the sluggish north of Europe and united with the more active and civilized center and south. The Norman Conquest occurring when and as it did was without doubt the most important single event in the history of England.

General Reading. — The great work on this period is FREEMAN, E. A., *The Norman Conquest*, 6 vols., of which the first three refer to the time of this chapter. This work is, however, expensive, long, and difficult to read. The same author has a valuable *Short History of the Norman Conquest.* GREEN, *Conquest of England*, chaps. viii–xi, is midway in length between these two and very satisfactory; while the same author's *Short History*, chap. ii, sects. 1–5, is particularly good. RAMSAY, *Foundations of England*, Vol. I, chaps. xxiii–xxx, and Vol. II, chaps. i–vii, is the most recent study of the period. FREEMAN, *William the Conqueror* (Twelve English Statesmen), chaps. i–viii, deals with the history of William till the conquest of England was complete.

Contemporary Sources. — The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* continues through this period, the entries for the years 991, 994, 999, 1002, 1009–1011, 1014–1017, 1066, and 1067 being of special interest. William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester are almost contemporary chroniclers whose books are translated and published in the Bohn Library. The Bayeux Tapestry is worth close study for costumes and some of the events of the Conquest. Parts of it are reproduced in many places, and the whole of it as an atlas accompanying THIERRY, *History of the Norman Conquest*, which is otherwise a work of but little value. A number of extracts concerning Cnut, and one of special interest describing the battle of Hastings, are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 40–44; others in COLBY, Nos. 10–12; and still others in KENDALL, including Cnut's *Letter from Rome*, No. 12, and a contemporary description of the Normans from William of Malmesbury, No. 14. Selections from the chronicles will be found in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 48–55.

Poetry and Fiction. — THACKERAY, *Ballad of King Canute*, gives the familiar story of his rebuke to his courtiers. TENNYSON, *Harold* (a drama). BULWER-LYTTON, *Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings*, and KINGSLEY, *Hereward*, are two stories of the period of the Conquest which, although including much imaginary detail, are probably correct in their main outlines.

Special Topics. — (1) Danegeld, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, entries for the years 991, 994, 1002, 1007, 1014; (2) the Origin of Normandy, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ii, sects. 3, 4; (3) the Battle of Hastings, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 299, 300; (4) the Revolt in the Fen-Country, KINGSLEY, *Hereward;* (5) Coronation of William the Conqueror, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 1066; (6) Journeys of Cnut, RAMSAY, Vol. I, chap. xxiv.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND UNDER THE NORMANS. 1066-1154

80. The Norman Aristocracy. — The Norman Conquest consisted not only in driving one king from the English throne and putting another in his place, but in placing the Norman companions and followers of William in all positions of influence in England. This process had begun to a slight extent, as already pointed out, even during the time of Edward the Confessor. Now, step by step, as William completed the military conquest of the country, he left a few Normans established in each locality, endowed with lands and intrusted with many of the duties and powers of government. The rights and powers as landlords possessed by the Saxon king, earls, and thegns who had fought against William either at the battle of Hastings or in the later contests were forfeited to him. These he distributed among his followers. The ordinary peasants living upon the estates, who were the actual occupants of the land, were but seldom disturbed, and continued to pay their rents and services to the new landlords instead of to the old.

The confiscated estates were in some cases retained by the king, in others given, and with no niggard hand, to those who had helped him in his adventure. To his brother Robert of Mortain he gave altogether 793 manors; to his other brother, Odo, 439; to Alan of Brittany, 442; and to others, smaller numbers, down even to single manors. These grants to the influential Norman leaders were no doubt made at different times, as the possessions of the Saxons were confiscated. The result was that no great noble's property was all in any one place. He possessed one manor or

group of manors here, another there, in various parts of the country, as the dispossessed Saxons happened to have held them; though frequently, of course, with a preponderance of his possessions in some one shire.[1] In this way Norman landed families were established all over England, some almost rivaling the king himself in their power and income, though others were of course of much less power and wealth, down to the mere holder of a single manor. There were even Norman knights or esquires little above common soldiers or farmers who were settled down on a little holding of land granted to them by some larger landholder or by the king.

81. **Military Services.** — These estates were granted to their new lords not in full ownership but on condition of performing military service and certain other duties to the king. Each landholder was required to provide a certain number of soldiers, roughly proportioned to the extent of the estate. This performance of military service in return for a grant of land furnished the basis for what is known as "feudalism" or "feudal tenure." As a custom it was already quite common in England. In Normandy it was still more widespread and well understood. The sudden confiscation and regrant of such a large part of the land of England within a few years gave to the Normans an opportunity for introducing feudal tenure in even greater completeness than on the continent. The group of customs which made up feudalism will be discussed more fully later in this chapter, when the time is reached at which it attained its full development.

The greatest of William's followers, several of whom were related by blood or marriage to the king, were given the old

[1] This scattering of the landed possessions of each lord is often thought to have been deliberately arranged by William so that a noble should not obtain too much strength by having all his tenants together. There is no contemporary testimony to show what his intention was, but the scattering is much more likely to have been merely the natural result of the confiscations and regrants than of such an ingenious policy on William's part.

English title of earl, corresponding to the title of count in the continental countries. He gave the title very sparingly, however, bestowing it altogether on but twelve of his barons.[1] Their powers were, moreover, by no means those of viceroys, like the earls of Saxon times. Such powers and privileges as they possessed were restricted to some one shire, and seldom amounted to more than the right to collect certain payments and the power they naturally possessed as lords of many estates and many tenants.

William also appointed Normans to serve as sheriffs of the shires, or counties, as the shires came now to be called, as constables of his new castles, and as officials of still lower rank, endowing these likewise with lands obtained by confiscation. Altogether forty or fifty great barons were given high titles or offices and extensive estates in England. Several hundred more, mostly bearers of names drawn from places in Normandy or other parts of France, were given lesser appointments and grants of land from the king, and many other Normans held lands granted to them by their more powerful fellow countrymen.

Thus, within a very few years after the battle which gave William the throne, Norman earls, sheriffs, barons, and knights had superseded Saxon earls, sheriffs, and thegns in official positions and as landholders, while the upper classes of the Saxons had been killed or driven into banishment, or had fallen into the less distinguished classes of the community.

82. **Bishops and Abbots.**—The same thing happened in the church, except that the change was made more gradually. As the Saxon bishops and abbots died, or in some cases as they were for various causes deposed, Normans were appointed in their places. All influence in the church was then exercised by these Norman prelates. A priest of the cathedral of Bayeux, for instance, was

[1] The most prominent of these were his brothers Odo and Robert, made earls of Kent and Cornwall; William Fitz Osbern, earl of Hereford; Henry de Beaumont, earl of Warwick; Roger of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury; and Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham.

made archbishop of York soon after the Conquest; then an abbot of Caen was made archbishop of Canterbury, and the chaplains of the king who had come with him or afterwards followed him from Normandy were rapidly promoted to bishoprics and abbacies.

The Norman bishops soon transferred the seats of their bishoprics from the small towns or country places where their predecessors had been established to the largest town in each diocese, and there began the erection of the large churches which later

Canterbury Cathedral as it was completed long after the Conquest

grew into the splendid cathedrals which still give to England much of its dignity and beauty. The newly appointed Norman abbots were just as ambitious to extend the number and grandeur of their abbey buildings. The bishoprics and abbeys were in general allowed by William to retain their lands on condition of acknowledging that they held them from him and owed him service for them. He also founded and enriched with extensive lands, in fulfillment of a vow he had made on the battlefield of Hastings, an abbey which was erected on the spot where that battle was fought, and which was always afterwards known as Battle Abbey.

83. The Common People. — As has been said, many Normans of lower rank came to England in the wake of the Conquest, though there is no means of knowing how many. Normandy was a very populous country, and many came to England to improve their fortunes now that their own duke was king there. They came especially to live in the towns and to engage in trade and handicrafts. Thus, notwithstanding the plundering of the towns by William and his soldiers in the early days of the Conquest, and notwithstanding the destruction of houses to make room for the castles, the Norman connection soon led to an increase in the activity, population, and wealth of the towns.

Marriages very soon took place between Normans and English, so that the two races began to blend almost from the beginning. For a long time, however, the upper classes were more largely Normans, the peasantry in the country purely English.

84. The Norman French Language. — Another effect of the Norman Conquest had been to introduce a third language into England. The conquerors had spoken in Normandy a form of French, and this therefore became in England the language of the king and his court, of the nobility, of government officials, and in all probability of the greater number of the traders in the towns. Latin was still used in the services and in most of the business of the church, and in almost all written documents. English was used by the great mass of the people, and in lawsuits in which Englishmen were concerned or old English laws and charters quoted. King William himself is said to have tried to learn English in order that he might understand the testimony given at the lawsuits of his English subjects. No doubt songs were still composed and sung in the language of the people, and there were no signs of English being abandoned by those who were born to its use. Yet the concurrent use of the two languages led to many changes in the old English, and when it came into literary use again, at a later time, the endings of its words had been lost, a vast number of new words introduced, and it was almost a new language.

DOMINIONS OF
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR,
about 1087.
0 50 100 150
Scale of Miles.
2 Longitude West 0 Longitude East 2 from Greenwich 4
Hebrides Is.
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
Isle of Man
Isle of Anglesey
Aberffraw
Chester
Bamborough
Alnwick
Cheviot Hills
Newcastle
Durham
Northallerton
Scarborough
Ripon
Boroughbridge
York
Beverley
R. Humber
PENNINE RANGE
Lincoln
Newark
The Wash
Lichfield
Nottingham
Stamford
Lynn
Norwich
Yarmouth
Montgomery
WALES
ENGLAND
Bridgenorth
Rockingham
Ely
Huntingdon
Worcester
Northampton
Cambridge
Bury St. Edmunds
St. George's Channel
St. Davids
Hereford
Oxford
Berkhampstead
Gloucester
Dorchester
Colchester
Tenby
Cardiff
Bristol
Wallingford
London
R. Thames
Bristol Channel
Devizes
Rochester
Salisbury
Canterbury
Glastonbury
Winchester
Battle Abbey
Dover
Str. of Dover
Sherborne
Porchester
Arundel
Romney
Exeter
Chichester
Lewes
Hastings
Pevensey
Isle of Wight
CHANNEL
ENGLISH
Cherbourg
Barfleur
Fécamp
Harfleur
Mortemer
Rouen
Channel Is.
Blancheland
Bayeux
Varaville
Jumièges
Hauteville
Caen
Bec
Coutances
Val-es-dunes
NORMANDY
Beaumont
Evreux
Falaise
Avranches
Tinchebrai
Domfront
Alençon
Ambrières
Belesme
MAINE
le Mans
6 THE M.-N. WORKS

85. Reign of William I. — William was king of England for twenty-one years, from his coronation in 1066 to his death in 1087. The first few years of his reign were occupied largely with the completion of the Conquest by putting down the risings in different parts of England. He also made an expedition into the south of Scotland, forcing Malcolm, the Scottish king, who had made several raids into Northumbria since the battle of Hastings, to swear allegiance to him. Later William also invaded Wales, and thus obtained the same nominal control over the whole island that his Anglo-Saxon predecessors had claimed. He retained his dukedom of Normandy and visited it repeatedly, settling its internal affairs and carrying on conflicts with the counts of the provinces adjacent to it.

86. William and the Papacy. — A question of some difficulty arose in regard to William's relation to the pope. The encouragement granted by the pope to the original project of invasion of England by William was of so great value in obtaining volunteers for that expedition as to put William under obligations to the head of the church. His religious feelings and habits tended the same way, and he had no wish to keep the English church as far separate from Rome as it had been. On the other hand, a short time after the Conquest a new pope was elected who held such high views of the authority of his office as to bring him into conflict with all the temporal sovereigns of Europe, no matter how pious or devoted to the papacy they might be. This pope was Hildebrand, or Gregory VII, as he was now called.[1] He had been an influential Roman church official for many years before his election, and now determined to introduce much-needed reforms into the church throughout Europe. In order to do so he asserted the supremacy of the pope not only over

[1] When a new pope is elected he chooses any name he wishes. Since there are certain names much used, — as Gregory, Clement, John, Pius, Leo, and Urban, — a numeral has generally to be added to distinguish him from predecessors who have taken the same name.

all clergymen but even over all kings and nobles of the various countries, intending, however, to apply this supremacy only in church matters. As part of this policy, he summoned William to take an oath of submission and faithfulness to him. This William declined to do, on the grounds that he had never made such a promise and that the earlier English kings had not done so. Gregory accepted this refusal at the time and also postponed several of his other proposed measures, so far as England was concerned. William also laid down the rules that no pope should be recognized by Englishmen except by the king's authority, that no papal bull should be published in England until it had been inspected by the king, that no royal officials should be excommunicated except with his sanction, and that no church councils were to be held or canons[1] enacted in England without his consent. These statutes were not so much directed against the authority of the pope as they were against the claims which English churchmen might make to act independently of the king. They do not, however, seem to have created any antagonism with Lanfranc, the king's friend, who as archbishop of Canterbury was exercising a beneficial rule over the church in England.

87. **Preservation of Old Customs.** — When William based his refusal to swear allegiance to the pope on the absence of such a custom among his Anglo-Saxon predecessors he was following his usual policy of laying stress on his position as a legally chosen English king. He maintained that Harold was a usurper, but for Edward the Confessor and the kings who preceded him he expressed the greatest respect. He retained most of the old English customs of government. He called the nobles and churchmen together to great councils, just as the Anglo-Saxon kings had held their witenagemots. Indeed, he held such councils more regularly and formally than they had ever been held before. When he was not abroad he made a practice of summoning the great men of the country to a council three times a year, — at Easter,

[1] A canon is a law of the church adopted at a church council.

Whitsuntide, and Christmas; that is to say, in the spring, early summer, and midwinter. At these times he had his crown placed on his head, and there was much ceremony, feasting, and display. These were also occasions for the discussion of important points of policy, making appointments and grants, and announcing the king's decisions and intentions. These councils were summoned more frequently at Winchester, London, and Gloucester, all in the south, than at any other places, though once at least the king kept his Christmas feast and council at York, in the far north. He kept up the shire and hundred motes, or county and hundred courts, as they were now called. He retained also the Danegeld, which could easily be collected for other purposes than to buy off or drive off the Danes. Like the more enlightened of his predecessors, he also issued, early in his reign, a code of laws based on those of earlier kings, with comparatively few additions or changes.

88. New Customs. — On the other hand, William introduced much that was new. He made the "forest laws," which were severe regulations against hunting game in the king's forests by any others than the king and his nobles. He extended the limits of an old forest region in Hampshire near Winchester by adding to it all the pieces of woodland in the neighborhood and even driving out the population of a number of villages. He then placed the whole district under the control of special forest officers and the forest laws. This tract was known as the "New Forest,"[1] and was the first and largest of a number of such royal hunting preserves afforested by the king's successors. Forests, in this use of the word, were not always regions covered with trees, nor were they necessarily without a population. They were simply districts where the ordinary laws did not apply and where many special laws were in force, directed to the preservation of the game. The cruelty with which William drove the unoffending peasantry from their homes for this purpose in a time of

[1] See map on p. 9.

entire peace, and the harshness of the forest laws which he introduced, left upon his own and later times an impression of his tyranny and hardness which the far more terrible ravaging during the years of the actual Conquest does not seem to have produced. Hunting was a passion with William, and a chronicler who lived at his court said of him: "He made large forests for the deer and enacted laws that whoever killed a hare or a hind therein should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer so also the boars. He loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free."

Trial by Wager of Battle (from a manuscript of the thirteenth century)

William also introduced into England the "curfew"[1] law. This was a requirement that all fires should be put out or covered at nightfall. It was a regulation in existence at that time in several European countries, intended to prevent accidental conflagrations. It had never before been introduced into England, probably because towns with their great liability to fires were not numerous there, and being a new custom was felt by the English to be an exercise of tyranny.

In the law courts an additional method of proof, besides the oath and the ordeal, was introduced by the Normans. This was the "wager of battle." If one man charged another with an offense or a wrong done to him and the latter denied it, the court might declare that the truth or falsity of the charge should be decided by a judicial battle. At an appointed time, after each contestant had sworn to the truth of his statement, a contest under regular forms with short battle-axes or hammers of an established shape

[1] Curfew is an English pronunciation of the French *couvre-feu*, "cover fire."

took place, the one who was first compelled to acknowledge defeat losing his case. This also had long been familiar on the continent, but was previously unknown in England.

89. **Domesday Book.** — Just at the close of his reign William after consultation with his nobles sent out groups of officials to the various parts of the country to obtain by sworn statements of the inhabitants fuller knowledge of who the landholders of the country were, how many tenants of various classes they had, how much tax they paid when a Danegeld was collected, and what the real value of each estate was. The officials who served as commissioners passed from hundred to hundred in each shire, calling some of the inhabitants from each township before them and requiring them to give answers on these and other points. A vast mass of detailed information was obtained by this census. It was sent to Winchester and there gone over, rearranged, and copied by the king's clerks. The result was two thick manuscript volumes, which still exist just as they were written at that time. They have always been known as Domesday Book. The work gives us a fuller and more detailed knowledge of England at the time of the Norman Conquest than we have of any other mediæval country, although the real meaning of many of its statements is obscure and is only being gradually learned by much study.

The power to compel the people of all England to give this information shows how great the authority of William was. Even in modern times, when the power of the government is practically irresistible, people often decline, delay, or hesitate to give census information. In the eleventh century probably no other ruler in Europe had sufficient power to collect detailed reports of this nature from his whole kingdom. The ability to put these reports into such good shape also indicates the organization of a quite efficient body of government clerks and other officials.

90. **Position and Character of William.** — However much William may have insisted that he was simply one of the legitimate line of English kings, his position was very different from theirs and

vastly more powerful. He had in reality a threefold basis for his authority as king: he was in the first place the elected, anointed, and crowned king of the English nation; secondly, he was the military conqueror of England; lastly, he was the feudal overlord of the country, with a certain degree of proprietorship of all the landed estates of England. Although he had given a large part of the confiscated lands to his Norman barons and knights, yet he had given these only on condition of faithfulness, military service, and money payments to himself. Because of these elements of power he was in a position to carry on a government vigorous, firm, assertive, and even despotic, far beyond anything before known in England, and to exercise an enduring influence on the destinies of his people. This power is well shown by what has been called the "Salisbury Oath." In 1086, at the very close of his career, William appointed a great mote or council at Salisbury, to which all landholders were summoned. There he made all take an oath of fidelity to him which was to take precedence of any other duty they owed to any lords who might be between them and the king.

No satisfactory picture of the Conqueror remains, but there are several descriptions of him by men who knew him well. He was a man of good stature and figure, though he became very stout in his later years. He was slightly bald on the forehead. His expression was usually stern, as might be expected from his character and experiences; and he gave way to terrible outbursts of anger in which he roared out his favorite oath, "By the splendor of God," to the dismay of all who heard him. On the other hand, he could be courteous and kindly in manner. He was religious in his habits, attending mass every day. His ability, his energy, his directness of decision and action, and his invincible determination are better seen in what he did than in anything that can be said of him.

At the time of his death he had three sons and a daughter. On his deathbed he expressed a wish that the following arrangement

.SVDF.

VII. ~~TERRE ROGERI BIGOT.~~ H de BRADAMERA.

Bernham tenet Stanhart de R. bigot. quam tenuit Ailwius
de tedforti pro m. t. r. e. i. car. terre. semp. vi. bor. ⁊ i. scr. ⁊ ii.
car. in dnio. ⁊ dim. car. hom. ii. acr. pti. semp. i. mol. Tnc
ii. r. m. i. Tnc. iii. an. m. vi. semp. xiiii. por. ⁊ xii. eque siluatice.
Tnc. c. lx. poues. m. ccc. & v. libi hoes. xl. acr. ex his habuit antec
Rogi. comd. t. r. e. Quod tenet idem Stanhart. Scs. ead mundo
soca ⁊ saca. Tnc. uat. man. xxx. sol. m. xl. & libi hoes. iii. sol.
hec. xii. quar. in long. ⁊ x. in lat. ⁊ xi. d. ⁊ iiii. ferd. de g.
Dim. H. de Cosfort. In Watesfelda. i. lib. ho. de quo habet
scs. Et. t. r. e. comd. ⁊ tota soc. ⁊ habet. xv. acr. ⁊ uat. ii. sol.
⁊ vi. d. hoc tenet de hosdene.

Biscopes. H. Carahallam. tenet. R. bigot in dnio. quam tenuit
Normann. t. r. e. iiii. car. terre. Tnc. ⁊ p. x. uilli. m. xv. Tnc
⁊ p. vii. bor. m. xvii. semp. iii. car. in dnio. ⁊ x. car. hom. ⁊ v.
acr. pti. Silua lx. por. ⁊ m. iii. r. ⁊ ii. an. ⁊ xxx. por. Tnc
xxv. ou. m. c. eccla. xxx. acr. ⁊ i. car. Tnc. uat. c. sol.
In eadem tenuit Vlueua. ii. car. terre pro manerio. quod tenet. R.
in dnio. Tnc. v. uill. m. vii. Tnc. iiii. bor. m. ix. semp. ii.
car. in dnio. ⁊ v. car. hom. ⁊ iii. acr. pti. Tnc. uat. lx. sol.
In illo manerio quod tenebat normann. sunt. xxxv. libi hoes
potentes uendere & dare terras suas. quos tenet. R. in dnio.
cum soca ⁊ saca ⁊ omni consuetudine. & hec. iii. car. terre. semp. xii
car. ⁊ i. acr. pti. Vm. unum mercatum de dono regis. Tnc

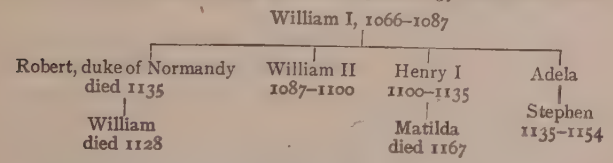
A Page of Domesday Book

of inheritances should be made for them. His eldest son, Robert, should be duke of Normandy; the next son, William, king of England; and the third, Henry, a mere boy, should be given a certain sum of money. His daughter, Adela, was already married to Stephen, count of Blois, a French province.[1]

91. William II and his Contest with the Barons. — William II, who became king at his father's death in 1087, had a stormy reign of thirteen years. He was killed by an accident while still only forty years of age. He was called William "Rufus," probably because he was red-faced.[2] He had the energy, the harshness, and much of the ability of his father, but he had neither the clearness of aim nor the sense of duty which had made his father's policy so successful.

Two contests filled much of his reign, — one with the great Norman barons, the other with the church. The great nobles who had gained as a result of the Conquest such extensive landed estates in England in many cases still retained their estates in Normandy. They were so powerful, because of the income they received and of the number of men who must obey their summons to follow them in war, that they were almost independent princes. It was hard for such men to submit to the strict rule of the king, to respect his officials, pay his taxes, and abide by his laws. The hand of the Conqueror had been heavy enough to keep them in obedience; but his successor seemed more like one of themselves, and they were not willing to submit to him without a struggle. A group of them therefore entered into a

[1] The Norman line of kings with their genealogy was as follows:



[2] The Latin word *rufus* means reddish.

conspiracy to drive William Rufus from the throne and to place on it his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, who was of an easy-going disposition, and would not be likely to rule very strictly those to whom he owed his throne. Immediately after the Conqueror's death, therefore, the rebellious nobles drove the king's men out of the royal castles in a number of towns, introduced garrisons and supplies into these castles and their own fortified houses, and began ravaging the surrounding country. Several of the earls and many of the lesser barons, on the other hand, took the part of the king.

William's most valuable support, however, came from another quarter. He called a great gathering at London to which men of English birth of the well-to-do classes were specially invited. He promised to give them reduced taxes, freer hunting rights, and a better administration of the law, and called upon them to join him in putting down the rebellious barons. He also summoned the old fyrd of the southeastern counties. The English willingly joined the king in opposition to the Norman aristocracy, and in a short time an effective army was created. Rufus was thus able to defeat the disobedient nobles and force them to acknowledge him. A few years later, in 1095, he had an equally hard and successful struggle with a group of the great barons who asserted practical independence and would have dethroned him to obtain it if they could have accomplished it.

William was loath to accept the arrangement of his father by which his brother Robert was given the duchy of Normandy. He was ambitious to possess all the dominions which his father had ruled. Through his whole reign, therefore, whenever he was not himself being troubled by the disobedience of the barons, he was either intriguing or fighting to get Normandy and the other continental dominions of the Norman house into his hands. One by one he got control of fortified places and their dependent districts and hemmed in the immediate dominions of Robert. Finally Robert went on a crusade to the Holy Land, leaving the

government of the whole duchy in the hands of William in return for money with which to equip his expedition. William got the money by laying a heavy Danegeld on the English.

92. **Lanfranc.** — Unlike his father, William Rufus was not a religious man. Indeed, although it was an age when almost every one expressed and probably even felt great reverence for all religious things, William ridiculed such matters. When some one declared that an event was the will of God he laughed aloud; when it was proposed to pray to the saints for aid he forbade it; and when the ordeal once indicated certain men to be innocent whom he believed guilty he broke out in anger and shouted, "Who says that God is just?" He told the Jews, who had begun to settle in England since the Conquest, that he was quite open to conviction of the truth of their religion if they could refute the bishops in an open debate before him. When some Jews of Rouen went over to Christianity he agreed for a price offered by their friends to force them to go back to Judaism. With such views it is no wonder that the conflicts on church matters that could not be avoided even between pious kings and churchmen should have broken out with special bitterness under William Rufus.

Chapel in White Tower

When he became king the archbishop of Canterbury, who had been his father's right-hand man during most of his reign, was still living. This was Lanfranc. He was by birth an Italian, a native of the city of Pavia, and educated there as a lawyer. From Italy he

emigrated or perhaps was exiled to Normandy. Here he became famous as a teacher and man of learning, and under pressure of religious influences became a monk. When he was made prior of the Abbey of Bec he became still more famous; many men of religion sought that monastery and students came to study under him. William while still only duke of Normandy came to know him and sent him two or three times on embassies to Rome and elsewhere. After the Conquest, when the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant through the deposition of its last Saxon incumbent, Lanfranc was induced somewhat reluctantly to accept that position. For many years he was the principal adviser of the king and the most influential man in England. There was much in his position and character similar to those of Dunstan a hundred years before, although the two men were far different in race, had very different kings to serve, and belonged to entirely different epochs. He was an extensive and learned writer, and his Latin letters are still read.

In political matters Lanfranc showed good judgment; he selected wisely those whom he advised the king to appoint to office, and exercised his own influence over the king in the direction of moderation and good sense. In religious affairs he insisted on the supremacy of the position of archbishop of Canterbury over all other church positions in England, even over the archbishopric of York, and thus made the church organization more centralized. He held frequent councils, sometimes of the prelates of all England and sometimes of those of his own archbishopric only. His superior gifts and training as an Italian and as a lawyer gave him wide influence not only over the king, the barons, and other churchmen, but over Welsh, Irish, and Scotch chieftains and bishops who sent to obtain his advice or decision on difficult questions. It was he who exercised the influence necessary to have the dwelling places of the bishops removed from the villages where they had been established in early times to a large town in each diocese. So long as Lanfranc lived, William II

was somewhat overawed by him and submitted to his influence. But his death occurred two years after that of the Conqueror and left the new king with no such restraint.

93. **Misgovernment of the Church by William.** — When bishoprics, abbacies, and other positions in the church became vacant by the death or promotion of their former holders it had been customary to fill them promptly with new appointees. In the meanwhile some one was appointed to receive the income of the office while it was vacant and to retain this for the new incumbent. William Rufus now began the practice of keeping such positions vacant for months or even years and himself collecting and using the income. When Lanfranc died more than four years passed away before any one was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and other positions were treated in the same way. Even when appointments were made, the king had a habit of retaining some of the lands which belonged to the church, and he frequently gave offices to those churchmen who offered him payment for the appointment.[1] Morals were very bad throughout the country, but the king refused to stand by the church authorities in punishing immorality, and he himself set an example of flagrant wickedness.

94. **Anselm.** — In these actions William met an outspoken opponent in the new archbishop of Canterbury. For he was finally scared by a sudden fit of sickness into making an appointment to that position, and the popular voice forced Anselm, the abbot of Bec, upon him. Anselm was an Italian, like Lanfranc, and had been attracted by the fame of the latter to come to Bec in Normandy to study. He had become abbot after Lanfranc's departure. He was a man of studious habits, keen intellectual abilities, devout nature, and lovable character, and would have

[1] The appointment of ecclesiastics to church positions in return for a gift of money is known as the offense of *simony*, because Simon Magus had offered money to the apostles Peter and John in order that he might obtain supernatural powers like theirs.

much preferred to live the quiet life of a monastic scholar. The practical duties of abbot had, however, fallen to his lot, and he was now drawn into the still more active duties of archbishop of Canterbury. During several years he was engaged in a continual contest with the king, who on getting well from his sickness refused to complete the investiture of Anselm, held back part of the lands belonging to the archbishopric, insisted on a contribution toward the expense of his wars which would have compelled the archbishop to overtax his tenants, and recklessly cursed Anselm when he rebuked him for his sinful life. After several years of such conflict, Anselm gave up the struggle and went into voluntary exile on the continent, carrying nothing with him except his necessary clothing and the manuscript of a half-finished Latin theological work, and hoping to be allowed by the pope to resign from his archbishopric and retire to his quiet scholar's life.

Norman Arched Gateway and Tower, St. Edmundsbury, built either in the Reign of William I or of William II

95. Hatred of William Rufus. — The king gradually came to be very much hated by his subjects. His military abilities and energetic campaigns saved his crown and his dominions, but the heavy taxes and oppressions which they required made the people almost desperate. The government was carried on apparently for the one object of getting money for the king's uses. His servants and soldiers were allowed by him to seize whatever they wanted from the people without any attempt at restraint. His offenses against religion and the church angered many others, though, as all the contemporary historians were churchmen, no doubt they have given him a worse reputation in history than he might otherwise have had.

William's principal minister and adviser was, strange to say, a churchman, Ranulf or Ralph "Flambard,"[1] one of the Conqueror's Norman chaplains. By his business ability, legal sharpness, and constant work he became practically head of the whole government under the king, and to him were attributed many of the oppressions which made William II so unpopular. Above all, it was he who made government a device for extorting money from everybody. Ralph was rewarded by the king by being made bishop of Durham. This position was practically a great earldom as well as one of the richest offices of the church, and had already lain vacant for three and a half years.

One day in the summer of 1100 the king's body, with an arrow through the heart, was found in the New Forest, where he had been hunting. Who shot the arrow has always remained a mystery, though early tradition declared that he was accidentally killed by Walter Tirrel, an intimate friend and favorite courtier, who in his horror at what he had done took to flight, and died long afterwards on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The king's body was brought to Winchester on a cart by some foresters and gamekeepers and buried in the minster there without religious services.

96. **Henry I.**—William's younger brother Henry was hunting with him in the forest when the death of the king occurred, while his older brother, Robert, was far away in Italy, slowly making his way home from the Holy Land. Henry was ambitious and energetic. He had been born in England during the reign of his father, and was now in the prime of early manhood, being but thirty-two years old. He had small difficulty therefore in inducing a number of the bishops and nobles to choose him king, notwithstanding the better claims of his older brother.

The questionable character of Henry's right to the throne led him to make every effort to obtain popularity and thus strengthen

[1] Flambard means "The Torch," presumably so called because he consumed men's goods.

his position. Therefore, in addition to the traditional coronation oath which his brother and father and their predecessors had taken, he drew up a charter or series of promises of good government, of which he had a copy made and sent to the sheriff of each county in England to be read in the shire court.[1] It includes a number of promises not to do certain things which were widely felt to be oppressive, and in it the king declared, "A firm peace in my whole kingdom I establish and require to be kept from henceforth. The law of King Edward I give to you again with those changes with which my father changed it by the counsel of his barons." The times before the Conquest were already coming to be looked back upon as a golden age, as the "good old times." Men forgot all the miserable confusion and barbarism of that period, and a promise of the law of Edward the Confessor was considered equivalent to a promise of good government. The charter also provided that the barons should give to their dependents the same good treatment which the king promised to the higher classes to whom it was directed, thus recognizing the right of the whole body of the people to be well governed. The king gave proof of the earnestness of his intention to keep order by arresting Ranulf Flambard and punishing disorderly nobles.

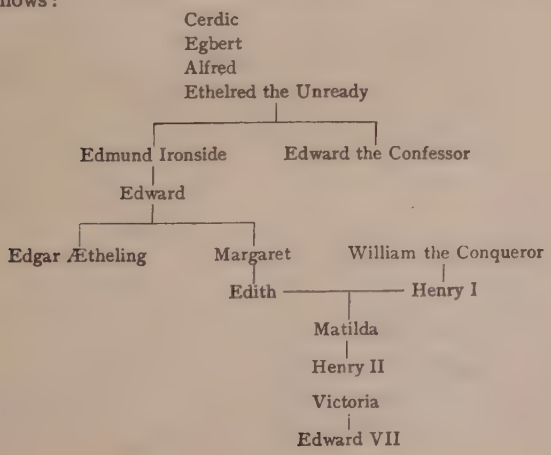
In other ways Henry sought popularity, especially with the English element among his subjects. He chose for his wife a lady descended from the old English royal line, Edith (Anglo-Saxon Eadgyth), who was renamed Matilda or Maud, her English name being unpronounceable by the French-speaking Normans. As a result of this union all the rulers of England since Henry, with the single exception of Stephen, his immediate successor, have been descended not only from William the Conqueror

[1] This charter may be found translated in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 5. The most important sections are 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, and 13. It was the first written restriction upon the despotism of the king, and long afterwards became the foundation of Magna Carta.

but from the kings of the old West Saxon line, running back to Cerdic, its founder.[1]

Henry's natural abilities also helped to make him popular or at least successful as a ruler. He was a well-educated man for his time and was therefore nicknamed "Beauclerc," or the fine scholar. He could probably read and write French, his native language, read and write some Latin, and understand English when it was spoken. He was always fond of books and generous to men of learning. Another name sometimes applied to him was the "Lion of Justice," because of the sternness and yet fairness with which he settled disputes and put down all disorders on the part of the barons or other lawless persons. He was as good a soldier as his brother William, though not so fond of fighting for its own sake, and he was much abler as a peaceful ruler. Thus Henry was able to make good his position as king, and reigned for thirty-five years. He also obtained Normandy, partly by negotiation, partly by conquest, from his brother Robert, whom he kept in captivity during the remainder of his life.

[1] This line of descent, with the omission of many intervening links, is as follows:



97. Conflict with the Church. — Notwithstanding Henry's abilities and success the same two conflicts which had filled so much of the reign of William Rufus confronted him in the early years of his reign, — a contest with the church authorities and a contest with the great nobles.

The particular form of trouble in church matters that had been prominent in his brother's time was readily settled. Henry did not keep church positions vacant in order to collect and use their income, but filled them promptly and with capable if somewhat worldly men. He restored the archbishop of Canterbury, allowed church councils to be held, and helped the clergy to put in force the rules for church discipline enacted at them. His own religious habits and feelings were also regular, and his treatment of churchmen was respectful and pleasant. But other troubles soon arose.

The powers of oversight of church matters exercised by the central government of the church at Rome were at this time, as has been said before, great and continually increasing. They had never been asserted in their fullness in England. When the Conqueror refused to take an oath of allegiance to the pope and laid down the further rule that no representative of the pope or official letter from the pope should be sent into England without his consent, those claims were quietly dropped for the time. The church quarrels of William Rufus had been on internal questions not affecting the pope. Many church customs therefore still existed in England different from those approved by the pope and the general church councils. While Anselm had been in exile at Rome during the latter part of William's reign he had become fully imbued with a belief in the authority of the pope to enforce general church regulations in England as in other countries; and when on Henry's invitation he came back to fill his position as archbishop of Canterbury he came determined to carry out these rules. In many of them the archbishop received the support of the king. The observance of the vow of celibacy was now made more stringent. This vow was taken, of course, by all priests, but

was not taken by those persons who, although granted certain clerical privileges, had never received ecclesiastical orders. More or less fully this stricter rule was now enforced throughout England.

98. **The Contest about Investiture.** — One proposed change, however, brought Anselm and Henry into immediate conflict. This was in the matter of investitures. It had been customary in England for a bishop or abbot after his appointment to his bishopric or abbey to be "invested," as it was called, by the king, with a ring and a staff as emblems of his office. On the same occasion he did homage to the king. That is to say, he knelt before the king and took an oath to be faithful to him. This was followed by the consecration, a religious service in which the new bishop or abbot was inducted by the archbishop or some other bishops into the religious functions of his position. The custom of investiture by the king before consecration no doubt arose from the fact that bishops and abbots were practically great noblemen, having extensive lands and powers, quite apart from their religious position. But in 1075 this custom of receiving investiture from kings or other princes and performing homage to them was forbidden by the pope, and Anselm consequently refused to pay homage to Henry, or to consecrate any bishops or abbots who had accepted investiture from him or done homage to him. Henry on the other hand refused to give up the old established custom of England in this respect and would not allow churchmen to be consecrated without previous investiture and homage. This dispute lasted for several years and led to innumerable conferences, embassies to the pope, and efforts at settlement. But all were without success, and for a second time Anselm left England.

Investiture of an Abbot (from a manuscript of the thirteenth century)

As a matter of fact a bishop's or abbot's position was twofold. From one point of view he was an officer of the church, and it seemed natural that his appointment should be entirely a church matter. From another point of view he was a landholding noble, with vassals who must fight when summoned, and the king might fairly claim the right to insist on his taking an oath of faithfulness to him. Henry's moderation and reasonableness, and Anselm's goodness, notwithstanding his obstinacy, kept the quarrel from becoming as bitter as it might have been. Finally, in 1106, with the concurrence of the pope, a compromise was agreed to. All those who had already received investiture from the king should be consecrated to their offices by the archbishop. For the future the king gave up investiture, but retained homage. He acknowledged that investiture with ring and staff was the conveyance of a spiritual office and left it to the church authorities. On the other hand, the temporal rights of the king were acknowledged, and each bishop or abbot chosen was to swear homage to the king before being consecrated. Henry thus obtained what was practically a victory, and, to the general satisfaction, Anselm returned to England.

99. **Contest with the Barons.** — The great earls and barons, especially those with possessions both in England and Normandy, were no more ready to be orderly and submissive under Henry than they had been under William Rufus, and a rebellion soon broke out. The principal struggle was with Robert of Bellême, earl of Shrewsbury. This man possessed six castles and the broad lands dependent on them, on the borders of Wales and in the center and north of England. Two of his brothers who had joined with him also held extensive estates. He is said to have had thirty-four strongholds in his possession or under his direct influence in Normandy. Against this powerful nobleman and his confederates Henry waged two successful campaigns, in 1102 and 1106. In the first of these Robert's castles were besieged and captured, he himself banished from England, and his estates

confiscated; in the second, in Normandy, he and all his adherents in the duchy were defeated and he was placed in imprisonment for the remainder of his life.

100. **The Central Government.** — But Henry's most effective method of keeping the strong and turbulent nobility in order was not by carrying on military campaigns against them but by strengthening the organization of the central government. He chose capable ministers and with their help made the government so strong and active that the barons were not able to resist it. They, like common men, had to pay taxes, keep the peace, and submit to the decisions of the courts, however much they might long for greater independence or chafe under such restrictions.

The central government had been stronger and better organized ever since the Conquest than it had been at any time in the Anglo-Saxon period, but its principal development was in the reign of Henry I. Great councils, the successors of the witenagemots, were held more frequently, though their power as compared with that of the king was really less. In addition to the ceremonial meetings which were held more or less regularly on the three great festivals of the year, councils of the nobles and higher clergy were called from time to time when matters of importance were to be discussed, and the king made a show at least of taking their advice and obtaining their consent to his more important actions.

101. **The King's Ministers.** — Several of the great nobles held hereditary offices of high honor. These were the marshal, steward, constable, and chamberlain. These offices, however, were largely honorary, with few duties or powers. The actual work of government was done by a number of ministers or officials who were chosen by the king not from the great noble families but from the lower baronage, or else were churchmen of no especial rank or position. The most influential minister was the justiciar. He was the king's principal representative, looked after the king's interest in all ways, gave him advice, and acted as regent when

the king was on his numerous trips to Normandy. Ranulf Flambard practically occupied such a position under William Rufus, though the name itself was not used. Under Henry a certain Roger, a native of Caen in Normandy, later rewarded by the king with the bishopric of Salisbury, rose through various degrees of power from a mere chaplain in the household to justiciar. He retained this position for many years, organized the government, and appointed able men to its highest positions.

The chancellor was the minister of the king who attended to the written work of the government. It was he who had charge of the king's seal and made out, or had made out by his clerks, all charters, grants of land, written summons to nobles, letters, and other documents. The king relied upon the chancellor for the knowledge of legal forms and for the preservation of official records.

The treasurer had charge of the government funds, and kept account of receipts and disbursements of them. When all money consisted of silver coins which had frequently to be weighed and counted, sometimes transported in boxes and at other times stored in safety, the treasurer necessarily required a large corps of assistants. Besides these principal officials and their immediate subordinates the king had in his employ other trained men who were known simply as ministers or justices, who performed various duties of government of a financial, judicial, or administrative kind.

102. The Curia Regis.—The various ministers of the king not only had each his separate work but they met from time to time to attend jointly to matters of importance which needed consultation and the united authority of all those who directly represented the king. When the ministers met in this way they were usually known as the "*curia regis*." This body must not, however, be confused with the occasional meetings of the great nobles and churchmen already referred to, though some of the men might, of course, attend both, and even the same name, "king's council," is sometimes applied to both. Before the *curia regis* lawsuits

between the barons were tried, and complaints against individual barons were brought by the king or in his name. There were also many suits about land or payments in which the king was interested. Sometimes, though rarely, the king himself sat with his ministers in the *curia regis*, took part in the discussions, and delivered the decisions. Gradually all the most important cases were taken out of the county and hundred courts to be settled in the *curia regis*. Thus it became more and more largely occupied with judicial matters and came to be more of a court in the modern legal sense of the word, less of a mere meeting of the king's ministers.

103. Justices on Circuit. — The ministers had to be with the king as much as possible, so they followed him in his more extensive journeys, and the meetings of the *curia* had to be held where he and his ministers happened to be. This caused great difficulty to suitors. Many lawsuits besides could only be satisfactorily tried in the neighborhood where the matters at issue were known about. To meet these two difficulties justices representing the whole *curia regis* were sent from time to time into different parts of England with authority to settle all suits. Their presence in that part of the country could be made use of to collect money, enforce military service, and in other ways carry out the rights and claims of the king. Gradually it became so customary to send royal justices through the country that regular circuits were established.[1] Thus the power of the central government, exercised through the king's ministers, was shown in every part of the country regularly and frequently and not merely when the king swept through with his fighting men on a military expedition. The power of the government was respected accordingly.

104. The Exchequer. — Two meetings of the king's ministers every year, one at Easter, the other at Michaelmas (September 29),

[1] These royal officials or judges were known as "justices in eyre." The custom of judges going on circuit has been customary in all English-speaking countries ever since.

were of special importance and were distinguished clearly from the ordinary sitting of the *curia regis*. These meetings were known as the sittings of the "Exchequer." The ministers and their clerks gathered around a long table on which certain squares were marked for ease of calculation of accounts by means of coins or counters laid upon them. The table and the meeting around it were called the Exchequer from this similarity to a checkerboard. Before this court the sheriffs of the shires and the representatives of the great nobles had to present themselves one by one and give account of the taxes, dues, and fines which it was their duty to collect or to pay. All disputes were settled then and there, the chancellor, treasurer, and others deciding on the law as it applied to the cases that came up. The Exchequer was, therefore, a law court as well as an accounting office. The payments and decisions were recorded on a wide strip of parchment which from its appearance when rolled up was known as the Pipe Roll, or Great Roll of the Pipe. The earliest of these account rolls which still exists is that which records the two meetings of the thirty-first year of Henry I, 1130–1131, all others of Henry's reign having been lost or destroyed. The condition of the account with each sheriff was shown by giving him one half of a tally, the other half of which was preserved until the next meeting of the Exchequer.

By means of the meetings of the Exchequer not only was the king's revenue kept in order and collected in its full amount, but the sheriffs, who were usually knights, were kept to a strict accountability, and forced to recognize the power and superiority of the government. By means of the *curia regis*, the circuit judges, and the Exchequer, the power of government under Henry I became almost irresistible.

105. The Succession.—The king's only son, William, was drowned in a shipwreck as he was crossing the Channel from Normandy in the "White Ship," with a number of his relatives and other nobles, leaving as Henry's only legitimate child a daughter

named Matilda. Henry tried the experiment of obtaining for her the inheritance of the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy. No woman had ever ruled in either of these countries. In those turbulent times it was impossible that she should actually carry on the warfare which was an essential part of the government, and the result would be that her husband, whoever he might be, would become practically the ruler. Nevertheless Henry induced or compelled the barons to take an oath of allegiance to Matilda as their future mistress and queen.

She was married to Geoffrey, count of Anjou, one of the most powerful princes of France. This connection was a valuable one for the English royal family, as it united the two greatest French provinces in their possession; but it was extremely unpopular with the barons of both Normandy and England, as they had been in frequent warfare with the count and the barons of Anjou, and looked upon them as natural enemies. All that could be done to insure the acceptance of Matilda as queen was done by Henry, but on his death in 1135 all the arrangements fell promptly to the ground, and for a short time no one was proclaimed ruler.

106. King Stephen.—This condition of doubt was broken by the claim of Stephen, son of the count of Blois and of Adela, sister of King Henry. Stephen was the favorite nephew of Henry, but had never been mentioned as his successor. He was count of Mortagne and Boulogne, and held many estates in Normandy and England. His younger brother was bishop of Winchester. Soon after Henry's death Stephen sailed from the continent to England, appeared at London, and obtained the good will of the leading citizens there. He then went to Winchester, got possession of the royal treasure, and obtained from a number of the higher clergy and nobility a somewhat reluctant consent to his coronation. He also obtained recognition in Normandy. Like Henry, Stephen tried to increase his popularity and strengthen his position on the throne by issuing a charter of liberties which made the same promises as Henry had given.

Stephen's authority, however, proved to depend not on how much power he chose to keep and how much to grant, but on how much the barons would leave to him. The powerful earls and barons and the wealthy and influential bishops and abbots had only been kept in order, as has been seen, by the heavy hand, the constant activity, or the wise control of the Conqueror and his two sons. Stephen did not have the ability necessary for the task. He was handsome, good-natured, affectionate, and brave, but he was not a skillful general nor a wise ruler. He took everybody's advice, and he refused to punish severely those who rebelled against him and were captured. He was misled into quarreling with Roger of Salisbury, the old justiciar, and arrested him and two of his relatives who had been placed in the positions of chancellor and treasurer. He did not take any further decisive action against them, but their imprisonment broke up the administration of the government, as it had been carried on under Henry, and its reorganization amid the confusion of the time proved to be impossible. The meetings of the Exchequer were held less regularly, the *curia regis* seldom gathered, and there were no regular circuits of the king's justices. The government dropped back to the weak condition of Saxon times.

107. The Civil War. — Soon Matilda asserted her claim to Normandy and England. She came over to England, while her husband invaded Normandy in her name. Many of the barons took her side, others remained faithful to Stephen, and a civil war broke out which lasted for more than fifteen years. Earls, barons, and knights took first one side and then the other, holding their castles for Matilda at one time and for Stephen at another, according as their interests or their feelings might dictate. In fact, the barons made use of the disputed claim to the throne to live in practical independence of any king. They fortified their castles by permission of one or other of the contestants, or without permission. They led their armed knights and their tenants to take part on either side in the war or to fight against

other nobles with whom they had private quarrels. They coined money and forced the people on their estates and in the towns under their control to accept it. They refused to acknowledge the king's court or the decisions of the county and hundred courts. They killed the king's game in defiance of the forest laws.

In fact, instead of England being ruled by one government, there were hundreds of lords of higher or lower degree each acting as if he had no government above him whatsoever. This period is therefore often described as "the period of anarchy."

Castle Rising, one of the Baronial Castles fortified in Stephen's Time

Men were brutal and cruel at best in those times. Blinding was a common punishment for political prisoners of high rank, and the cutting off of hands and feet for culprits of lower degree. Besiegers of a castle, when they had made its master or some member of his family prisoner, frequently kept him without food, and displayed him to the besieged daily before the walls, so that the sight of his increasing misery might lead those in the castle to surrender. There were frequent instances of churches filled with men, women, and children being burned down with all that were in them.

When the weakness of Stephen and the confusion of the civil war reduced the regular government to powerlessness, this tendency to reckless brutality and outrage became vastly worse. Every narrative which has come down from that time describes the killing, burning, and ravaging which were prevalent. The castles of the nobles were places of violence, where the enemies or helpless victims of the lords were tortured and held in imprisonment. There was no power in existence which could protect the weak from the strong. Every one, especially every noble, did that which was good in his own eyes.

108. The Mediæval Castle. — The power of the nobles to act with such independence when a weak king like Stephen was on the throne was due largely to the strength of the castles they occupied. It is true that the king alone was considered to have the right to build fortified places. But many of the king's castles were occupied in his name by individual nobles; other nobles obtained the royal permission to fortify their houses; and still others, especially during the reign of Stephen, built strongholds without permission or authority from any one. Thus several hundred castles of greater or less size and strength were scattered over England. The baron's castle, indeed, was the most conspicuous object of the middle ages. On the crest of some rugged hill was built a square or round tower with thick walls pierced by narrow windows and doors. This was the *keep* or *donjon*, the place of greatest strength and last refuge in case of attack. Around it was a courtyard with various buildings, and around this a strong wall with towers and a protected gateway. Outside of the wall, if the place admitted of it, was a moat or wide ditch filled with water. This was crossed by a drawbridge, which could be opened or closed at will. The gateway also was protected by a portcullis or drop gate.

In ordinary times this castle was occupied only by a small number of persons, — the baron and his family and a few servants or dependents in various capacities. Or the castle might be one of

several in the possession of a great noble, and only occasionally visited by him, at other times being occupied by some official with a group of his men. Many men were, however, bound to come to the service of the castle in case of need; and in time of danger the people of the neighborhood crowded within its defenses.

109. Feudal Land Tenure. — The baron who occupied such a castle drew his support and money income from landed estates. He did not, however, own these estates as a modern landowner

Richmond Castle, Yorkshire

does, but held them from some one above him, on certain conditions. The land which any man held from another was called his *fief* or, in Latin, his *feudum*. The custom of holding lands on certain special conditions instead of owning them outright, as in earlier and later times, is therefore known as "feudal land-holding," or "feudal land tenure."

Most large fiefs and many smaller ones were held by barons, knights, bishops, or abbeys, directly from the king. Those who held their lands in this way directly from the king were called *tenants in chief*. But the fief of a great baron, monastery, or bishopric might consist of a score or even a hundred or more manors or

small farming villages. Some of these manors were usually in the direct possession and occupancy of the tenant in chief, but others were held from him by knights or other tenants. These were in the same relation to him as he was to the king. They were therefore called *subtenants*. Below these subtenants were men who held lands from them, and so through successive stages of subtenancy. The person from whom a man held his land was called his *lord*.

When a feudal tenant came into possession of his land either by inheritance or by a grant he had to swear *fealty* and do *homage* for it. "Fealty and homage" was a ceremony in which the tenant bent on his knees before his lord, placed his hands within the lord's, and promised to be his man,[1] to be faithful to him and dependent upon him, and to serve him in all proper ways for the fief which he received from him. By this ceremony he came to be the lord's vassal as well as his tenant, and a relation of personal attachment and faithfulness was created between them.

A vassal or tenant owed to his lord not only faithfulness but services and payments of a much more tangible character. He owed him military service in proportion to the amount of land he held from him. That is to say, he must himself serve his lord as a knight and bring with him a certain number of other fighting men according to the extent of his fief. The length of time and frequency of such military service were early restricted by well-understood custom to a period of forty days once in a year. The number of men he must bring was one for each knight's fee which he held.[2]

The vassal had also to help his lord by money payments at certain times when the latter had special need of money. Such payments were called *aids*. There were three occasions generally

[1] This was the origin of the term *homage*; from the Latin *homo*, a man.

[2] A *knight's fee* or *fief* was the amount of land from which the service of one knight was required. It was not of an exact extent or value, but in later practice in England was estimated at six hundred acres.

acknowledged as times when the lord had a right to collect an aid: (1) for the expenses of the ceremony when his eldest son was knighted, (2) for his eldest daughter's dowry when she was married, and (3) to pay his ransom in case he was captured in war.

When a feudal vassal died, his lands did not go back to the lord, but went by inheritance to his eldest son, or, if he had no son, to all his daughters equally. The heir had, however, to pay to his lord a sum of money in recognition of the lord's superior claim on the land. This payment was known as *relief*.

An heir who was a minor came under the guardianship of the lord from whom his lands were held, and the lands went into the possession of the lord until the heir became of age. The lord must, however, provide for his support and training. This right of the lord to the possession of lands during a minority is spoken of as the right of *wardship*. When the child who would inherit the land was a girl, the lord claimed the right to select a husband for her, and consequently to receive the money payment which the suitor was willing to pay for the hand and the estates of the heiress. This was called the right of *marriage*, and was sometimes extended to the widows and heirs as well as to the heiresses of vassals.

There were two cases in which the lands of a tenant or vassal came back into the lord's possession. If a vassal violated his oath of fealty, he *forfeited* his lands, and his lord might seize them; and if he died without direct heirs his lands *escheated* to his lord.[1]

The relations between a vassal and his lord were not all one-sided. The lord also had his duties to his tenant. He not only guaranteed to his tenant the possession of his land, but gave him protection against violence and injustice, and afforded him assistance in all ways that he could. The essence of feudalism was a contract or agreement by which the lord and vassal each gave and received something.

[1] Examples of all these payments and services are given in *Translations and Reprints*, "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism," Vol. IV, No. 3.

110. **Feudal Personal Relations.** — Landholding and personal relationship were thus closely combined. Fidelity and obedience were owed where military service and money payments were owed. Protection of the fatherless and the widow was incumbent upon the landlord who received the profits of the wardship. However poorly these personal duties were carried out, each tenant of land was bound by them to his lord, and his lord was similarly bound to him. All men were held together, in ideal at least, by the double bonds of land tenure and personal union. Moreover, every man above the peasant was lord of some subtenant who held from him, as well as vassal of some lord from whom he held. Homage and fealty, military service, the payment of relief and aids, wardship and marriage, forfeiture and escheat, all alike existed between each lord and his tenant in the same way that they existed between the king and his tenants in chief. Feudal tenure and feudal services, therefore, held together all classes of society, not the highest only.

111. **Feudal Powers of Government.** — Landholding during the middle ages not only brought with it these personal bonds between lord and tenant, but gave to the lord many powers of government over his tenants. The right to have soldiers under one is a governmental power. Yet every feudal lord could claim the military services of his tenants. Likewise authority to give decisions in legal cases and to punish offenses is a governmental power. Yet every lord could and did require his tenants to bring their disputes about land to him for settlement, and thus became their judge in civil cases. A large number of the tenants in chief of the king had also been given an hereditary right to hold courts over their tenants for criminal offenses. They were thus in possession of courts of justice to which all their tenants must appeal and submit. In times of confusion many lords coined money of their own standard which they required their tenants to accept. The right of lords to collect aids and other money dues amounted almost to a right of taxation. These powers of

military levy, courts of justice, coinage and taxation, are powers that in modern times belong only to the government. Under mediæval conditions they were not possessed by the government alone, but were exercised by all feudal lords over their own tenants.

The expressions "feudal," "feudalism," the "feudal system," are applied to the customs which have just been described. Feudalism was primarily one particular form of possession of land. But the possession of land was such an important matter in the middle ages that many other customs depended on and took their character from it. So we have seen that many of the personal interests of men and even the powers of government were included in feudalism. Long before the middle of the twelfth century it had placed its impress upon all the conditions of life.

112. Feudalism in the Saxon Period.—These feudal conditions came into existence only gradually, and to trace their growth in England it is necessary to go back over two centuries of history. There were few traces of feudalism in the middle of the tenth century, as will be gathered from the description of Anglo-Saxon society as it was at that time.[1] In the later Anglo-Saxon period, however, it became customary for the king to give a right to hold courts to the earls, thegns, or church bodies to whom he gave lands. This was the germ of the feudal power of jurisdiction over tenants. Large landowners also at about the same time began the custom of granting out lands to tenants not for a mere money rent but on more varied and personal conditions. This was the beginning of feudal land tenure. During the century before the Norman Conquest it became customary for men to *commend* themselves, as it was called, to more powerful men; that is, to take an oath of faithfulness and service in return for protection and patronage. Commendation was the origin of feudal homage and fealty. Men no doubt often received grants of land on commending themselves, or agreed to hold the land which they already possessed in dependence on the lord to whom they

[1] See chap. v.

had commended themselves. Thus the most characteristic feudal customs were evidently already coming into existence among the native English before the Normans came among them. Nevertheless these changes were slow and partial during the Saxon period. Fiefs doubtless existed, much like those of later times, but they were not universal and the conditions on which they were held were not yet settled.

113. **Effect of the Conquest on English Feudalism.** — When the Norman Conquest occurred, however, feudalism rapidly became more general. It was already the only familiar way of holding land in Normandy, and William's confiscations in England gave him an opportunity to require feudal service from all the forfeited land when he granted it out again to his Norman followers. All the feudal payments and services were not, of course, immediately established. These were settled gradually, no doubt largely by the influence of the regular meetings and policy of the Exchequer, during the reign of the later kings of the Norman line. But military service in proportion to the number of knights' fees held, which was the most fundamental feudal requirement, seems to have been universally required by William himself.

114. **Peculiarities of Feudalism in England.** — The Conqueror introduced one great principle which made feudalism in England very different from what it was in other European countries. In other countries a man's allegiance was satisfactorily fulfilled by giving it under all circumstances to his immediate lord. In England William's law required that loyalty to the king should take precedence of all other allegiance, even of a man's fealty to his feudal lord. At the ceremony of the Salisbury oath, imposed by William in the last year of his reign, in the words of the old chronicle, "All the land-holding men of all England, whosesoever men they were, knelt to him and became his men, and swore solemn oaths to him that they would be faithful to him before all other men." Nevertheless this ideal was but poorly carried out. When the great barons rose in rebellion their tenants marched

with them against the king; and more than once subtenants were excused for rebellion because they had risen in obedience to the command of the lord to whom they owed direct allegiance.

A second characteristic of English feudalism was its comparative orderliness. There was much in the feudal system which tended to cause disorder. The right to the military services of his vassals was a constant temptation to the baron to make use of these services. But the English kings were generally much stronger than their barons. The Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry I were strong enough to keep feudal conditions tolerably orderly. No private warfare among the barons was allowed, rebellions were put down, the fulfillment of feudal requirements insisted on, and there was little systematic or long-continued oppression of the subtenants or of the masses of the people by their higher feudal lords. Of course this result was accomplished only by frequent campaigns, much ravaging of the country, and heavy taxation; but it was accomplished. Nevertheless this good order depended entirely on the king. As feudal customs put great power into the hands of the barons, who dwelt in their fortified castles and possessed judicial and pecuniary rights over their tenants, feudal society at its best was not favorable to justice and good order. At its worst it was little better than anarchy. The weak hand of Stephen and the paralysis of the government during Matilda's contest for the throne let loose all the power for evil of the higher feudal nobles, and the terrible disorders already described ensued.

Feudalism was of such vast importance during this period that it has seemed best to give a systematic description of its main characteristics in this place. We must now return to the narrative of events.

115. Succession of Henry of Anjou. — The civil war dragged on for fifteen years, going sometimes in favor of Stephen, sometimes in favor of Matilda. After 1152 the interests of Matilda were represented by her son, Henry of Anjou, who had succeeded

his father as count of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. Matilda then retired from the contest, but Henry continued to win some successes for her side. Finally the death of Stephen's eldest son offered an opportunity for a compromise. This was arranged at Wallingford in 1153 by some of the most influential bishops, and consisted of an agreement that Stephen should be acknowledged by all as king during the remainder of his life, but should accept Henry as his heir. On these terms a general peace was made, known as the "Treaty of Wallingford." The partisans of Matilda and Henry took oaths of allegiance to Stephen as their lawful ruler, and Stephen's men did homage to Henry as their future king. A great council was held, where the late rivals met in amicable discussion and made certain regulations for the kingdom. Peace was at last attained. Stephen lived only one more year, dying in the fall of 1154 while Henry was absent in Normandy.

116. Literature of the Norman Period. — This period had seen more writing than might have been expected. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* which had been continued in several forms from the time of Alfred, was kept up for a short time after the Conquest in two or three monasteries, but came to an end with 1154. In the later entries the language is incorrect and artificial. Anglo-Saxon was evidently unfamiliar to the writer. As a matter of fact, it had gone out of existence as a written language, though it was still spoken by the great mass of the people and was soon to come again into written usage in a somewhat changed form.

In Latin there was a great deal of writing during the century that followed the Norman Conquest. The philosophical and theological writings of such men as the two great archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm have already been mentioned. Scholars who had come from Normandy, and some who were of English birth, recorded the history of their own time from personal observation and inquiry, and that of earlier periods from the Anglo-Saxon chronicles. Notwithstanding their indebtedness to the latter, they considered the language in which they were written

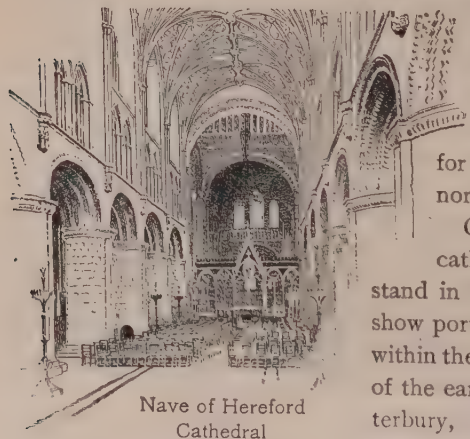
barbarous, and held them in but small respect. William of Malmesbury, a Norman chronicler who lived in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, says patronizingly, "There are indeed some notices of antiquity written in the vernacular tongue, after the manner of a chronicle, and arranged according to the years of our Lord."

All the writers of this period were churchmen, mostly monks, who in the quiet of their monasteries found leisure and opportunity to write, notwithstanding the confusion and trouble of the outer world. Florence, a monk of Worcester, Henry, an archdeacon of Huntingdon, and several others made up a group of writers who shared in the European interest in literature of that period and wrote quite voluminously. They chose, for the most part, history and biography as their subjects. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who died in the same year as Stephen, wrote a fabulous *History of the Britons*, which became the fountain head of the legends of Arthur and Merlin and many other stories of mediæval romance.

The "White Tower" of the Tower of London, built by William the Conqueror

117. Architecture and Building. — The Normans were great builders. A contemporary writer says, "You might see churches rise in every village and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before." Castles and churches were almost the only buildings of importance in existence at this period. Baronial and royal fortresses were erected and enlarged from

time to time. The "White Tower," the oldest and most conspicuous of the group of buildings which now make up the Tower of London, is perhaps the most famous of William's castles. It was built in the early years of the Conquest, under the direction of Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, a famous architect, who had already built a castle of the same general appearance in Normandy, and who began the building both of the castle and the cathedral of Rochester. Westminster Hall was built by the orders of William Rufus, and though since remodeled and frequently repaired it still retains much of its original character. It was one of the first large buildings erected for uses neither military nor religious.



Nave of Hereford Cathedral

Of the twenty early cathedrals as they now stand in England, thirteen still show portions which were built within the Norman period. One of the earliest was that of Canterbury, which was begun by Lanfranc, but was destroyed by fire and then rebuilt in the reign of Henry I. The architecture of the large and beautiful churches which the Norman bishops and many of the abbots began to build was of the style which is called "Norman," marked by round ornamented arches and heavy pillars. The work of building a great church took a long time and frequently required the efforts of several generations. Nevertheless many of the cathedrals, such as Durham, Hereford, Ely, Winchester, Exeter, and Norwich, were completed, at least in many of their parts, as we still see them, by the bishops who took part in the councils, and sometimes in the wars, of the Norman kings.

Durham Cathedral

118. Summary of the Norman Period. — The century that lay between the battle of Hastings in 1066 and the accession of Henry II in 1154 was for England in a certain sense a period of beginnings, or at least of such a transformation of old customs as to make them practically new. It was the beginning of a new line of kings and of a much more highly organized government. It was the beginning of a more universal and well-defined feudalism. It was the beginning of a much closer connection of the English church with the center of the church at Rome. It was the beginning of better architecture, better writing, better trade. The old Anglo-Saxon race, which was somewhat sluggish in its nature and backward in its civilization, was quickened and stirred and elevated by its conquerors. This was a partial compensation for the loss of their national independence and for the oppressive rule of a powerful government and aristocracy, all the more hateful because it was even yet to the great mass of the people a rule by foreigners.

General Reading. — FREEMAN, *William the Conqueror* (Twelve English Statesmen). JOHNSTON, *Normans in Europe*. HUNT, *Norman Britain*, is a good small book on this whole period. STUBBS, *Early Plantagenets*, chaps. i and ii, gives a short survey of this period preliminary to its special subject. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ii, sects. 5–6. RAMSAY, *Foundations of English History*, Vol. II, chaps. i–xxviii, is very full on this period. Still fuller works on special sides of the period are POLLOCK and MAITLAND, *History of English Law*, chaps. i–iv; and STEPHENS, *History of the English Church, 1066–1272*, chaps. i–viii. For feudalism on the continent, see ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, chaps. viii and ix.

Contemporary Sources. — WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Chronicle*. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in one of its forms continues to 1154. Interesting extracts from this and other sources are given in LEE, Nos. 45–57; COLBY, Nos. 13–21; and KENDALL, Nos. 14–18. No. 47 in the first of these, No. 16 in the second, and the same number in the third is the striking description of William's character from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, year 1087. The charter of Henry I is printed in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6, and in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Documents Illustrative of English Constitutional History*. For feudalism see documents in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 3. Extracts from letters etc. in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 54–87.

Poetry and Romance. — The *Red King*, by Kingsley, and the *White Ship*, by Rossetti, are two ballads found in Miss BATES and Miss COMAN, *English History told by English Poets*, an interesting collection of historical poetry intended as a reading book for schools. KIPLING, *Puck of Pook's Hill*, contains several spirited stories of this period.

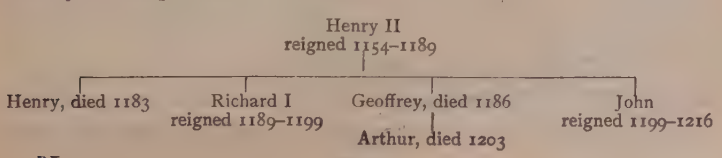
Special Topics. — (1) Effect of the Conquest on the English Language, LOUNSBURY, *English Language*, chaps. iv and v; (2) the Oath of Salisbury, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, year 1086; (3) Anarchy under Stephen, *ibid.*, year 1137; (4) the New Forest, BARING, article in *English Historical Review*, July, 1901, pp. 427–438; (5) the Cistercian Monasteries, Miss COOKE, *ibid.*, October, 1893, pp. 625–676; (6) Contest about Investitures in Germany, ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 154–172; (7) Feudalism on the Continent, SEIGNOBOS, *The Feudal Régime*, translated by DOW; (8) the Exchequer, HALL, *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, chaps. iii and iv; (9) Norman Architecture, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 319–325.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL UNITY. 1154–1216

119. Accession and Character of Henry II. — When Henry of Anjou[1] became king in 1154 he was in a more independent position than any king had been since William the Conqueror. There was no other claimant for the crown; he had already been acknowledged by both parties in the late civil wars; and weary of the anarchy under Stephen all classes were ready to accept a strong ruler. Henry was, besides, one of the most energetic men that ever sat upon a throne. He was in constant restless activity, — traveling, fighting, listening to law cases, drawing up new enactments, conferring with his ministers, disputing with his opponents; and taking his recreation only in the equally active form of hunting. His form corresponded to these traits of character. He

[1] Henry and the seven rulers who followed and were descended from him, reigning in all for nearly two hundred and fifty years, are known as the Angevin line of kings, the word Angevin being taken from Anjou in France, Henry's birthplace and paternal inheritance. They are also spoken of as the Plantagenet family; Henry's father, Geoffrey of Anjou, having been given the nickname Geoffrey *plante de genêt*, from the broom flower (*planta genista*), either because he wore a sprig of that plant for a badge or because he was so fond of hunting and riding over the broom-covered heaths. The dates of the reigns of Henry II and his sons which are covered by this chapter were as follows:



was heavily built, with broad shoulders, thick neck, powerful arms and long bony hands, red hair, which he kept cut short, and a florid face. His voice was harsh, but his eyes were soft till he grew angry, when they blazed out, and his passion was terrible enough to frighten the boldest of his barons. He was frugal in his eating and drinking, an early riser, careless in his dress, devoted to business, and easily accessible to all who wished to speak to him. He was only twenty-one years of age when he came to the throne, but had already been engaged in the work of war and government in Anjou for six years. It is no wonder that a man of this nature, training, and position should leave a deep personal impression upon his own and later times.

120. **Henry's Dominions.** — England was only one of the lands over which Henry ruled. From his mother he inherited Normandy and Maine as well as England; from his father he inherited Anjou and Touraine, and later obtained the overlordship of Brittany. He married Eleanor of Aquitaine and obtained thereby her magnificent paternal heritage of Poitou, Guienne, and Gascony. He claimed also the overlordship of Scotland and Wales, and before his death became lord of Ireland. The dominions of which Henry was lord, directly and indirectly, extended from the Pyrenees to the Orkney Islands. He was sometimes in one part, sometimes in another, of this territory. Of the thirty-five years of his reign more than twenty-one were spent in France, and only thirteen in England. His trips to England were usually only a few months or at most a year or two in length, but each one of them was filled with an activity that accomplished what seemed the work of many times such a period.

121. **Lack of Unity in England.** — Even in England it was no united nation over which Henry ruled, the people being partly English and partly Norman. Some of the laws and customs of this twofold race were of Anglo-Saxon origin, some had been brought from Normandy, while still others had been adopted since the Conquest. The courts that carried out the laws and

ANGEVIN DOMINIONS
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200
Countries held by Vassals from Henry II
Held by Henry II from a superior king
Held by Henry II in his own right
NORTH SEA
Irish Channel
English Channel
BAY OF BISCAY
FRANCE
THE EMPIRE
THE PLANTAGENET DOMINIONS
ULSTER
Armagh
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
Dublin
Limerick
Wexford
Waterford
Anglesey
Stirling
R. Forth
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Durham
York
R. Humber
The Wash
Chester
Leicester
LONDON
Milford
R. Severn
Bristol
Oxford
Runnymede
Clarendon
Salisbury
Southampton
Winchester
Hastings
Exeter
Canterbury
Dover
Calais
Boulogne
Flanders
Bruges
Cherbourg
Havre
Rouen
Caen
NORMANDY
PARIS
Brest
BRITTANY
Rennes
MAINE
Mans
ANJOU
Angers
Nantes
Tours
Orleans
Blois
Troyes
Champagne
Burgundy
Eves
Verdun
R. Loire
Fontevrault
Chinon
Poitou
Berry
Marche
Limoges
Dijon
R. Garonne
AQUITAINE (GUIENNE)
Auvergne
Bordeaux
GASCONY
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
Arles
Avignon
Provence
Marseilles
R. Adour
R. Rhone
R. Saone
R. Isere
R. Marne
R. Seine
R. Rhine
R. Dee
R. Tyne
R. Trent
R. Ouse
R. Thames
R. Mersey
R. Shannon
THE MON. WORKS.

enforced established custom drew their authority in some cases from the king, in some from the barons, in some from the church. Many cases were brought before the old local courts of hundreds and shires. Three languages were habitually used: the Latin of the churchman, the chronicler, and the keeper of records; the French of the noble, the merchant, and the lawyer; the English of the peasantry. These languages reflected the division of the nation into classes. There were two contending principles of government: that which would make the king and his council supreme over all, and that which would leave much of the power of government to the feudal barons; besides which must be taken into account the claim of churchmen to be practically independent of all government except that of the church. Thus England was far from being a single well-organized nation, with one law, one government, and a united national feeling. These things were only attained in their fullness after the passage of several centuries. Nevertheless the foundations at least of national unity were laid within Henry's long reign of thirty-five years; and the reigns of his two sons saw the conclusion of the process of national consolidation.

122. Restoration of Order. — The first step in the process was the restoration of order. As a result of the anarchy and the long-continued civil war of Stephen's reign, England was in a condition of indescribable confusion. The government, as it had been organized in the time of Henry I, had fallen greatly into decay. Taxation, justice, military service, and respect for royal powers and privileges had all been largely disregarded during the reign of Stephen. Hence the new king's first efforts were naturally given to the establishment of the authority of government.

Immediately on Stephen's death Henry came to England and remained there for more than a year. Within this year the old fabric of government was gradually built up again. Great councils were held, the *curia regis* was reconstituted, the Exchequer began to meet again with great regularity. An able justiciar,

Richard de Lucy, was appointed; the old treasurer, the nephew of Roger of Salisbury, whom Stephen had imprisoned, was released and reappointed to office; and Thomas of London, otherwise known as Thomas Becket, or Thomas à Becket, a brilliant young churchman, was made chancellor. Sheriffs were appointed, and the armed bands of foreigners who had served in the civil war were dismissed. The barons who had erected castles in Stephen's time were ordered to dismantle them or hand them over to the king. Powerful men who had seized lands unjustly from those who were weaker were ordered to restore them.

There was naturally some resistance to these reforms, but the disorders had been so great that almost everybody recognized the need for an assertion of authority. Those of the great nobles who resisted by force of arms, Henry defeated in 1155 and deprived of their castles. But, as in the time of Henry I, the greatest control was exercised over the nobles by subjecting them, like every one else, to the authority of the royal courts, requiring them to settle their disputes in the *curia regis* or before the judges on their circuits, and compelling them to pay the dues which they owed the king into the Exchequer and according to its rules.

123. **The Judicial Assizes.** — The courts, the jury system, and the common law, with the equal protection against injustice which they give to all, have been special objects of pride to the English race. It was at this time and by Henry II and his ministers that their bases were laid. The subject is a somewhat difficult one, but it is well worth trying to understand, as all the later history of England depends to a considerable extent upon it. In the following paragraphs, therefore, an effort will be made to explain as clearly as possible the main foundations of the legal system under Henry II.

Henry's reorganization of the government was not merely a restoration of the old system. Much that was new was introduced. The work of the *curia regis* and of its justices[1] as

[1] In England the word *justice* is used in cases where in America the word *judge* is more usual.

they went on circuit was not only regulated but improved and extended. The king's ministers had always exercised the right of deciding cases immediately interesting the king, such as disputes between tenants in chief and matters in which the king's rights were questioned. They had also inflicted punishment for murder, burglary, and other great crimes, where these had not been committed within the jurisdiction of some feudal lord with high judicial powers of his own. Now the king gave the justices instructions to carry their duties and powers still further. He laid down the fundamental principle that no free landholder could be sued concerning his land except in the king's courts. An edict called the *Great Assize*,[1] issued early in his reign, provided the means by which any freeman whose title to land was disputed might resort to the king's justices to have the question of the validity of his title decided. Even if the case was under trial in a baron's court or in a shire court, the king's judges might order proceedings stopped until they had time to take it up. Other assizes of a similar kind were issued to meet various needs until any case involving the possession of land, and many other cases, could be brought into the king's court. There were, however, many burdens and difficulties connected with the procedure. The fees demanded by the *curia* were very high. In fact the principal motive of the king in the extension of the system of royal courts was the increase of income it brought him. As the justices had to be with the king wherever he might be when he was in England, and even sometimes abroad, those who had suits before them were required to follow them up from place

[1] The word *assize* was used at this period to mean an edict or law issued by the king, usually with the assent of the great council. Some of the assizes were intended to be publicly proclaimed, but most of them were in the form of instructions or rules of action given to the king's justices. The word *assize* was also applied to the procedure under such rules. It is to be noticed that until this time most of the bodies of law issued by the kings professed to be merely a restatement of the old customs of the people. The assizes of Henry II deliberately introduced new laws.

to place, often from one end of England to another, with their witnesses, until a trial could be obtained, unless a justice of the king should come on a circuit in their part of the country and they could get the case before him while there.

124. Origin of Trial by Jury. — The decisions given by the king's justices were more valued than those given in a baron's court or in a shire or hundred court. The principal reason for this was that the king's justices, in cases under the assizes, used a new and better form of trial than ordeal, compurgation, or wager of battle. This was what was then called an "inquisition," or "recognition," but afterwards grew into the trial by jury now used in all English-speaking countries. As the justices of the *curia regis* wielded all the authority of the king, they had powers which were not possessed by other courts. One of these powers of which they made constant use was to require persons to attend the court and to give information upon oath upon any matter submitted to them by the justices. A "recognition" was a procedure under which the judges, when asked, issued an order for a number of men, usually twelve and usually neighbors of the parties engaged in the dispute, to investigate the case and give a sworn "verdict" [1] as to which of the claimants had the better right to the land about which they were disputing. These selected men, called jurors [2] because they had to swear to tell the truth, were generally required to be knights or men of equally high position in the community, and they were bound to decide in favor of one or the other of the litigants and to report to the judges at an appointed time and place. If they neglected to give the decision or could be proved to have given an unjust decision, they were heavily fined.

Disputants in land cases were thus given a decision based not on the barbarous method of ordeal or of wager of battle, but on the

[1] From *verum dictum*, a true statement.

[2] From *juro*, I swear. Any one who gives a decision on oath is a juror, such as a road-juror or a juror of awards.

sworn opinions of their own neighbors, who must generally have been familiar with the facts of the case. The men who gave a verdict were witnesses and jurymen combined. They discussed the matter among themselves and only reported to the judge the results they reached. In later times the system was gradually changed so that the whole proceeding had to be carried out in the presence of the judge, who decided all points of law. The jury also came, in the course of time, to be divided into two bodies. Those who possessed information on the matter were required to give their testimony under oath. Those who knew nothing beforehand about the facts were required to listen and give a sworn judgment based on what they had heard. The former were of course the witnesses, as they are called in a modern court; the latter alone are the jury. It is known as the "petty jury" or "trial jury." Thus the modern jury system was applied to the settlement of land disputes, and after a while of other civil suits. It was extended in time to a decision as to the guilt or innocence of a person charged with a criminal offense. Ordeals were forbidden by the Lateran Council of 1215, while compurgation and wager of battle were gradually superseded by this better system and in time became entirely obsolete. But the change only came gradually and was not completed until the fifteenth century. What was done in Henry's time was simply the substitution in certain kinds of cases of a sworn decision by neighbors for the earlier and cruder forms of trial.

125. **Origin of Indictment by Jury.** — In 1166 Henry issued a new assize, known as the *Assize of Clarendon*,[1] the object of which was to introduce a reform in the punishment of crimes, much as the *Great Assize* had been intended to introduce reforms in the settlement of land disputes. There had been in recent times an unusually large amount of crime. Murders, assaults, and thefts were of constant occurrence, and the criminals often

[1] This assize can be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6. The most important clauses are 1, 2, 14, and 15.

remained undiscovered or unpunished. One cause of this was that there was nobody whose regular duty it was to accuse or prosecute offenders. Unless the person injured or his relatives or friends brought the criminal to justice, no one was especially interested in doing so, and the offender was never charged with the crime. Another cause of immunity was the inefficiency of the courts held by feudal lords who possessed the right to punish criminals under their jurisdiction. Long after this time there were still thirty-five private gallows in Berkshire alone, but the men who suffered on them were few compared with the number who had committed capital offenses.

Both of these difficulties were met by the Assize of Clarendon. It provided that when the king's justices came to the county court twelve men from each hundred and four men from each manor in the hundred should be put upon their oath and required to give the names of any men they knew in their hundred or manor who had been accused or suspected of having committed any of the greater crimes. In this way a jury had the public duty of making accusations, whether they had any personal interest in the matter or not. Such an accusation made by the neighbors of any man was considered to indicate the probability of his guilt. Therefore such a person was to be arrested and sent to the ordeal of water. If he failed in the ordeal he was to be punished. Even if he succeeded he might still be banished. As the law says, "If they are of very bad reputation and publicly and disgracefully spoken ill of by the testimony of many and lawful men, they shall abjure the lands of the king so that within eight days they shall go over the sea, unless the wind shall have detained them." The assize gave the sheriffs the right to go on the lands of any feudal lord to make arrests on this kind of accusation and to keep an oversight of the good order of the vassals even when they were not accused by a jury. Jails were to be built, fugitive criminals were to be sought for from county to county, and other provisions for efficiency were made. But the two points of special

originality and importance in the Assize of Clarendon were the jury of indictment, or grand jury of modern times, and the taking away of the independence of the feudal courts in criminal matters. Within the next century the custom arose of giving a "recognition" to accused criminals instead of sending them to the ordeal, and thus trial by jury as well as accusation by jury was introduced into the criminal procedure of the courts as it had already been in the decision of civil cases. These two processes of accusation and of trial by a jury make up what is known as the "jury system."

126. The Common Law and the Common Law Courts. — The *curia regis*, acting as a combined body, and its members when they went on circuit through the country, kept a record of the cases settled and the decisions given. The justices were highly trained, learned men, and their decisions were given on principles which were logical, consistent, and conformable to custom. This body of principles as understood by the king's justices and as shown in the decisions given by them came to be known as the "common law." The judges usually insisted upon these general principles even where they came into conflict with the special local customs or privileges of particular persons or communities, and enforced the decisions based upon them. This enforcement of the enlightened and universal common law by the justices who passed from time to time over all England, or decided questions brought before the *curia regis* from all parts of the country did much to bring about uniformity in both national law and custom.

The system of recognitions, the common law, the freedom from partisanship, and the powers of enforcement possessed by the king's courts gradually drew all cases into them that could readily be brought there, and made these courts busy, powerful, and, through their fees and fines, profitable to the king. Besides this activity of the great courts it became usual to think of all lesser courts as being dependent on the king. The county and hundred courts were brought more directly under the control of the king's officials. Twice a year the sheriff of each county went

from hundred to hundred through his county, holding a court in each hundred to inquire into certain matters of smaller moment. This circuit was called the sheriff's *tourn and leet*. The county courts continued to be held monthly as of old, also under the presidency of the sheriff. But from time to time one or two of the king's justices would come into the county on their circuit and hold a county court of especial dignity. Even those who were exempted from attendance at other times were bound to come on such occasions. The manor courts held by the feudal barons became gradually of less importance, with fewer cases and those of a more petty description.

127. **The Assize of Arms.** — Much of Henry's time and interest was necessarily given to fighting in one part or another of his scattered dominions. For war purposes, in his longer campaigns, he relied for the most part on mercenaries, soldiers by trade, whom he hired in Gascony, Flanders, or in fact where he could find them. For home use in England, however, and for wars on the unsettled borders of Scotland and Wales, the king seems to have thought that the body of the people might be effectually armed and organized into a sort of militia. The old idea of the Anglo-Saxon *fyrd* had never been entirely lost, and the common people had been summoned out occasionally by the Norman kings, and more than once by Henry himself or his justiciars. In 1181 the king made this more regular by issuing the "Assize of Arms."[1] This made it compulsory for every freeman in England to be provided with arms according to his means and station in society. Every man of the rank of knight was to provide himself with a horse and full armor; those of rank somewhat lower, with full armor without the horse, and so on down to the simple freeman or burgess, who must have a coat of mail, a steel cap, and a spear. These arms were not to be sold or put in pawn, and were to

[1] This assize can be found in Adams and Stephens's *Documents Illustrative of English Constitutional History*. Its most important clauses are 1, 2, 3, 4, and 8.

be used only when their owner was called out for national service by the king's command. Thus in addition to the king's mercenary forces and the feudal lords and their subtenants, the freemen of the country were provided with appropriate arms and bound to hold themselves ready for military service if called upon.

128. **Feudal Taxation.** — The value of the military service owed to the king by the tenants in chief had never been very great. Probably the whole number of knights or fully armed horse-soldiers whom the king could summon was never greater than five thousand, and their service was often ineffective because of the short period for which it was owed. On the other hand, the money payment due from the tenants in chief as part of their feudal service was profitable to the king and could be made more so. The enforcement of these financial claims was the constant policy of Henry II and his ministers. Reliefs were rigorously collected; the guardianship of minor heirs and the marriage of heiresses and widows of tenants in chief were sold to those who would pay into the Exchequer the highest sums for them.[1] Infractions of feudal rules were punished by the imposition of money fines. An aid collected on the marriage of the king's eldest daughter was levied with new and strict completeness. Above all, Henry repeatedly made demands of a kind almost unknown before, under the name of *scutage*. This was a payment of so much on each knight's fee, demanded by the king from his tenants in chief when he was in special need of money for the purposes of a war. It is true that the king summoned the barons much less frequently to fulfill their direct military service to him than had been done before. Instead of this he used the money obtained by collection of the scutages to hire mercenary soldiers. Scutages thus came to be looked upon as payments made instead of military service. They were a natural result of the increasing amount of money in existence and the extended military needs of the king.

[1] Instances of such payments will be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 25–28.

In these various ways, by bringing suits into the king's courts, by transforming all feudal relations into the shape of money payments, by organizing armies without calling upon the barons, the king and his ministers were reducing feudalism in England to less and less importance. It remained scarcely more than a form of taxation and of landholding. The royal government was fast becoming absolute, and the king getting into his own hands all political power.

129. The Church. — There was one other organization in England, however, whose powers were on the increase, even while feudalism was becoming less important. This was the church. The division of England into two provinces, of these into bishoprics, of which there had come to be nineteen, and of the whole country into parishes, of which there were some eight or ten thousand, has already been described.[1] Since the Norman Conquest the organization of the church had become more complex. Churchmen were more separated from laymen and more closely united with one another. The expression "the church" had come to be understood not as the whole body of Christians of whom the clergy were merely the religious leaders, but the clergy alone, separated by powers and privileges, laws, and an organization of their own, from those who did not belong to their order.

The bishoprics were endowed with extensive lands and received rents and income from many sources. The center of each bishopric was its cathedral. Some of these cathedral establishments were monasteries, with bodies of monks; others were not so organized. Connected with each cathedral of the latter class was a group of *canons* or cathedral clergy. At some cathedrals there were as few as four or five canons, at others as many as forty or fifty. These canons fulfilled various duties connected with the religious work of the cathedral church, and when the bishop died it was they who elected his successor, though the man they elected was usually nominated by the king. As an organized body the

[1] See pp. 49–50.

canons were spoken of as the *chapter* of the cathedral. The head of a chapter was the *dean*. The bishop's position with its powers and duties, partly spiritual as a great officer of the church, partly temporal as a feudal landholder and baron of the kingdom, has already been explained. Some of his older functions had now come to be performed by the *archdeacons*, of whom there were usually several in each diocese.

130. **The Church Courts.** — The principal duty of the archdeacon was to take charge in the bishop's name of much of the judicial work of the church. The church courts had become of importance only since the Norman Conquest. It was one of the laws of William I that church matters should not be decided in hundred and shire courts as before, but by the bishops in courts of their own, as on the continent. Since that time church suits had become vastly more numerous. All courts at this time tried to get as many cases before them as possible. This was principally for financial reasons. The fees that were paid for the privilege of having suits heard and the money penalties that were inflicted went of course to the court before which the case came. Therefore, just as the king's court and the barons' courts were trying to get or keep control of as much jurisdiction as possible, the church courts, held by bishops and archdeacons, tried to extend the variety and number of cases that should come regularly before them. An additional motive was the desire to preserve the independence of the church from all control by lay powers.

During the century since the Conquest they had been very successful in extending the judicial powers of the church. Generally speaking, churchmen contended that all cases of the following classes had to be tried in the church courts: those in which clergymen were concerned; those in which church property was concerned; those which had to do with marriages, with wills, and with inheritance; and those which involved any question of a breach of an oath. The church courts had charge also of all matters of religious belief, and of punishment for many forms

of moral ill-doing which were not crimes in the eyes of the common law. This judicial power of the church was not an unnatural growth. The more confusion there was in the other branches of government the more were the services of the church courts needed. The inefficiency of secular government during Stephen's time was largely made up for by the growing activity of the ecclesiastical courts. Civilized life could hardly have gone on in early times if much of the work which in modern times is done by government had not then been done by the church.

131. **The Canon Law.** — The decisions in these church courts were based to a certain extent on English church customs. But gradually in Europe at large a great body of precedents and decisions of church councils, of popes, and of bishops grew up that belonged to all parts of the Christian world. This was known as the "canon law." About 1140 a collection of decisions and principles of the canon law, the "Decretum," was made by a monk of Bologna, named Gratian, and obtained a sort of official acceptance as having authority on the questions discussed in it. Afterwards from time to time new collections of decisions were made, and the canon law came to be a system and a study in itself. It had the same authority in the church courts in England that the common law had in the king's courts. Young clergymen went abroad to make a special study of the canon law, or spent years in the households of bishops, where it was studied and taught. Lawyers familiar with the canon law and pleading in the church courts often found that they had more business and better fees than those practicing before the common-law judges.

132. **The Clergy.** — The duties connected with the cathedrals, the church courts, and the parish churches required a large number of men. Not only bishops, canons, archdeacons, and parish priests, but many officials, clerks, advocates, messengers, servants, teachers, stewards of church lands, and others were needed to fulfill the varied duties and administer the large property and income of the church. All these were churchmen, admitted to at least

the lower degrees of the ecclesiastical order. Even boys who were studying at cathedral schools or at the universities were held to enjoy some of the privileges of the clergy.

Besides the secular clergy there was a great body of monks and nuns. There had been a revival of monasticism soon after the time of the Norman Conquest of England. The old Benedictine order was considered by many not to be strict enough in its rules. Several reformed orders arose, most of them starting from monasteries in France. The Cistercians, the Cluniacs, the Augustinian canons, and others were formed with more rigid rules of life and more complete separation from the world. Kings, nobles, and lesser men gave lands, and monastery after monastery was founded, often in remote districts, and filled with monks or nuns of one or other of the new orders. One hundred and fifteen monasteries were founded in England in Stephen's reign, and one hundred and thirteen in the reign of Henry II. Although this rapidity of foundation did not keep up, yet there were soon added to the two hundred or so early Benedictine houses a vast number of others large and small.[1] Each one of these had its group of buildings, its body of members, officials, and servants, and its landed property; some perhaps having only half a dozen brethren, but others with as many as a hundred monks, as many more other inmates, and a vast extent of chapels, cloisters, dormitories, hospital, schoolrooms, barns, and other buildings.

133. **Appeals to Rome.** — All these churchmen were organized under their proper authorities and according to established rules, but there was one ecclesiastical power above them all. This was the pope. Persons dissatisfied with decisions given by the church courts appealed to the court of the pope at Rome to have the decision reversed or reheard. Churchmen high in position frequently applied directly to the pope to have their suits settled. Such appeals and applications were increasing in number during

[1] See map of early Benedictine abbeys, p. 77.

the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. This was due partly to the higher claims of power and influence constantly being made by the central authority of the church at Rome at that period, and partly to the greater number and complexity of the cases coming up in the church courts in England.

Thus the clergy were coming to be a class of persons separate from the rest of the nation, closely bound together, governed by their own rules, tried by their own courts, subject to their own laws, supported by their own property, and, above all, apt to feel that their first allegiance was due not to the king but to the pope. The bonds of connection with the pope were not very many, but they were quite sufficient to make the clergy less submissive to the king than the laity were. The archbishops were required to wait till they received the *pallium*[1] from the pope before they exercised the duties of their office; abbots of the larger abbeys went to Rome to be confirmed in their offices after their election; certain regular and many occasional payments were made from England to the pope; special representatives of the pope came to England from time to time; and, above all, appeals were constantly being made from church courts in England to the court of the pope.

This organization and strength of the clergy as a class, and their connection with a power outside of the country, were certain to lead to conflicts with the government of the country; that is to say, with the king and his ministers and officials. Many cases of appeal had nothing to do with general questions of faith or of morals, the fundamental matters of church authority, but with matters of property or office; and it seemed therefore improper for such questions to go out of England for decision. Conflicts between king and clergy have been noticed already; but the most bitter dispute as to the respective powers of the church authorities and those which were exercised by the king

[1] This was a collar or cape of emblematic material and shape, conferred by the pope upon every archbishop at the time of his consecration.

or his ministers was in the time of Henry II. It was partly a personal quarrel between King Henry and Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, partly an unavoidable conflict as to the limits of power of the church and the state.

134. **Thomas Becket.** — Thomas, sometimes called Thomas of London, from his birthplace, sometimes Thomas Becket or à Becket, — his father's personal name being Becket, — and in later times known as St. Thomas of Canterbury, was the most famous churchman of his day. He had been educated first in a monastery school and then at Oxford. He was afterwards a member of the household of the archbishop of Canterbury. He studied canon law in France and Italy, had visited the papal court at Rome, but had returned and was acting as archdeacon of Canterbury when Henry became king. He was learned, brilliant, handsome, and full of life. Henry appointed him to the high office of chancellor, became closely attached to him, intrusted him with many important duties and enriched him with the gift of valuable estates. Many of the reforms of the early part of Henry's reign were due to the ability and energy of the chancellor. He had a nature that threw itself with entire devotion into whatever interest he was occupied with at the time. Fifty-two clerks were employed under him when he occupied the office of chancellor. He was at this time only nominally a churchman, as he had not advanced beyond the order of deacon, and had little personal piety or religious interest. His manner of life was gorgeous and worldly, even beyond that of wealthy noblemen or other great ministers of the king.

After Thomas had been chancellor for eight years, the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant and Henry declared his intention of making him archbishop as well as chancellor. Thomas, who understood better than Henry the rising conflict between the church and the government, tried his best to induce the king not to place him in such a position of divided allegiance. Henry, however, insisted on the appointment, and Thomas was

ordained priest, and elected and consecrated archbishop. He now changed his course of life to that of a devout churchman, and threw himself as heartily into the work of his archbishopric as he had formerly thrown himself into that of student, judge, or minister. Much to the king's surprise and vexation, he soon resigned his chancellorship. The double position of chancellor and archbishop and the conflicting claims of king and church had proved to be unendurable to a man of Thomas's strenuous nature.

When the king in 1163 returned from five years' absence in France he found his former friend and minister in opposition to him. Discord gradually rose higher between the king and the archbishop. Henry's ambition to make his government supreme in England, introducing good order, royal control, and royal taxation everywhere, met an obstacle in the new archbishop as soon as any question of the position of the clergy arose. Thomas represented all the high ideas of the time concerning the independence of the church, just as Henry represented the power of the civil government. Both men were passionate and determined, and as one question after another arose in which they were opposed, the conflict between them and between the principles they represented grew constantly more bitter.

135. **The Constitutions of Clarendon.** — The points of dispute that came up most frequently were those connected with the church courts. The king claimed that they were doing many things that they had no right to do; that they were deciding questions of property which ought to be left to the king's courts, giving more lenient punishments to clergymen than they ought to suffer, and sending appeals to the pope on questions that belonged to English common law. After many disputes, a great council was called to meet at Clarendon in 1164 for the discussion and settlement of these matters. At this council, conferences were held between the king's ministers and the bishops, and between Thomas and Henry. Finally the king forced the archbishop to say, "I am ready to keep the customs of the kingdom"; and

the other bishops made the same promise. Then the question came up as to what were the "customs of the kingdom," and a group of the members of the council were ordered by the king to put them into writing. Some days afterwards they presented to the full council a document which the archbishop asserted to be the partisan work of the king's justiciar and of hostile barons, but which Henry asserted to be a fair statement by the earls, barons, and bishops of the old customs which were more particularly in dispute, and which the churchmen had sworn to obey.

The most important matters dealt with in this document, which became known as the "Constitutions of Clarendon," [1] had reference to the respective powers of the church courts and the king's courts. The Constitutions restricted the rights of the church courts in many respects, requiring churchmen to bring their suits and to answer to suits in the king's courts in many classes of cases. One of the principal points of this kind was that which required that a clergyman accused of a crime, if found guilty in the ecclesiastical court, should be handed over to the ordinary courts for punishment. Another forbade appeals from the church courts to the pope without the special permission of the king. A vast amount of business usually carried on in the church courts was transferred with all its profits to the courts of the king.

Thomas refused to accept or to put his seal to the Constitutions thus drawn up. When the king called upon him to do so he cried out, "Never, never, while there is a breath left in my body." The other bishops followed his example. The proposed

[1] The Constitutions of Clarendon must not be confused with the Assize of Clarendon issued two years afterwards. Clarendon was a small palace or hunting seat belonging to the king, on the edge of the New Forest in Wiltshire, to which he summoned the two councils in which these laws were decided upon. The Assize of Clarendon established rules for the king's courts; the Constitutions of Clarendon were intended to regulate the actions of the church courts. The latter can be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6. The most important clauses are 1, 2, 7, 8 and 13.

law really involved the whole question of the degree of independence of the church. If Thomas gave way to this interpretation of the law he would, as he claimed, not only be going back to a period when the church authorities had been too much controlled by the king, but doing worse. He would be accepting new laws which would make the church as dependent upon the government as if it had no higher claims and higher duties to uphold and perform. He felt that it was putting the church with its officers and courts and canon law, with all their enlightenment and superiority and religious authority, under the control of the mere physical power and arbitrary judgment of the king and his ministers.

136. Exile of Thomas. — The archbishop left the council, and protested against putting the Constitutions into force, though the king insisted that they had been properly drawn up and that they should be accepted as law. Both parties appealed to the pope, and a long contest ensued that became more and more bitter and more and more personal. After other councils and quarrels, in which Thomas claimed to be in danger of death from the king's attendants, he escaped from England secretly with a single attendant and went to France. Henry confiscated the estates of Thomas and all his adherents, friends, and relatives, and banished four hundred of them from England. Thomas in return threatened excommunication against the royal ministers who had opposed him, held a threat of excommunication over the king himself, and even tried to induce the pope to place England under an interdict. Several interviews were held between the king and the archbishop at different times and places in France, but they led to no satisfactory results. However, after more than six years of exile he obtained permission to return to England to take charge of his office, with its long unfulfilled duties.

137. Murder of Thomas. — The archbishop returned with a determination still to insist on the immunities of the church and to punish those who had been most active in the struggle against him. He proceeded to excommunicate without royal license three of

the bishops who had taken the king's side, and the soldiers of the king who had seized and ravaged the estates of the archbishopric. News of these actions of the archbishop was taken to the king, who was in Normandy, and in one of his habitual fits of wild anger he cried out, "What cowards have I nourished in my house that not one of them will avenge me on this turbulent priest!"

Henry can hardly have had any distinct intention when he uttered these words, but four of his knights took them seriously and vowed to kill the archbishop. They crossed immediately to England by separate routes, met again there, gathered a group of followers, and a few days afterwards brutally murdered the archbishop with their swords, in the transept of the cathedral of Canterbury.

The Murder of Archbishop Thomas (from a manuscript of Matthew Paris)

The whole of Europe soon rang with the news of the deed. Henry heard of it with deep regret and shut himself up, refusing for several days to eat anything or to see any one. The pope likewise refused for days to see any one. The victory that Thomas had not been able to win in his lifetime he gained by his death. Murdered as it were on the very steps of the altar, he was immediately considered a martyr. The people of England grieved for him as though he had stood out for their universal liberties instead of for those of the church alone. For centuries he remained the most popular in the catalogue of English saints, and thousands of persons each year made pilgrimages to the shrine where his body was buried at Canterbury. Henry took an oath declaring his innocence of the murder, gave a large sum of money for pious uses, and withdrew several of the most important clauses of the Constitutions of Clarendon. A year afterwards the king made a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and

entered the city, walking with bare feet and without eating any food for the whole day. He threw himself in prayer at the tomb of Thomas, then went to the chapter-house, where, on his knees before a body of bishops, abbots, and monks, he confessed his faults and, baring his shoulders, required each person present to strike him three times with the knotted cord used in monastic discipline. Afterwards he spent the night in prayer at the tomb, attended mass in the morning, and then took horse to London, cheerful in mind but so broken in body by his penance that he became ill immediately afterwards. Henry's personal penance seems to have been quite voluntary and self-inflicted, to relieve his own religious sense of wrongdoing. His submission in points of policy was wrested from him by the force of necessity, in order to recover some of his lost popularity, and he quietly reintroduced much of what he seemed to have given up.

138. Unpopularity of the King. — The popularity of Thomas with the great body of the people had arisen partly from the real services performed for them by the church of which he was the representative, partly from their sympathy with any form of opposition to the stern king. The church came closer than the government to the mass of the people. It did more for them, its lower clergy were members of the families of the common people, and its courts followed a milder code. The rigorous reforms of the king, on the other hand, however useful in putting down disorder and introducing unity in the nation, bore with great hardship on all classes of the people. The constant fines imposed by the courts, the severe punishments inflicted, the hard service on juries, the transformation of all duties into the form of money payments, were hard to endure. His firm government and new laws would bear fruit in the future, but their value was not recognized by the men of his time. Certainly Henry obtained no popularity, and resistance to him was always looked upon with sympathy by many people.

139. New Revolt of the Baronage. — In his continental dominions Henry had constant conflicts with the baronage. Thirteen

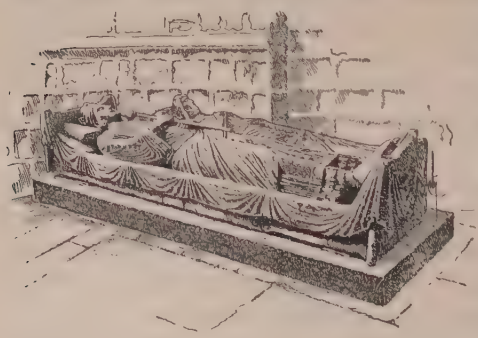
times in one period of two years he had to meet revolts of nobles in various parts of his French domains. In England, on the contrary, the heavy hand of the king when he was present, or of the justiciars in his absence, and the constant routine of the government kept almost uninterrupted good order. After the struggle during the first year of his reign eighteen years passed by without resistance to his power. Then in 1173 a new revolt broke out, gathering around Henry, the king's eldest son, who had been already crowned to secure his succession as the future king of England. But this revolt also Henry put down, required a new oath of fealty from all Englishmen, high and low, strengthened the power of the justices, and assembled the nobles in frequent meetings of the great council. Severe as were the struggles in which King Henry was engaged throughout his life, he was almost uniformly victorious, either by warfare or by policy.

140. Scotland and Wales. — The king of Scotland had joined the rebellious barons of 1173 and invaded the north of England. He was, however, defeated and captured by the justiciar and sheriff with the people of the northern shires. Henry would not release him till he and his barons had done homage to the English king and acknowledged Scotland to be a fief of England. This agreement was made at Falaise, in Normandy, and forms an important link in the chain by which England tried to bind to herself the northern half of the island. Three times Henry invaded Wales also, in the effort to force the Welsh princes to submission, but with only partial success. The Welsh mountains and the wild methods of Welsh warfare then, as so often before and afterwards, made the English invasions fruitless.

141. The Conquest of Ireland. — In Ireland somewhat greater success was attained, although to the overlordship of both Scotland and Wales there were old claims, while there was no such basis for Henry's intrusion into Ireland. Justification for its invasion was found partly in a bull given by the pope empowering Henry to conquer Ireland and reduce it to a more orderly church

government, partly in the appeal for help of the native Irish king of Leinster, Dermot McMurrough, who had been driven out of his dominions. In 1170 a number of English nobles went over with McMurrough, defeated the Irish chieftains of the southeast, reëstablished the fugitive king in his dominions, and gained extensive lordships for themselves there in return for their aid. The next year Henry himself went to Ireland and received the voluntary homage of these English nobles and of a large number of Irish chieftains. After this time the English kings added "Lord of Ireland" to their other titles. A representative of the English king was appointed to remain in Ireland, and a group of officials were established there; but their power did not extend beyond the district surrounding Dublin, later known as the "English Pale."

142. Close of the Reign. — The last ten years of Henry's life were peaceful and successful years as far as his government of England was concerned, but his personal happiness was destroyed by rebellions in his dominions on the continent in which his sons were engaged. He loved his children deeply, and his life was embittered by their entire want of affection for him and their readiness to join with his enemies. Time and again not only Henry, the young king, but Richard, to whom he had granted Aquitaine, Geoffrey, who was duke of Brittany, and his youngest and best beloved son, John, leagued themselves together or with the king of France to fight against him. In 1189, when he was ill and



Tomb of Henry II and his Wife Eleanor in the Abbey of Fontevrault

Ireland in the Middle Ages: the Four Kingdoms, the Location of some of the Principal Clans, the Principal Towns, and the District later known as the "Pale."

unprepared, combined forces of foreign opponents and Angevin rebels led by his sons Richard and John and the king of France suddenly invaded his French provinces, captured a number of his castles, defeated him in battle, and forced him to a humiliating treaty. When he learned that even John had been among the rebels he was broken-hearted, made no effort to rally from his illness, and took no further interest in anything. He died the same year, moaning, "Shame, shame on a conquered king." His tomb is still perfect in the nunnery at Fontevrault, in his native land of Anjou. His son Henry had already died in 1183.

143. The Literary Revival under Henry II. — The activity of this period showed itself in learning and literature as much as it did in the development of law and of institutions of state and church. A number of learned, gifted, and witty men gathered around Henry II or occupied offices in England in his time. The judges who gave the great decisions on the common law have already been spoken of. Many of these studied Roman law in Italy and France. Richard, bishop of London and treasurer of the realm, wrote a long description of the financial system of the government entitled the *Dialogue concerning the Exchequer*,[1] and Glanville, one of the king's justices, either wrote or helped in the writing of a corresponding description of the work of the *curia regis*. This is known as the *Treatise concerning the Laws and Customs of England*. Many of the churchmen of that time were learned theologians and philosophers. John of Salisbury wrote a book which he named the *Polycraticus*, discussing a great variety of moral, political, and educational questions. The prominent men of the time wrote a vast number of letters, many of which have been preserved. The old group of chroniclers who wrote in the time of Henry I and Stephen had died, but a new group of historians, many of whom were pupils, friends, or officials of Thomas Becket, arose in the latter part of the reign of Henry II.

[1] A translation of this can be found in Henderson's *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 20–134.

Some more varied works were written, such as those in which Gerald de Barry, or Giraldus Cambrensis, as he called himself, described Ireland and Wales and the campaigns against them during his time. There was also a body of verse, produced no doubt by various writers, but all usually attributed to Walter Map, archdeacon of Oxford, which ridiculed the vices of the time, especially those prevalent among the clergy. These are called Goliardic poems, from the name of one of them, the *Confession of Bishop Golias*.

All these works were written in Latin and could be read only by the learned, that is to say, by churchmen. But some of the classical Latin works were now translated into French and there was some original writing in the same language, which could be understood by the barons and their families and even by the better educated of the townsmen.

144. Richard I and the Third Crusade. —The greater activity of mind shown by this large amount of writing and reading was partly at least a result of the Crusades. Since 1096 the eyes of Christendom had been turned eastward towards Palestine, and great numbers of volunteers from the western countries of Europe had gone in armed bands to capture the Holy Land from the Mohammedans who held it, and to secure for themselves principalities and estates there. On the First Crusade, which succeeded in capturing Jerusalem in 1099, Robert of Normandy, the eldest son of the Conqueror, and many other French nobles had gone. Half a century later another great army was equipped and went to Palestine under the leadership of the king of France and the German emperor. Just at the close of the reign of Henry II, Jerusalem was recaptured by the Mohammedans, and a third expedition was organized in Europe to regain it for the Christians. The most prominent leader on the Third Crusade was Richard I, who succeeded his father, Henry II, as king of England in 1189.

Richard was like his father in his ungovernable temper and wild outbursts of anger, but in scarcely any other way. He was

tall and long limbed. He had greater military genius, but less statesmanship. He was fickle instead of persistent, warm-hearted instead of calculating. He was proud, cruel, and treacherous. He had, however, the poetic gifts, the generous impulses, the mercurial temperament of the Aquitanian lands in which he had spent most of his life. He was called "Richard Yea and Nay," because he was so ready to change the plans on which he had before determined. His great power was in his physical and mental capacity as a soldier, and in his strenuous and irrepressible courage.

145. Richard's Capture and Ransom. — The king sailed with his crusading army, made up of volunteers from all parts of his dominions, from Marseilles by way of Sicily in 1190. The next two years were full of romantic and brilliant adventures in which Richard won his name of *Cœur de Lion*, or "Lion-heart," and left the reputation of a great warrior in all the eastern countries.

Richard I (from the figure on his tomb at Fontevrault)

But the effort to recapture Jerusalem and reëstablish a great Christian kingdom in Palestine was a failure. Richard had also quarreled with the king of France, the emperor, and other leaders. On his journey home he was shipwrecked, captured, and held for ransom by the emperor in Germany. An enormous sum was demanded by his captors, and this was at last obtained, or enough of it to secure his release. His ministers in England not only levied the heavy feudal aid to ransom the tenant's lord when captured, which could be justified by old custom, but laid new taxes on the property of clergy and common people. Many concessions were also granted by the king, or in his name, to persons who wished privileges from the government and were willing to pay for them.

146. Influence of the Crusades. — All the power which the government had secured under Henry II was needed to obtain the funds demanded by Richard. He wanted money for his Crusade, for his wars on the continent, and for his ransom. Richard himself was in his English kingdom but twice in his reign of ten years, — once for four months at the time of his coronation, and once again for two months, five years later. But the government was carried on in his name by a series of vigorous and powerful justiciars who had been officials of Henry II. The newly instituted procedure of government became well established; the action of the officials in carrying on the Exchequer, the king's court, the circuit courts, and the shire courts, was more regular and better understood and accepted; the enforcement of the common law and the use of juries were extended; the transformation of all services into the form of money payments was carried further. Thus although the personal influence of the king in English affairs was unimportant, his absence in the Holy Land and on the continent gave an opportunity for government to consolidate itself and for the different courts and departments to get in the habit of acting for themselves almost apart from the king.

Coat of Arms of Richard I

Some other effects of the Crusades were even more important and far-reaching than those upon the government. The restless adventurers from England, in their journeys to the East and in their intercourse with the Greeks and the Saracens there, came in contact with a civilization far higher than they were used to in England. They brought back new habits of life and new ideas borrowed from these nations. They became used to the different kinds of food and dress, and to many conveniences previously unknown in western Europe. Besides, they were stirred by the experience of foreign travel and adventure. The isolation of England was lessened and she was brought by the Crusades more

into the general life of Europe, just at the time when the continental countries themselves were being awakened by the influence of the Crusades. Besides this, more active commerce between the East and the West came into existence as a result of the Crusades, and England had some share in this.

147. King John. — Richard had no children, and John, his youngest brother, succeeded to the throne of England.[1] John was one of the worst kings in English history. Nevertheless, the seventeen years of his reign included three occurrences of great importance. These were, first, the loss by the king of his dominions on the continent; second, a long contest with the pope which placed the church in a more independent position than before; and third, a rebellion, as a result of which the king was forced to accept for the future certain restrictions on his freedom of action.

148. Loss of the Continental Provinces. — The king of France was ambitious to extend his power more completely over the whole of that country. The territory immediately subject to him was comparatively small. The other provinces were held from him by great dukes, counts, and viscounts, who took oaths of feudal allegiance to him but otherwise ruled their own subtenants in practical independence. A large group of these provinces was held, as has been explained, by the king of England. The king of France now took advantage of the hostility to John of many of the barons of Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou, listened to the

[1] Geoffrey, who was next younger than Richard and therefore older than John, was dead, but his son Arthur was living and according to the usual custom of inheritance had a better right to the throne than John. But he was a mere child, living in France, while John was a man thirty-two years of age, had lived long in England, and was preferred as his successor by Richard. Besides, the strict custom of inheritance of the crown by primogeniture had not yet been fully accepted, and it was felt that the great men of the realm might exercise some right of choice. Nevertheless, a large party of the barons of the continental dominions declared for Arthur, and his claims were upheld by the king of France.

claims of John's nephew Arthur, and summoned John in 1202 to attend a feudal court made up of the dukes and counts of France. John refused to attend. The king of France then declared his territories forfeited by feudal law, and proceeded to march into Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou, and to take them immediately into his own hands. John made no sufficient effort to resist him, the barons of those provinces accepted the French king, and thus all John's dominions in France except those in the far south were lost to him. England, which had been united through her kings with Normandy almost continuously for a century and a half, and with the other provinces for more than fifty years, was now separated almost completely from the continent.

This threw England far more on her own resources. The barons who had held estates on both sides of the Channel now had to dispose of either their Norman or their English possessions and become either Frenchmen or Englishmen. The kings too from this time forward had far the greater part of their interests in England, seldom visiting even the dominions which they still possessed in Aquitaine.

149. Disputed Election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. — The quarrel with the pope occurred in connection with the election of a new archbishop of Canterbury. According to canon law the election of a bishop or archbishop should be made by the canons of the cathedral of the diocese. In England the influence of the king had generally been sufficient to induce the canons to elect the man he nominated to them. In the case of the archbishop of Canterbury this was especially the case, as he was in the position almost of an official adviser to the king. Besides this the other bishops were much interested in the choice of their superior, and his selection had therefore often been a matter of discussion in a great council. The pope also had a certain degree of control of the choice of archbishops, as previously explained. Thus there were two parties interested in the election of any bishop, the king and the canons of the cathedral. In the

case of an archbishop there were two additional parties, the pope and the bishops of the dioceses which were in his province and would be under his supervision.

When the archbishop of Canterbury died in 1205, the canons of the cathedral, who had long been desirous of asserting higher claims to independence, met the night after his death and, without consulting the king or any one else, elected one of their number as archbishop. They sent him immediately to Rome to obtain consecration and the *pallium* from the pope. When news of what had been done reached John he was extremely angry. He appealed to the pope against the election, and immediately, without awaiting a decision from the pope, forced the canons by threats to hold a new meeting and elect another clergyman, one of his own ministers, to be archbishop. The king then put this nominee into possession of the estates of the archbishopric. The other bishops of the province of Canterbury also appealed to the pope. The appeals dragged on as usual at the papal court, till after a year and a half the pope with his advisers decided against all three parties: against the canons because of their hurried and irregular election; against the other English bishops because they had no claims by canon law to interfere; and against the king because his appointee had acted as archbishop while an appeal was pending. Under the circumstances, since the representatives of all parties were at Rome with power to act, the pope advised that they proceed to elect another man then and there, and recommended to them a learned and pious English clergyman living at the papal court, Stephen Langton. Under pressure from the pope this was agreed to by the representatives of the chapter of the cathedral, and all the forms of election of Stephen Langton were gone through with.

John, however, was again furious, and a long exchange of embassies and letters took place. The pope asserted that it was in his power and a part of his duty under the circumstances to see that Canterbury was provided with a proper archbishop. The

king, on the other hand, refused to accept the pope's nominee or to give up his own.

150. **The Interdict.** — After three years the pope laid England under an interdict: that is to say, all public religious services were ordered to be suspended. No church bells were rung, no church service was held, no marriage ceremonies were performed, no burial service was read over the dead, no wills were probated. The country ceased, to all outward appearance, to be a Christian land. The people were deprived of their religious services as completely as a famine would have deprived them of food. In a religious period like the middle ages the distress of the people must have been almost as great in the former case as in the latter.

It was expected that this distress on the part of the people would lead them to compel the king to give way, but John cared little for the suffering or distress of the people, and himself seemed quite without religious feeling. He seized the possessions of the bishops who obeyed the interdict and banished them from the kingdom. Year after year passed away and still the king refused to accept Langton, and continued to oppress the churchmen.

Then the pope prepared to excommunicate John,[1] to declare his deposition from the throne, to absolve the English people from their allegiance to him and to intrust the king of France with the carrying out of these decrees. Such a threat would mean little if an English king were strong and popular in his own country, but John had rapidly lost the respect and the love of all classes of the people. His failure to keep or to regain Normandy and Anjou had made the nobles look on him as either too cowardly or too indolent for a king. He was untruthful, dishonest,

[1] Excommunication was a solemn service of the church by which the man excommunicated was declared to be expelled from the society of Christians. He was deprived of all religious services and comforts, was pronounced incapable of being legally married or of inheriting or bequeathing property, and if he died without the excommunication being removed, he was considered to be without hope of entering heaven after death.

and treacherous. He had inflicted private injuries on many of the barons and members of their families. He had divorced his wife, the countess of Gloucester, and married Isabella of Angoulême, a young girl who was already betrothed to one of his nobles on the continent. He was profane, tyrannical, and violent, and he had therefore neither the support of the clergy nor the love of the people. Of all the kings of England none has left the reputation of more complete failure as a ruler and greater unworthiness as a private man.

151. Victory of the Pope. — John knew his unpopularity, and as he heard of the plots against him and of wild prophecies of his death or coming deposition he suddenly gave way, surrendered every point for which he had struggled, and made terms with the pope. In making this surrender of his claims the king humiliated himself far more than was necessary. He allowed an envoy of the pope to come to England, and agreed to receive Langton as archbishop, to reinstate the exiled bishops, and to restore all church property that he had seized. He even went one step further and transformed the shadowy acknowledgment of the pope as a superior ruler made by some former kings into a complete recognition of his feudal superiority. There was an old claim of the popes that all islands were under their direct control. This had been already acknowledged in a general way by the king of Sicily and partially at least by Henry II and Richard for England and Ireland. John, however, now went down on his knees before the representative of the pope, resigning his crown into the hands of the legate and receiving it back from him in token that the king would be henceforth the pope's vassal.

King John (from the figure on his tomb in Worcester Cathedral)

He drew up and issued a formal acknowledgment of his feudal dependence on the pope for England and Ireland, and agreed to pay a certain sum to the pope each year as a recognition of it. The barons, the clergy, and the people of England made no opposition at the time to the king's action, the removal of the interdict being gladly welcomed by all. But it was too late for John to regain popularity if he had tried. By his unpatriotic subserviency he had only separated himself still more completely from all classes of Englishmen and obtained the favor of the pope alone.

152. Revolt against the King.—This unpopularity of the king proved to be of great importance during the remaining three years of his reign. The strong government built up by Henry II and carried on by the justiciars under Richard, with its heavy taxation, its severe justice, its laborious services, its universal obedience to royal officials, was hard for the people to bear even under strong and enlightened rulers and ministers or when partially rewarded by the glory won by a hero like Richard. When it was carried on under John it was not likely to be endured. He even increased the pressure of government by making the taxes and scutages heavier and collecting them more frequently. He summoned the barons to fulfill their military services and then did not lead them to war but kept them waiting till they paid to go home. He brought foreign mercenaries into England to overpower any resistance to his actions. He compelled the barons to put their sons into his hands as pledges for their own good behavior. During the interdict he used the courts and the Exchequer to plunder the clergy. Since in addition to these oppressions the king was personally hateful to so many, a rebellion against him was altogether natural.

In 1213, soon after the close of the conflict with the pope, at a great council held by the justiciar at St. Albans, while the king was absent in the north of England, it was determined by those who were present to demand from the king a return to the old laws of the country. At another council a few months later, held

at St. Paul's cathedral, London, the archbishop showed to the assembled barons and bishops the old coronation charter which Henry I had granted. The justiciar laid the demands for good government which the barons based on this charter before the king, but without result. Soon afterwards a conspiracy to rebel was formed among a number of the barons gathered at the abbey of St. Edmunds on pretense of making a pilgrimage. They agreed to take up arms and make war on the king unless he would grant their requests. A series of more strenuous demands for better government was then laid before the king by a committee of the barons headed by Stephen Langton, the new archbishop of Canterbury.

For the first time in English history a united demand by the great majority of the prominent men of the country was made upon the king. John refused it. Then the barons gathered their forces, united at Stamford in the north, marched through the midlands, gathering adherents from among the nobility, and finally proceeded to London, where the citizens opened the gates of the city to them. The king had no party in his favor except a few personal retainers. All deserted him except these and some government officials whose hearts were with the rebels, but who wished to prevent civil war if possible.

153. **The Great Charter.** — On the news that London had taken the part of the rebels, John gave way, as he had before given way to the pope, and agreed to accept the demands of the barons. He met them at Runnymede, a meadow along the Thames near Windsor Castle, a few miles west of London, June 15, 1215. There he granted the list of demands that the bishops, the barons, and the townsmen had drawn up. These were based on the coronation charter of Henry I, though extended to include sixty-three articles, including many matters that had come up since the time of Henry I. This document from its great length came soon to be known as *Magna Carta*, or the Great Charter. Later ages have based its greatness on other qualities than its mere size. The Great Charter

has always since been looked upon as one of the most notable documents of history. It has at least four claims to importance. The way in which it was obtained was significant. It was not given willingly and freely by a king who could choose whether to grant it or not, and choose just what he would grant. It was forced from the king by the people, or by the most influential classes of the people, acting unitedly. It showed that if a king did not rule as the people wished, he could be made to.

Secondly, it was important because it saved certain feudal principles of government from being superseded by the principle of absolute monarchy. Feudalism included the idea of an agreement between the king and his vassals that he would give them good government if they gave him good service. It was a contract which the king had no right to break. There were two parties to the bargain of government. On the other hand, the principle of the absolute government which Henry II, Richard, and John and their ministers had been building up was that government was a matter for the king only. The people must accept such government as the king chose to give them. The feudal theory of contract had been fast disappearing. But it was now revived. The Great Charter was an acknowledgment on John's part of the old ideal of agreement, and showed that the tenants in chief at least had the right as well as the power to call the king to account.

Thirdly, what it contained was important. It is true that when first read the Great Charter is almost sure to be a disappointment. There are no new arrangements about government, nothing but a return to old customs, for it is not, like the Constitution of the United States, for instance, a complete system of government. Many of its provisions are also insignificant and temporary. On the other hand, it contained a definite agreement to refrain from certain illegal actions. Whatever the king granted in the Charter to his tenants in chief, they were required to observe toward the men below them, and its benefits were therefore spread widely through the nation. The king promised also many things of a

more general and far-reaching character; as, for instance, the famous clauses, "No free man shall be seized or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed or banished or in any way injured, nor will we attack him nor send against him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land"; "To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay right or justice." Some of these general principles have come down as a part of the general stock of English liberties, embodied in many later documents and included among the early amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Although there is practically nothing about trial by jury or representation of the people or about many other valued elements in later English liberty, yet the tyranny of the king was effectually restricted by the provisions of the Great Charter, so that these new rights had a chance to grow up. As a matter of fact, the growth of the liberties of the people began with the adoption of the Great Charter.

Lastly, the Charter was of great importance for the service it fulfilled in later times as a definite statement of rights to which to refer. John declared, a few months after he had granted the Charter, that he did not intend to keep it, and he induced the pope to declare that it was void because the king had accepted it under compulsion. Nevertheless John's son and later successors swore time and time again to observe it. It was a great thing to have such a large body of the customs and laws of the country and such clear promises of good government set down in black and white, familiar to everybody and known to have been accepted by former kings. In earlier times, when the people appealed to the king for good government, they asked for "the laws of King Edward" or "the laws of Henry I"; but these were vague expressions without very definite meaning. Now a king who violated the old laws or showed himself tyrannical was asked to confirm the Great Charter and to abide by its provisions. In other countries as well as in England the Great Charter exerted an influence and was appealed to as a standard of the rights of the

people against the kings. It was the earliest mediæval document defining or making any great restriction on royal rights.[1]

154. Summary of the Period from 1154 to 1216. — The most characteristic and important occurrences of this period were those which prepared the way for the growth of a united English nation. These were largely the personal work of Henry II. At this time and for centuries afterwards it will be found that the personal character of the king is the most important single fact in the history of each successive period. The power and influence which he possessed and exercised were so great that his ability or incompetency, activity or indolence, prudence or heedlessness, made vastly more difference than in a modern monarchy. If he could not exercise much influence over the way the people made their living, he could give peace and order or else permit anarchy; if he could not change their national character, he could throw the weight of government in favor of some national tendencies and against others; although he could not control the personal character of his subjects, he could introduce new laws and disseminate through his officials his own enlightened ideas. The personality of the king is therefore of interest not so much for its own sake as for the permanent influence it exerted.

Henry II even more than most kings left this personal impress on his own and future times. The legal and judicial institutions which he introduced and the consistent pressure of the central government which he enforced did much to weld the English people into one body politic. The foundations at least of national unity were laid in his time.

The work of organization had been so well done in the time of Henry that the government remained strong even in the slacker hands of his two sons. The reign of Richard I, from 1189 to

[1] The Great Charter is translated from the Latin and published in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6; in the *Old South Leaflets*, No. 6; in Adams and Stephens's *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 42–52; Lee's *Source Book*, No. 80; and in numerous other places.

1199, is famous rather for the knightly exploits of the absentee king and for the reflected glory which England obtained from them than for anything of importance in its internal history. The reign of John, from 1199 to 1216, is preëminently the period of the Great Charter. The date of the Great Charter, 1215, will always remain one of the most important in English history, not because it weakened the central government but because it took the first steps towards putting it under the control of the people.

The effort of Henry II to bind together his scattered European dominions, with no bond of union except his own personality and power, was as great a failure as his English policy was a success. It had no results beyond his own lifetime. At his death in 1189 there was no more union among the various states of which he was ruler than at his succession, and although during the time of Richard they were held together, in 1204, in the reign of John, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine were lost altogether to the English crown.

The effort to bring all the British Isles under one government was scarcely more successful. The submission of the Irish chieftains to Henry in 1171, the homage paid to him by the king of the Scots in 1175, and the assertion of English lordship over Wales were the bases of many later claims, but they did not really unite those countries with England. The literary activity also was but a temporary reflection from the vigor of Henry's rule. The jury system, the assizes, the common law, the overmastering central government remained, therefore, the permanent work of the time.

General Reading. — GREEN, A. S., *Henry II* (Twelve English Statesmen); STUBBS, *The Early Plantagenets* (Epochs of History); and HALL, HUBERT, *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, are especially valuable and interesting. GREEN, *Short History of England*, chap. ii, sects. 7 and 8, chap. iii, sects. 1–3. RAMSAY, *The Angevin Empire*, is a continuation of his *Foundations of English History*, and is, like it, accurate, full, and scholarly. NORGATE, *England under the Angevin Kings* and *John Lackland*. Church

affairs, which fill so much of this period, are described in great fullness in STEPHENS, *History of the English Church, 1066–1272*, and satisfactorily but less fully in WAKEMAN, *History of the Church of England*, pp. 107–131.

Contemporary Sources. — The principal chroniclers for this period whose works are accessible in English are ROGER OF HOVEDEN and ROGER WENDOVER, *Flowers of History* (Bohn's Library). A number of extracts from these authors are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 64–79. Lee has a number of additional documents illustrating the contest between Henry II and Becket, and between John and the pope, Nos. 58, 59, 61, 66–79. COLBY, *Sources*, Nos. 22–30, covers a somewhat wider range of subjects. In both of these collections as well as in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6, the principal assizes of Henry II, and the Great Charter are given. ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Documents Illustrative of English Constitutional History*, includes these and a larger body of such documents than any other collection. ARCHER, *Crusade of Richard I* (English History by Contemporary Writers), is of much interest. A number of extracts from GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS and contemporary accounts of the life of Thomas are given in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 88–110.

Poetry and Fiction. — SCOTT, *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*. TENNYSON, *Becket*. SHAKESPEARE, *King John:* the historical character of this play is not so good as that of those which describe later periods, but it represents especially strongly the patriotic spirit of Shakespeare's own time. *The Robin Hood Ballads* properly belong to this period. A number of these and other early ballads are in GAYLEY and FLAHERTY, *Poetry of the People*, and in ALLINGHAM, *The Ballad Book*. YONGE, *The Constable of the Tower*. BULFINCH, *The Age of Romance*, contains many of the stories borrowed from GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.

Special Topics. — (1) Personal Character of Henry II, Mrs. GREEN, *Henry II*, pp. 1–20; (2) the Mabinogion, BULFINCH, *Age of Romance;* (3) the Conference at Runnymede, "Roger of Wendover," year 1215, in LEE, Nos. 77–79, and GREEN, *Short History*, chap. iii, sect. 3; (4) Leprosy in England, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 367–371; (5) Trial by Jury, *ibid.*, pp. 285–295; (6) Richard in the Holy Land, ARCHER, *The Crusade of Richard I*, pp. 132–175; (7) Henry II and the Clergy, MAITLAND, *Canon Law in England*, pp. 132–147.

CHAPTER IX

THE FORMATION OF A UNITED ENGLISH NATION 1216-1337

155. Accession of Henry III.—The period that followed the grant of the Great Charter was a confused and disorderly one. The union of the barons against the king lasted only long enough to secure his submission and then it gave way to divisions among them. This enabled John not only to revoke the charter he had just granted but to collect troops, to gain adherents, and to make war on his principal opponents. They in turn united their forces again and offered the throne of England to Louis, eldest son of the king of France. He accepted the invitation and sent over an army to help the barons. In the midst of this struggle, less than a year after the grant of the Charter, John died, and his son Henry, a boy of nine years of age, was proclaimed king under the guidance of the loyal party of the barons. The Great Charter, with some changes, was regranted by his guardians in his name, and soon Louis of France returned home, all contending parties having acknowledged Henry as king.

Henry III had one of the longest reigns in English history, covering fifty-six years, from 1216 to 1272. In character and temperament he was weaker than his predecessors. The kings since the Norman Conquest had been men of more than average ability. They were all of vigorous nature even when this character was accompanied with great vices. Henry III lived a better life as a private man and was more refined and kindly than any of the preceding kings; but he had no military ambition or capacity, no independence of judgment, no clear policy. He was, moreover,

weak, frivolous, unwise, and false to his promises. His influence over events during his long reign was therefore very slight.

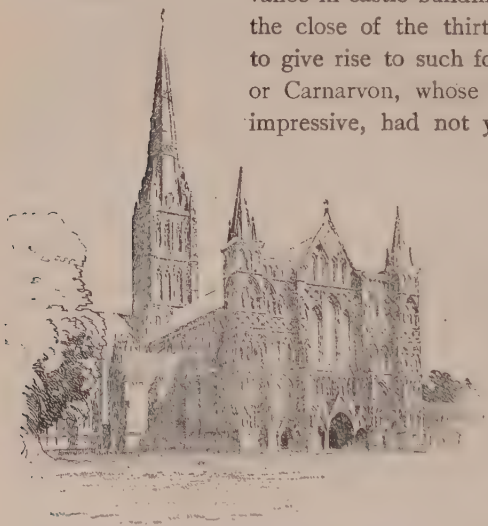
156. **Architecture.** — As a matter of fact the changes which were in progress in England in the thirteenth century were of a kind in which the part even of the most vigorous and ambitious of kings could be but small. In architecture, which usually reflects national life very clearly, this was the period of the introduction of the first truly national style of English building, that which is called Early English. In building churches and other sacred structures, instead of the heavy piers, thick pillars, low round arches, and general impression of strength, solidity, and sternness which had belonged to the Norman period, the English architects through the reign of Richard and John developed a very different style of building and ornament.[1] In this form of architecture the pillars are made up of groups of light, airy shafts; the arches are tall and pointed; while vaulted stone roofs take the place of those built flat and of timber. Crockets, a sort of half-unrolled leaf form, were used along the arches, and other flower and leaf forms took the place of the lozenges and zigzags of the earlier sculptors. The whole character of the buildings and their ornamentation was tall, graceful, slender, and elegant.

Nevertheless the skill of the builders was such that there had been no real loss of strength with this increase of lightness of appearance. The Early English buildings were even more strong and permanent than the Norman. Salisbury Cathedral was built in the middle of the reign of Henry III, between 1220 and 1258, and is an example throughout of this Early English style. The king pulled down almost the whole of the earlier Westminster Abbey church, and built it anew on a larger scale. In this reconstruction, however, as in everything else which Henry did, he submitted himself to French influence, and the proportions of the Abbey are therefore hardly characteristic of the English church

[1] Compare the figure of Salisbury Cathedral shown on the next page with that of the interior of Hereford Cathedral shown on page 142.

building of the time, though the building is so in other respects. The beautiful chapter house at Westminster became the model for many such structures throughout England.

In the building of castles there were no such great changes. The keeps were now sometimes built round instead of square, and were surrounded by more extensive walls, but the great advance in castle building that was to mark the close of the thirteenth century and to give rise to such fortresses as Conway or Carnarvon, whose ruins are now so impressive, had not yet come.



Salisbury Cathedral (an example of the Early English style of architecture)

157. The Universities. — The life of this period did not run so largely in military as in more peaceful lines. A proof of this is to be found in the rapid growth of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. During the earlier middle ages instruction was given to pupils at most of the cathedrals and larger monasteries. Education was in the main a survival from the teaching of the schools of the later Roman Empire, and had been reintroduced into England from the continent along with Christianity during the Saxon period. It was altogether in the hands of the clergy, and was intended principally for the training of clergymen. Pupils were taught, besides reading and writing, three primary subjects of study: grammar, the use of words; rhetoric, the forms of

writing and speech; and logic, the forms of reasoning. These three subjects were called the *trivium*. Four more advanced subjects made up the *quadrivium*, that is to say, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and the science of music. These were known as the seven liberal arts, and lay at the basis of further studies in philosophy, divinity, law, and medicine. Teachers became famous at certain cathedral or monastic schools, and large numbers of pupils gathered around them. In certain places also, quite independent of cathedral or monastery, teachers gave instruction, made reputations, and attracted students.

In this way the beginnings of the great universities of Oxford and Cambridge seem to have been made. As early as 1150 there were many teachers and students at Oxford. These teachers or masters adopted some sort of organization among themselves, and it was to this group of masters that the word *universitas* or "university" [1] was applied. In King John's time a special official, the chancellor, was appointed to exercise authority over the masters and scholars at Oxford in the name of the bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese the city lay. At about the same time a similar body of masters and scholars was springing up at Cambridge. From these beginnings the organization gradually developed, statutes came to be regularly adopted and recorded, officers elected, rules enforced, and the university assumed definite form.

The next step was the foundation of separate colleges in the universities. In 1274 Walter of Merton, bishop of Rochester and chancellor of the kingdom, gave certain estates as an endowment for the support of a warden and several scholars or fellows. He laid down a set of rules, according to which they were to devote themselves to study and to live together like a body of monks in a

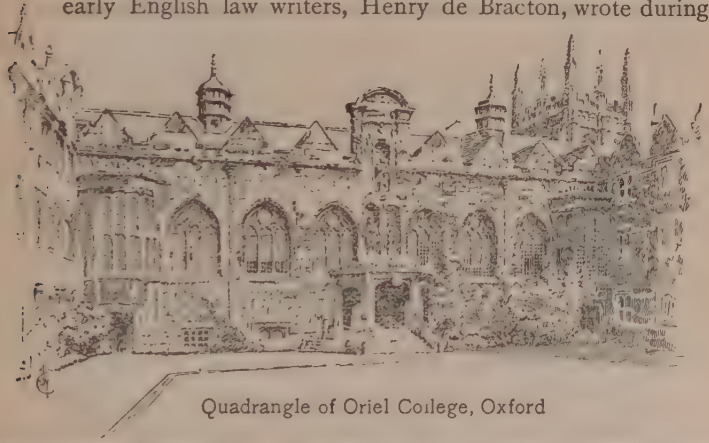
[1] At first the word *universitas* meant any kind of an organized body or group of persons, and was applied frequently to the merchants of a town or to the clergy of a cathedral. It was, however, gradually restricted in meaning to a body of persons organized for purposes of higher study and teaching.

certain group of buildings which was erected for them at Oxford. In these buildings other students were also to be educated, and some were to be supported from the endowment. This was the first separate college within the university. Soon others were established. Merton served as the model on which Oriel and other new colleges at both Oxford and Cambridge were planned. At Oxford three were founded before the end of the thirteenth century, and nine during the fourteenth. Nevertheless the great majority of students continued to live not in colleges but in halls or inns managed by independent masters, or simply in lodgings. Taken as a body the students at the universities made up a turbulent mass of several thousand men and boys of all ages, with very little discipline or order. They were claimed by the church as belonging to the clergy and therefore only amenable to the ecclesiastical courts. For all matters except the most serious they were nominally under the authority of the chancellor of the university and the congregation of masters or graduates. As a matter of fact they were but little submissive to any authority. The universal use of Latin by scholars both for speaking and writing made it easy and common for students to go from one country to another to study, and the absence of any fixed period for graduation left the student to wander at will over Europe, seeking a teacher or teachers whose reputation might attract him.

158. **Learned Men.**—There was no lack of famous scholars. Gathered around the universities and in the position of bishops or other church officials were at this time a large number of unusually learned men. The thirteenth century was a century of great men in England, as it was in other countries. At no time previously, during the middle ages, and scarcely since, have men thought in many fields more deeply or reasoned more closely. Indeed, many of the men who made the continental universities famous came from England. Roger Bacon and a number of other learned Englishmen made a group of Oxford trained men, all of whom afterwards became famous as lecturers at Paris, Bologna,

or other European universities. One of the greatest of them, however, Robert Grosseteste, as head of one of the schools at Oxford, as bishop of Lincoln, and as adviser of the great men of the kingdom, lived the whole of a long life and exercised great influence in England itself.

159. **Law Writers.** — All the learned men of the time were not, like those who have just been mentioned, students of philosophy or theology, connected with the universities, or even principally occupied in the church. For instance, the greatest of the early English law writers, Henry de Bracton, wrote during



Quadrangle of Oriel College, Oxford

the reign of Henry III. He acted for many years as one of the king's justices, collected a vast number of decisions given by the great royal judges of the time of Henry II, and made notes of his own important and typical cases. He then used these as authorities for his conclusions as to what the common law of England really was. At the same time he had studied Roman law and the discussions of its principles by the law lecturers and writers of the University of Bologna, so that he was familiar with the forms into which that body of law had been thrown. With this preparation he wrote a long work, borrowing some general principles as well as its form from foreign treatises, but making it a systematic

statement of the English common law as it was then and as in the main it has remained since. Still other works were written at about the same time, describing the procedure and customs of the lower courts.

160. The Historians.—The thirteenth century also saw abler chroniclers than any that had preceded them. The new group of historical writers who had sprung up in the reign of Henry II was continued by men who knew better how to classify the events they recorded, and to tell the causes and effects of actions as well as the occurrences themselves. The best of these were the successive annalists who lived and wrote at the monastery of St. Albans, a Benedictine abbey situated about twenty miles from London. This abbey had been founded before the time of Alfred, and had become larger and richer since the Norman Conquest. It was on the old Roman road running northward from London, which was still the main line of travel between the south and the north, and was therefore well situated for news of what was going on in the world. Here a record of current events was kept, as in so many other monasteries, and some industrious or ambitious chronicler prefixed to it an account of earlier history from the creation of the world, drawn from some other sources. During the early part of the thirteenth century Roger of Wendover became the historiographer of the abbey, rewrote the earlier chronicle, added to it the events of his own time, and called his work the *Flowers of Histories*.

His successor, Matthew Paris, was the best of mediæval writers of history. He used the writings of his predecessors at St. Albans for earlier periods, but wrote the history of his own time—the twenty-five middle years of the reign of Henry III and of the thirteenth century—independently. His work was of course in Latin. That part of it which was written by himself was about three times the length of this text-book. He was personally acquainted with King Henry, Bishop Robert Grosseteste, and many of the other leading men of the time, and evidently knew

a great deal of what was going on in France, Germany, and Italy. His style is bright, and he is full of keen observations about the things of which he wrote.

161. The Scriptorium of a Monastery.—The historiographer of a large monastery was provided with a special room, known as the *scriptorium*, where he and his assistants worked. This room was provided with desks or tables, and an official in charge kept

Remains of the Scriptorium of Fountains Abbey

parchment, ink, and pens for a group of monks or other clerks who were busied with much copying or writing. The keeping of the official chronicle was only a small part of the work done. Charters and letters were written or transcribed, service books for the chapel, portions of the Bible and other religious books were copied, and transcripts of the classics and of other famous writings were prepared, to be used as presents for great men or to be placed in the monastery library.

In those times, before printing was invented, the multiplying of books required many hands, and skill in clear, ornamental handwriting brought a high reputation. Some of the writers in the scriptorium, therefore, copied the main body of the manuscript, while the initial letters and other ornamentation was left for persons skilled in drawing and in the use of gilt and colors. Matthew Paris had a reputation for illustration and handwriting as well as for his historical work.[1]

162. The Friars. — The monasteries, which were in this way literary centers, were either old Benedictine abbeys, or Cluniac, Carthusian, and Cistercian reformed monasteries founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the reign of Henry III a new group of religious orders arose, and members of them soon made their way into England. These were the Dominican, Franciscan, and other friars.[2] The first two were founded by St. Dominic, a Spaniard, and St. Francis of Assisi, an Italian, just at the beginning of the thirteenth century. They differed radically in their objects and in their methods of life from the older monastic bodies. Their main duty was missionary work. Their vows required them to visit and help the poor and to teach and preach to those who needed intellectual and spiritual rather than material help. They were not to live retired from the world in monasteries, nor to draw their support from endowments of land, like the older orders, but were to establish their houses in populous towns, and laboring there or traveling from one town to another, depend on the free gifts of the people for their support from day to day. They were therefore called "mendicants," or "begging friars." The Dominicans were also called the "preaching friars," or, from the color of their gowns, the "black friars." The Franciscans were known as the "friars minor" from the humility they professed, or the "gray friars" from their gray robes.

[1] See on p. 165 an example from a manuscript still existing.

[2] So called from the French word *frères*, or Latin *fratres*, brothers, which was what the members of these orders called themselves.

Another similar order, the Carmelites, were known as the "white friars," and still another body as the "Austin" or "Augustinian friars" because they followed the rule of St. Augustine.

The Dominicans and Franciscans established their first homes in England at Oxford, just at the beginning of the reign of Henry III. There they were drawn, both by their location and by the objects of the foundation of their orders, into higher teaching, as well as into popular instruction, preaching, and charitable work among the poor. Their Oxford and later their Cambridge houses were practically equivalent to colleges in those universities, and many of the most famous teachers and learned men of the time, including several of those already named, and more than one archbishop of Canterbury, were members of one or other of the orders of friars. They paid especial attention to medicine and physical science, as the training of their own younger members was intended to fit them especially for practical usefulness in mission work.

Prominent as the friars were in the educational and learned world, they were most active as popular preachers, wandering from place to place, speaking in the language of the common people, and telling pathetic, humorous, or marvelous stories to enforce their teaching. They worked often amidst still more obscure surroundings, in the crowded towns, like the Salvation Army of modern times.

163. The Towns. — The need for the philanthropic work of the friars is only one of several indications that town life was coming to be more customary among the English people than it had been in earlier times. At no time since Britain had been a province of the Roman Empire had any considerable part of the people lived in cities or boroughs.[1] Only quite late in Saxon times, and principally where there were many Danish traders, did people feel attracted to town life. The Norman Conquest seemed at first

[1] A town which was the seat of a bishop, that is, where a cathedral was situated, was called a city; any other considerable town in England was called a borough.

unfavorable to the size and prosperity of towns, for right in the midst of many of them the Conqueror had hundreds of houses torn down in order to put up the stone castle in which he wished to place soldiers to keep the people of the remainder of the town and the surrounding country from rebellion. There are only too many such entries as the following in Domesday Book, which describes Oxford in 1085: "In this town there are four hundred and seventy-eight houses so wasted and destroyed that they cannot pay any tax." However, houses of the Norman time were easily replaced, being only slight affairs, built with a light framework plastered over on the outside. We find one townsman complaining that the constable of the castle has taken his house and moved it into the castle yard; and an old law says that if any one has harbored heretics in his house, it is to be carried outside the town and burned. The timber-built houses came later, and stone houses later still.

The security from foreign invasion and the comparative good order kept by the Norman and Angevin kings gave an opportunity for towns to become more numerous and populous. Many foreigners of greater skill in trade and handicrafts than the English came to dwell in the towns and to increase their wealth and enterprise. Their growth was of course mainly dependent on this extension of trade and handicraft. The townspeople still had their cattle and small bits of cultivated land beyond the built-up streets, but their principal occupation was either buying and selling, or making articles for sale. Those places which were situated on some good harbor on the coast or on some navigable river within easy reach of the sea came to have trade with the merchants of the continent. Towns grew up likewise at well-known fords over rivers, at favorable locations on the old Roman roads, or where some monastery rich in sacred relics brought crowds of pilgrims together and thus made a market for goods. The greater activity of life, the increase of wealth, and the more frequent intercourse among men passing from one place to another for purposes of trade, all favored the

growth of the towns of England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

164. Town Charters. — Some of these towns had always been directly under the king. Others, in the feudal organization of the country, were growing up on land belonging to some earl, baron, or church body. Customs grew up among the people of a town, which they valued and felt to be necessary to their prosperity. They found also that their money could obtain for them from the

Old Town Hall of Leicester

king or their other lord, whoever he might be, recognition of their customs, and still other advantages in the way of settling their own internal disputes without interference, or of carrying on their government in their own way. The need of Henry II for money to carry on his wars on the continent, of Richard for his crusade, and of John and Henry III for their various uses led them to grant charters to towns very readily when good sums were offered. And the townsmen were now rich enough to pay well for their privileges. Thus one after another the towns obtained charters, guaranteeing to their citizens the right to enforce their local

customs, to make new regulations, to pay their taxes in one sum to the government, collecting them among themselves as they saw fit, and many other privileges. A town valued its charter above all things, and from time to time offered and paid to the king a large sum of money to obtain a new charter with more extensive rights. Nevertheless, the townsmen always had to appear before the king's justices when they came on circuit, to keep the assize of arms and other such national laws, and in other ways constantly to recognize the supremacy of the royal government.

The towns were mostly small. London was a large city, but others, such as Bristol, Southampton, Exeter, Leicester, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, and York, were places with not over three or four thousand inhabitants. Surrounded by walls, crowded, and often dirty, they were nevertheless busy and filled with well-to-do traders.

165. **The Gild Merchant.** — The citizens were organized for trade purposes into what was called the *gild merchant*. This organization consisted of all those who took part in trade, and was usually authorized by the town charter. The gild made rules to preserve the trade of the town to its own citizens, or to grant it to strangers on payment of fees or tolls, and it enforced its trade regulations by fines or by expulsion. All trade and commerce was in this way controlled and directed by the gild merchant. It had its meetings for good fellowship also, and made charitable contributions not only to its own members who fell into misfortune but to others.

166. **Craft Gilds.** — Later in the thirteenth century the gild merchant became of less importance, and in its place in each town a number of organizations came into existence made up of the men working in each particular kind of industry, such as weavers, dyers, carpenters, leather workers, etc. Most of these bodies had received the authorization for their existence from the authorities of their towns, although some had secured charters [1] directly from

[1] A charter was a formal document granted by the king or in the king's name by the chancellor or some other official, giving a right to the persons receiving it to do something or to hold certain powers and privileges which

the king. These companies, fraternities, crafts, or craft gilds, as they were variously called, had the oversight of each particular occupation, and included all who worked at it in that town. They made rules for work and prosecuted before the town authorities those who violated them. Like the gild merchant they had their social and religious side, holding meetings and banquets, going to church in procession, attending the funeral services of their deceased members, looking after their widows and orphans, and in other ways serving as brotherhoods as well as trade organizations. Probably far the greater number of the inhabitants of the towns were members of some such organization.[1]

167. Fairs. —Much of the buying and selling of the country was done not in the towns but at the fairs. The fairs were gatherings held at various places yearly or oftener. The right to hold a fair was dependent on a charter which had been granted by the king to an abbey, bishop, baron, or even a town government. The bishop of Winchester, for instance, had a charter granted to him by William II, allowing him to hold a fair every year, lasting two weeks. It was held on a hill not far from the town of Winchester. Booths or wooden shops were put up and rented to merchants, who came from different parts of England and from other countries to buy and sell. Tolls were charged by the bishop on everything that changed hands. While it was being held, nothing except food could be bought or sold in the city of Winchester itself or for several miles around.

they could not have except by this grant from the government. A baron's right to try and to punish his tenants; the right of a town to have a court of its own, to collect its own taxes, or to exclude strangers from trading in its markets; and the right of the carpenters, weavers, or bakers of a town to have a separate organization and powers, were only a few instances of the many forms of royal charters constantly being granted. A substantial fee was usually paid to the government for the privilege of obtaining a charter, and it had to be renewed frequently and a new fee paid.

[1] Some charters of towns, and rules of merchant and craft gilds, can be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1, "Towns and Gilds."

The bishop's officers held a court at the fair for the immediate settlement of disputes that broke out among the merchants, and for the punishment of offenses committed there. This was called a court of "pie-powder," which was an English mispronunciation of the French words *pied poudré*, "dusty foot." The court was so called because of the promptitude of its action. Men might come to it just as they were, without even stopping to brush the dust from their shoes. There were six or eight fairs in England as famous as that of Winchester, and several hundred of lesser importance, many of them being held in mere villages and only for the sale of live stock or of some special article. More than a hundred charters for fairs were granted in King John's time, and more than two hundred in the time of Henry III.

168. Country Villages.—The great mass of the people of England, however, knew nothing about either fairs or town life. They lived, as they had lived for centuries, in small villages in the country. Most of them are described in the records of the time

Plowing in the Thirteenth Century (copied from a manuscript)

as either villeins or cotters. The cotters were laborers who occupied cottages in the village, each perhaps also having an acre or two of land, or even less, somewhere near the village. The villeins made up the great body of the ordinary villagers. They were small farmers, having their land in the fields surrounding the village and living probably much as they had done in Saxon and in still earlier times. The ordinary villein seldom had less than ten or more than thirty or forty acres of land. This was quite as much as he could, with the aid of his family, attend to, in addition to his performance of the services required

by the landlord, for each village and its surrounding fields were subject to certain rights of ownership of some "lord of the manor." The lord of the manor might be a noble or knight or other substantial landholder, a monastery or bishopric or college, or it might be the king himself. Much of the land in each vill[1] belonged directly to the lord of the manor. This land was called the *demesne*, and although scattered about in separate pieces in the open fields surrounding the village, was carried on as one large farm, the produce going directly to the lord of the manor. The cotters and villeins were bound to furnish an amount of labor which was generally sufficient to cultivate the demesne without cost to the lord of the manor. Each cotter had usually to devote one day's labor in each week, and each villein three or four days to working on the lord's land, for which labor they received no pay. At certain seasons of the year they had also to do much extra plowing, harvesting, threshing, and hauling for the lord of the manor.

In addition to these labor services the villeins and cotters had also to make payments to the lord in money and in kind. They had also to attend the court, which the lords of the manors kept up, and to submit to the decisions given and fines imposed there. The manor court met every few weeks under the presidency of the lord's steward, settled various kinds of suits, and punished offenses of the tenants of the manor.[2]

169. Serfdom. — The villeins and cotters were bound to stay upon the manor, or to leave it only on being given permission by the lord of the manor. The land which they held was, at least

[1] "Village," or "vill" (Latin *villa*), and "manor" meant practically the same thing at this time, although the word *manor* is generally used when the rights of the lord over it are being discussed, *vill* when the people and their land are referred to.

[2] Instances of the services required from villeins, of the amounts of land they held, and of the proceedings of the manor courts can be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. III, No. 5, "Manorial Documents."

nominally, the property of the lord. In the eyes of the common law they were not free men but serfs. They could not have their suits heard in the hundred or shire courts or in the courts of the king, but only in the manor courts of their lords. They were bound to do what the lord or his representatives required them to do on the days when custom required them to work for him. *Villeinage* or serfdom consisted of a group of burdensome requirements, including both the payment of money and the performance of services, of limitations on a man's freedom to come and go when and where he chose, of a general uncertainty as to his title to his property, and of exclusion from the protection given by the public courts of the country. Probably two thirds of the whole population of England in the thirteenth century were in this position of serfdom. The rest were either citizens of towns, churchmen, lords of manors, or the common freemen of the country.

170. Freemen. — These freemen lived in the villages, along with the villeins and cotters already described. Like them they were tenants of the lord of the manor, holding their land from him. They were also subject to many of the same payments as the villeins. They were often required also to attend the manor court. Those who had small holdings must have shared much of the village life of villeins and cotters. On the other hand, every freeman could dispose of his land and leave the manor if he chose; he could bring his suits into the king's court instead of that of the manor if he wished to; he was independent of the lord of the manor in regard to everything except his land; he was not burdened with the payment of servile dues; and, above all, in the eyes of the law he was free. He was not free because he had more land than the villeins, but because he belonged to a different class. Some freemen probably held even less land than some of the villeins, though usually they held more. It was these freemen or freeholders in the country, along with the citizens of the towns, who had to be ready for military service according to the Assize of Arms, who had to form the juries to accuse

criminals according to the Assize of Clarendon, who formed the greater number of the suitors in the king's courts, and the greater number of substantial taxpayers. They made the rank and file of the nation in the eyes of the government. The villeins and cotters, although they made a majority of the population, were looked upon as in a certain sense the property of the lords of the manors, and were not taken much account of by the government.

If a freeman had as much land as would bring him in an income of twenty pounds a year, he must by law become a knight; that is, he must either be dubbed a knight or at least pay feudal services for his land and in other ways do the services expected from a knight.[1] The class of freemen in this way led up from those who were scarcely distinguishable from villeins to the feudal and noble classes, with scarcely a break anywhere between. It was one of the striking characteristics of the English nation that the different classes shaded into one another, from the peasantry all the way up to the barons and earls.

171. Written Records. — The thirteenth century was in peaceful matters one of the greatest centuries in English history. The long reign of Henry III was a period in which architecture, learning, education, law, trade, and many other occupations and interests were advancing rapidly and taking the form which gave shape to much of later history. Our knowledge of the period is likewise greater than of any earlier time. We are no longer dependent on the chronicles and royal charters alone for our information about contemporary events or conditions. Early in the thirteenth century, that is to say in the reigns of John and Henry III, it became customary for very many more records to be kept. Each branch of the royal court kept a record of its decisions; charters granted in the name of the king were recorded

[1] This requirement was known as "distraint of knighthood." An income of twenty pounds a year would probably mean that a man had at least four or five hundred acres of land. He would therefore in most cases be the holder of a whole manor.

on the "patent rolls"; the bishops began to keep written registers of their business; and the stewards of the manor courts kept rolls of the doings at their meetings. Lords of manors from time to time drew up surveys giving the names and services of all their tenants. Many town documents and gild records dating from this period give an insight into that side of life. The bulk of documents still existing from the thirteenth century is enormous; and such study as has yet been devoted to them gives us a much clearer picture of those times than is possible for any earlier period.

172. Reign of Henry III.—The personal history of the king and the political events of this period were very troubled. The unpopularity of Henry III after he grew to be a man, which has been referred to before, was due largely to two things,—his habit of choosing foreigners as advisers and officeholders, and his subservience to the pope.

Most of the barons could now fairly enough be called Englishmen. Since the loss of Normandy and Anjou they had estates in England only, and their interests were necessarily at home. Men whose ancestors had been born and had lived on English soil for several generations felt that they were natives of the country, even if their forefathers had gotten it by conquest and even if they still usually spoke a language different from the native language of the country.

173. Foreign Favorites of the King.—The men to whom Henry gave his confidence were, on the other hand, recent immigrants from Poitou and other districts of France. Peter, a Poitevin, who had been made bishop of Winchester and at one time chancellor, was for a long time the principal adviser of the king, and used his influence for the protection of foreigners and their appointment to office. The king's marriage with Eleanor of Provence brought the relatives of the new queen and their dependents flocking from that country into England, expecting and obtaining high offices in church and state, titles and grants

of royal land. Among these Boniface of Savoy, the queen's uncle, became archbishop of Canterbury. When Henry's liberality to foreigners became known a similar invasion of the relatives of his mother by her second marriage came from Poitou and were similarly welcomed.

England was becoming a rich country, but its people were behind those of the continent in quickness of mind and business ability. Many of the foreigners who sought Henry's patronage had much shrewdness and skill in money matters. They had better ways of borrowing, buying, and bookkeeping. They were also brighter in conversation, more polished in manners, and more familiar with literature than Englishmen. Over the king, with his intellectual but easy-going and pleasure-loving disposition, they had therefore great influence. By the English nobles and churchmen whom they displaced in position and influence, on the other hand, they were heartily disliked.

The English nation as a whole had even better grounds of complaint against them. Through their influence the king was led into great expenditures which were not of national interest or benefit. The foreign clerks and officers were skillful in borrowing money, in buying things that pleased the king, and in making the necessary arrangements for the collection of taxes and the transmission of money abroad; but in the long run the English people paid all the bills. This was the more hateful because the expenses had been incurred not through the ministers but through the mere clerks whom the king employed.

174. Henry's Relations with the Pope.—The popes of this period were unusually able and ambitious men. Innocent III was successful in the long struggle with John; he had been earlier engaged in a similar contest with the king of France, and was concerned in the political affairs of most of the countries of Europe. Those who followed him were strong popes, who kept up a long contest with the German emperors and finally humbled them and obtained their desires. The dependence of England

on the pope had been increased by John's action, and Henry had been under the protection and guidance of papal legates during all his early life. It was not strange, therefore, that the pope's power in England should be great; but Henry allowed it to increase far beyond what it had ever been before.

Time and time again during his reign the papal court imposed taxes upon the English clergy, and several times it demanded large contributions from clergymen and laymen alike towards the expense of certain projects carried on by the pope and his advisers outside of England. The pope claimed that these projects were for the common good of all Christendom, and that the Christians of all lands should therefore contribute towards them; but to Englishmen generally they seemed to be largely for the private objects of the pope as a man, engaged in personal quarrels, or as the ruler of an Italian province carrying out a policy which had no interest or importance for Englishmen. King Henry was almost alone in England in approving of this taxation of Englishmen for papal purposes and by papal collectors.

175. Papal Representatives in England.—Several times also papal legates or ambassadors came into England. One of them, Cardinal Otho,[1] came at the invitation of the king and stayed for years, engaged in a general reform of the English church, exercising high powers and exacting large sums of money for his own expenses and for the needs of the pope. The representatives who were in England simply for the collection of money were still more objectionable and riots sometimes occurred because of their exactions.

[1] "Cardinal" is a title of honor given to certain prelates who are the nominal holders of the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical positions in the city of Rome and its suburbs. Apart from the office which gives them the title of cardinal, however, they are usually archbishops or bishops in the various countries of Christendom. Their number has varied at different times from twenty to seventy. They are the advisers of the pope and the highest church officials. On the pope's death they meet in conclave and elect his successor from their own number.

176. Italian Holders of English Church Positions. — As the part played by the pope in Europe became a larger one, a great number of churchmen connected themselves with the papal court at Rome and served as officials of the pope. These he desired to reward or support by having them appointed to church positions in various countries. At one time he urged Henry to agree that no churchman should be appointed to any vacancy that should occur till three hundred Italians had been provided with English church positions. This practice was opposed by the most devout English churchmen as well as by those who were not ecclesiastics, but the king made no serious opposition to it. Henry also allowed appeals to be taken from the English church courts to the papal court without opposition, and paid regularly the sum of money which John had agreed to give the pope in recognition of his overlordship of England.

Finally, in 1257, Henry agreed to let the pope grant to Edmund, his second son, the kingdom of Sicily, the pope having just declared the dethronement of the former king of that country. It would require a war, called by the pope a crusade, to drive out the former king and place Henry's son in his position, and the English king agreed to pay the expenses of the war.

177. Growth of the Power of the Great Council. — The Great Council had met throughout the reigns of John and Henry III with greater frequency than in earlier times, and the earls, barons, bishops, and abbots who attended it took a larger part in the discussions. Gradually the name "parliament"[1] came into use to designate the Great Council. By the middle of Henry's reign it met almost every year, and sometimes even more often. Many of these meetings were occasions for sharp disputes, in some of which the king himself took part. The barons frequently refused

[1] From the French word *parler*, to speak, having reference to its being a meeting for speaking or discussion. It had formerly been frequently and was still occasionally called by one or other of the terms council, convention, colloquy, or convocation.

the taxes demanded by the king, and complained of his policy and bad management of the duties of government and of the finances.

178. Simon of Montfort, and the Provisions of Oxford. — The leader among the barons for many years was Simon of Montfort, earl of Leicester. He was in reality one of those foreign adventurers who had come from France to the English court. His family were nobles from the south of France, but through his grandmother he inherited the earldom of Leicester in England. When he came he succeeded in obtaining the earldom and married the sister of the king. Instead of remaining a foreigner, however, he threw himself into all the interests and feelings of the English baronage, and had much intercourse with the English bishops and abbots, especially with those whose national feelings were opposed to the constant interference of the pope in English affairs. Little by little Earl Simon became the acknowledged leader of the baronage, and over and over again he led their opposition to the king.

At last, at two successive parliaments held in 1258, the barons, led by Simon, took such a decided stand that the king was forced to agree to a series of changes by which many reforms were introduced into the government. Foreigners were to be removed, other ministers appointed, various committees of bishops and barons authorized to carry out reforms, and a permanent governing council of bishops and nobles chosen. This council was to control all the actions of the king, appoint ministers and office-holders for him, and have possession of the royal castles. These arrangements were known as the "Provisions of Oxford," from the place where parliament met when they were finally drawn up. All concerned, including the king, took an oath to conform to the Provisions.

Henry found the restrictions very hard to endure and tried to free himself from the Provisions. When he threatened to revoke them Earl Simon and many of the barons armed themselves and prepared for civil war. Various efforts at settlement were made. At one time the whole dispute was referred to the king of France,

Louis IX, or Saint Louis, as he was called. With his high ideas of royal power and duty Louis decided all points in favor of Henry and annulled the Provisions of Oxford.[1] The barons, however, refused to accept this award and war broke out in 1263. The king, his son, Prince Edward, and a part of the barons were on one side, Earl Simon and another party of the barons, supported by the general approval of the nation, were on the other.

A great battle was fought in 1264 at Lewes in Sussex, where the rebellious barons were victorious. The king was captured and held in imprisonment by them, while Earl Simon carried on the government in the royal name. Next year, however, war broke out again. At the battle of Evesham the barons were defeated, and the three years of fighting ended with the death of Earl Simon and the victory of the king, or rather of his eldest son, Edward. The king made some concessions which were announced in a parliament. Edward and many of the nobles went away on a crusade, and things remained peaceful until the death of Henry in 1272, and even during the two years that followed while Edward was still absent in the East.

179. Accession of Edward I. — Edward made his way homeward through Italy and France, visiting the pope and doing homage to the king of France for his French dominions on his way. He reached England, was crowned in 1274, and reigned thirty-five years. The most noteworthy feature of this period was its intensely national character. Edward, in striking contrast to his father, was strongly English. Along with his old English name he had a decided preference for Englishmen and English ways. Henry II had looked upon England only as one of a group of countries in each of which he had the position of ruler; Richard had thought of it merely as a source of money to enable him to go on crusade or to live in his other dominions; Henry III had lived most of the time in England, and only occasionally

[1] This decision was known as the "Mise of Amiens," and the wars that followed are known as the "Barons' Wars."

visited his possessions in the south of France, but his intimate friends and his personal tastes were all French. In Edward, however, the English people at last had a truly national king, who loved England; one whose aim it was to carry out an English policy, to make England the center of his interests, and to choose Englishmen as ministers of his government. This attitude of the king was in harmony with the condition of the country. The English were becoming more distinctly a single nation. The foreign elements of the population were being absorbed into the mass of the people. The days had gone by when foreigners ruled over England and when the people were separated into different nationalities one superior to the other. The people of one region were likewise brought much more into contact with those of other parts of the country, and various causes were bringing classes more into union.

180. Parliament. — One means by which this unity was accomplished was the representative character given to the parliament. Judged by its influence in after times on England and on other countries the completion of the organization of parliament was vastly the most important event of this time. Even during the time of Henry III parliaments had become occasions for discussing the policy of the government. No great change was introduced by the king, no important action was undertaken, nor did he try to collect any tax without obtaining the agreement of a Great Council, that is to say, of parliament.

The king and his ministers felt that the general approval of all the influential classes of the people was desirable and even necessary for the successful carrying out of any measure. This approval by the influential classes of the nation could be obtained only by calling a parliament and consulting with it. In one of his proclamations Edward laid down his policy by declaring that "that which affects all should be approved by all."

Who were the "influential classes"? Who were the "all" whom the king had in his mind? In earlier times it had been

simply the nobles and prelates. But a change had come over the country. The earls and barons and great churchmen were no longer the only people of influence. The number of freemen below these ranks who yet had land, money, position, and intelligence was very great. In the country districts there were many knights. There was a still greater number of substantial freeholders who held some land but not sufficient to make them of knightly rank. These classes represented a large part of the solid strength of the country. In the cities and boroughs, which had been growing in number and size, there were many rich, enterprising, and intelligent merchants.

181. Introduction of the Middle Classes into Parliament.—If it was desirable for the king to obtain the agreement of all the important classes of the community to public measures these substantial middle classes could hardly be neglected. Especially was this so when it came to a question of taxation. Land was no longer the only form of wealth in the country. There was a great deal of money, of personal property, of wool and similar articles raised for export, and of goods brought in from foreign countries. Therefore the feudal payments of the barons were only a small part of the contributions that might be levied for the purposes of the government. All these other forms of property might be taxed, and vastly the greater part of them were in the hands of the well-to-do middle classes in the country and the towns. Therefore from the point of view of taxation these classes were even more important than the nobles or the great churchmen.

The knights and freeholders of the country districts could be reached through the county courts, the merchants through the town governments, and for some time no better way had been found of obtaining their agreement to taxation than for the king's justices and exchequer officials to appeal to each county court and to the officials of each town directly. This was usually done by the justices when they went on circuit. At each county court they demanded a certain rate of taxation previously decided

upon at a parliament or merely by the king's ordinary council. But this was a cumbrous, uncertain, and vexatious process. A better one was soon devised.

182. **Representation.**—The choice by a large body of a few persons to represent them had become a familiar custom in England. In some obscure forms it had been practiced far back in Saxon times, but its distinct use was introduced by the government during Norman and Angevin times. According to the Assize of Clarendon the accusing jury represented the people of a locality, and a trial jury in the same way represented the body of neighbors of the person charged with an offense. When taxes were to be collected each county court elected representatives to assess the sum to be paid by each person. During the thirteenth century this custom of having all the people of any one locality represented by a few was becoming almost universal in local affairs. It was not long before the same plan was introduced in national affairs.

This plan was as follows. The king required each county and each town to send representatives to the general meetings of parliament so that the agreement of those they represented could be obtained at the same time as that of the barons and clergy. Several times during the reign of Henry III the county courts were ordered to send representatives to parliament; and once, in 1265,[1] while the king was under the control of Simon of Montfort, representatives of both counties and towns were summoned. The custom was not regularly followed, however, and most parliaments contained only the old classes, — earls, barons, bishops, and abbots.

[1] This date is sometimes spoken of as the "beginning of parliament." It is only so in the sense that it was the first time that representatives of both the counties and the towns, in addition to the nobles and churchmen, were called to attend parliament. Parliament of course was the same as the Great Council of the king, and had always existed in one form or another from the Anglo-Saxon witenagemot downward. The name parliament, as already stated, had been used for the Council for some time before 1265. The new classes were not regularly called again after 1265 for some thirty years.

Edward was a great constitutional reformer. He was not only interested in obtaining his own immediate ends and the money for the needs of his government, but he was devoted to the work of governing for its own sake, and anxious to introduce permanent arrangements for good government into England. He had been as a young man in the thick of his father's contests with the barons, and seems to have learned lessons of political wisdom from his experiences. During the early part of his reign, therefore, he summoned representatives of the towns and county courts

Ruins of Chapter-House of Margan Abbey

repeatedly for consultation, although not according to any invariable plan. Frequently still the barons and clergy only were called to a parliament, according to the old custom.

183. Parliament of 1295.—In 1295, however, a more regular system was adopted, which became the standard and model for all later parliaments. The king summoned as usual the archbishops, bishops, greater abbots, earls, and barons, by a special letter or writ[1] addressed to each, to come to a parliament to meet at Westminster on a certain day. Then a writ was sent to the

[1] A summons issued by the king or in the king's name for such purposes as this was called a *writ*. The wording of the writs sent out in 1295 can be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6.

sheriff of each county ordering him to see that two men of the rank of knight were elected to represent the whole county, and two townsmen to represent each city or borough in that county, all of whom were to come to the appointed place to the meeting.

Thus when this parliament met in the winter of 1295 its membership consisted of the two archbishops, eighteen bishops, about seventy abbots, seven earls, and forty-one barons; and in addition to these some seventy representatives of the shires and some two hundred representatives of the towns. After this time all these classes were regularly summoned to parliament.

184. **The Houses of Lords and Commons.**—There was much to draw the representatives from the shires and those from the towns together. Both classes were newcomers in parliament, both were elected deputies of other men, both were humble in position compared with the barons and clergy. Therefore they acted together and were frequently treated as one class. They became known as the "commons" in parliament. The commons were the representatives of the middle classes, or those next below the nobility and higher clergy.

So far as is known, no regular custom of sitting in parliament was followed at first, but as time passed on the difference of position and interests between the older classes in parliament and the commons led to the custom of sitting in two different rooms and being organized as two separate bodies.[1] These became known as the House of Lords, including the nobles and clergy, and the House of Commons, including the representatives of the shires and the towns. The House of Commons elected a "speaker," to represent them in conferences with the king and to preside over their meetings. The lord chancellor presided over the House of Lords. Each house grew to have somewhat different customs, powers, and privileges.

[1] This is often spoken of as the "bicameral system," or system of two chambers, and has been imitated in modern times in the United States and in most other countries.

The bishops and abbots sat in parliament not only as great churchmen but as representatives of the whole organized church. The nobility of England were the earls and barons who were summoned in person to parliament. The commons were considered to represent all the rest of the nation, though of course the great mass of the people had no influence in their election or over their actions in parliament.[1]

185. Statutes. — Edward was not only a great constitutional reformer, but was also a great legislator. His time was a period of important lawgivers. Louis IX of France issued many decisive statutes and had the feudal law of that country put into formal shape. Frederick II of Sicily issued one of the most famous legal codes in history, and Alfonso the Wise of Castile did the same for his country. All these great lawgiving kings lived within the same half century.

Edward's reign was marked by a series of laws that stand in the forefront of the long line of English statutes. Statutes are written laws, not simply arising from custom, as the common law, nor issued as instructions to royal officials, as were the assizes of Henry II, but regularly drawn up and agreed to by both the king and his parliament. Almost at the beginning of the statute book come a series of long statutes adopted at various times during Edward's reign, some of them directed towards single specific objects, others including a vast variety of matters. From this time onward statutes became more numerous. Edward has sometimes been called the English Justinian, because like that Roman emperor he did so much to develop and codify the laws of the country.

186. The Confirmation of the Charters. — There were many disputes between Edward and various classes of his subjects, — at

[1] The three classes, lords spiritual, lords temporal, and commons, were often called the "three estates" of the realm. The word "estate" is from the Latin *stare*, to stand, or to be established, and therefore means an established class.

one time with the baronage, at another time with the clergy, at another with the merchants. His government was a strong one and often bore so hardly on certain classes of the people as to arouse their resistance. "By God, Sir Earl," the king once said in an outburst of wrath against the earl of Norfolk, who had refused to go outside the realm to fulfill his feudal military service, "you shall either go or hang." "By God, Sir King, I shall neither go nor hang," was the reply of the haughty nobleman.

Taxation was none the less heavy because the people were induced to agree to it in parliament. Indeed under the pressure of his needs Edward was not satisfied with the regular grants of taxes made in parliament, but in opposition to the spirit if not the letter of the law demanded many other payments from the towns, from the merchants, and from the peasantry on the royal estates.

In 1297 resistance to the king rose so high that advantage was taken of his immediate need of money and troops to require him to agree to a document solemnly confirming the Great Charter and the Forest Charter,[1] and making some additional promises by which he gave up all right of taxation except "by the common consent of the realm." Although the charters were confirmed many times afterward, as they had been before, yet this action has been called in a special sense "The Confirmation of the Charters." The additional articles now agreed to made it necessary for the king to consult parliament before collecting any taxes. Thus that body was placed in a position of far greater power than before, and, if the "Confirmation" should be faithfully maintained, parliament would be enabled to control the king's actions by limiting the funds at his disposal. Like all other far-reaching laws, however, it was only enforced in part, and kings still found opportunity to secure money without a special grant.

187. **The Jews.** — One of the best known actions of Edward was the banishment of all Jews from England. There do not

[1] The Forest Charter had been issued by Henry III to limit the rigor of the forest laws.

seem to have been any Jews in England in Anglo-Saxon times. After the Conquest, however, they came in with other immigrants and their numbers had since become large. Their religion set them apart from the rest of the population of the country, who were all members of the same organized Christian church. Every Englishman was considered to belong in some parish and in some diocese. Not only his religious interests but his marriage, the inheritance of his property, his burial, were matters for the control of the church. The whole of ordinary life was conducted on the supposition that men were members of the same religious body.

The Jews did not fit into this framework and so had to live a life apart. They were allowed to live only in certain wards of the larger towns, which were known as "Jewries." They were required also to wear a special dress or a badge of yellow cloth on the breast. They were considered to be living in the country not by common right but by the special consent of the king and under his protection. They were subject, therefore, not to the common law but to special regulations made for them by the king or his officers. In ordinary life they were to a considerable extent under the government of their own leading men.

The ordinary occupations were closed to the Jews by popular hatred and by the religious customs followed by the people in these occupations. Jews could not be members of merchant or craft gilds in the towns, or farmers in country villages. They were of course shut out from the clergy, and generally speaking from official positions. On the other hand, they had superior abilities. Some were of widespread repute as physicians and many were famous for their learning. Their keenness in financial matters was a race characteristic and they were the only class who at that time had any considerable capital. They were also freed by their religion from the universal law binding upon Christians in the middle ages prohibiting the lending of money on interest. As a consequence the great occupation of the Jews was the unpopular trade of money lending.

Unfortunately money was not usually at that time loaned for purposes of productive use. Business was all on such a small scale that men carried it on by their own labor or with the small amount of capital which they themselves possessed. When men borrowed money it was merely to free themselves from pressing debts or other difficulties, to equip a marauding or crusading expedition, to obtain funds necessary to carry on an expensive lawsuit, to pay a sudden demand for taxes, or some such unproductive use. They were willing therefore to offer, and the Jewish money lender was ready to demand, enormous rates of interest. When the money was not repaid, as was frequently the case, the land or whatever else had been given as a pledge fell to the lender. They were also accused of "clipping" the coin, that is, cutting thin strips from the edges of the silver coins and selling the metal thus obtained. Religious prejudice alone was sufficient to make them hated by the ignorant classes of the people, the whole race being held responsible for the crucifixion of the Saviour. Stories went around that they seized and sacrificed Christian boys in their religious services, and that they continually uttered blasphemies against Christianity.

188. **Royal Protection of the Jews.** — The unpopularity of the Jews was therefore very great. They lived as an alien element in England, subject to a popular dislike which occasionally rose, on some sudden rumor, to a wild hatred that led to the sacking of the Jewries and the murder of their inhabitants.

The kings, however, valued the Jews as a body of men among whom there was much wealth which could be drawn on in various ways. They were required to make heavy payments for protection and privileges. Regular poll taxes were collected from them, and special taxes laid upon them whenever the king felt that this could be done without too greatly impoverishing them or causing their departure from England. During the time of Henry III a more enlightened policy was adopted, many efforts being made for their conversion to Christianity and regulations

issued for their holding of landed property. A special building was erected at London as a dwelling place for poor Jews who should become converts to Christianity. Edward at first carried this policy still further, imposing upon the friars the special duty of preaching to the Jews, and offering to each convert the legal possession of at least one half of the property which had formerly been at the uncontrolled disposal of the king. A law was also passed opening all occupations to Jews and allowing them to rent land, but at the same time forbidding them to lend money on interest.

189. **The Expulsion.** — These measures, however, met with little success. There was no perceptible change in their habits. The wave of popular hatred was rising higher, so in 1290 the king issued a proclamation ordering all Jews to quit the kingdom before a certain day under pain of death. He allowed them, however, to take their goods and money with them, and sent royal officers to the ports from which they were to go to protect them from the injuries of the people. He even provided free passage for the very poor. It is said that 16,511 Jewish emigrants left England at this time.

190. **The Conquest of Wales.** — Although Edward both by nature and opportunity was inclined to devote his best efforts to the problems of government, most of his time, like that of every other strong king in the middle ages, was necessarily spent in warfare. He was engaged during much of the latter part of his reign in a contest with the king of France to retain Gascony, the sole remainder of the wreck of the old dominions of the English kings in France. His two greatest series of wars, however, were with Wales and Scotland.

The people of Wales had never been completely conquered or united with the people of the rest of England. The mountainous nature of their country, their fierce character, and their pride in their Celtic blood had enabled them to preserve their political independence under their native chieftains. The Welsh princes

had, it is true, been forced from time to time to acknowledge the supremacy of the English king, but it was only a formality, and the people of Wales continued to live in practically independent barbarism. These half-independent Welsh princes frequently gave help to the enemies of the king, whether these enemies were rebellious nobles or invading foreigners. They also made frequent plundering raids into England and in turn suffered from similar raids in retaliation by the English nobles on the borders.[1]

Soon after Edward's accession one of these periodical conflicts arose under the Welsh prince Llewelyn, and Edward determined to settle the Welsh contest once for all. He therefore called a parliament and obtained from it a grant of taxes, collected a large army, marched into Wales, and, after a desperate struggle, put down all resistance, defeated and killed the prince, and brought his judges and Exchequer officials to the border to begin the work of transforming Wales into a part of England. He issued a long code of regulations known as the "Statute of Wales," which divided that country into shires on the model of England and introduced English laws and customs. His infant son was given the title of "Prince of Wales," which the eldest son of the king has borne since that time.[2] The work of conforming Wales to England was only partly successful and was accomplished very slowly, but the foundation for it had been laid by Edward's expedition.

191. The Question of the Scottish Succession. — The claims of the English kings to supremacy over Scotland were even more indefinite and unreal than those over Wales had been. Scotland really included two different nations, — the Highlanders, who were

[1] The frontiers between England and Wales and England and Scotland were called the "marches," and the nobles who held estates in these border districts were called "lords marchers."

[2] According to an old story Edward promised to give to the Welsh people as prince a native of Wales and one who could not speak a word of English. He then presented to them his infant son who had just been born at the Welsh castle of Carnarvon.

mainly Celtic and lived among the rugged districts of the north, and the Lowlanders, who were partly Teutonic, like the north of England people, partly Celtic invaders from Ireland. A long line of kings had ruled over these various elements without bringing them together very successfully. From time to time the Scottish kings had paid homage to the English kings, acknowledging a kind of supremacy on their part, but the English kings had not interfered in any way with the internal affairs of either the Lowlands or the Highlands.

192. The Award of Norham.—The ambition of Edward I, however, extended so far as to plan for the real union of all the island of Britain; therefore, when the inheritance of the kingdom of Scotland descended to a little girl, Edward immediately

Remains of Carnarvon Castle, Wales, the Birthplace of Edward II

arranged for her marriage to his eldest son. Unfortunately the young queen of Scotland soon died and there was no unquestioned heir to the throne. Several Scotch nobles were descended from the royal family and claimed the inheritance. Edward was called upon to act as arbitrator. In 1292, therefore, he went to the

castle of Norham on the border between England and Scotland, attended by the nobles of the northern counties of England, to meet representatives of the nobility, clergy, and commons of Scotland and to render his decision as to who had the best claim to the throne.

Before he gave his award he demanded that the Scotch should all acknowledge his feudal superiority over Scotland and its king. This was done somewhat reluctantly by the Scotch representatives and claimants for the crown.

There were three principal competitors, John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings, each of them descended from the royal house of Scotland by the female line, each of them a Lowland noble, and each holding estates in the northern part of England also. Edward, after full discussion and investigation of documents, gave his decision in favor of John Baliol. This nobleman, therefore, was acknowledged by the Scotch representatives, received possession of all the Scotch royal castles, and again did homage and swore fealty to Edward as his superior lord.[1]

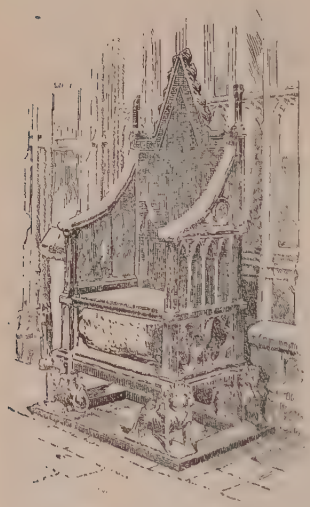
A vigorous national ruler like Edward was not likely to allow his supremacy over the king of Scotland to remain the mere formality it had previously been. According to his view, Baliol held practically the same position toward him for his Scottish monarchy as he did for the various lands which he held in England. Scotland, like Wales, was looked upon by Edward as simply a feudal lordship held by one of his barons, just as the earl of Norfolk, for instance, held his estates. The king of England was supreme over them all alike. The Scottish king and

[1] The words of Baliol's oath of fealty were as follows: "Hear you this, my lord Edward, king of England and sovereign lord of the realm of Scotland, that I, John Baliol, king of Scotland, do fealty to you for the realm of Scotland, which I hold and claim to hold of you; that I will be faithful and loyal to you, and faith and loyalty will bear to you of life and limb and worldly honor, against all who may live and die; and loyally I will acknowledge and loyally perform the services that are due to you for the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland. So help me God and these holy gospels."

Scotland in the Thirteenth Century: the Highlands and Lowlands, the Scottish and English Marches, Lothian, and the Principal Towns and Castles

people, on the other hand, like the Welsh, had been practically independent and felt themselves to be a separate nation from the English.

193. **The Defeat of Scotland.** — Naturally, therefore, disputes soon arose, and within a short time the Scots and their king were at war with Edward. They were, however, no match for the English king with his military ability and training, the veteran warriors among his nobles, and the well-equipped armies he was able to bring into Scotland. The Scotch king was defeated, deposed, and banished, resistance was beaten down, and English officials were established throughout the country. Scotland was treated, according to Edward's views and after the example of Wales, as a dependency, almost as a part of England. The crown and other emblems of royalty were taken away to London and the "stone of Scone," a square block of stone upon which the Scottish kings always sat to be crowned, was carried to London and fastened under the seat of the English coronation chair, where it still remains.[1]



English Coronation Chair

194. **William Wallace and the Wars of Scotch Liberation.** — Scotland was temporarily conquered, but resistance showed itself

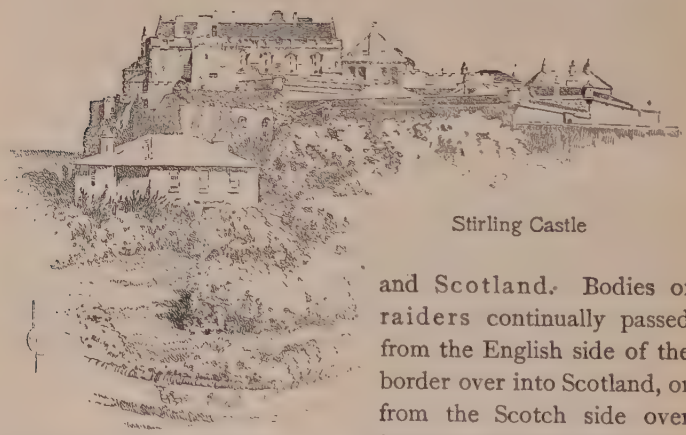
[1] Many old traditions gathered around this stone, among them one that it had been brought to Scotland from Ireland, and to Ireland from Egypt by a certain daughter of Pharaoh; and that it had come to Egypt from Palestine, where it had been hallowed by being the stone on which the head of Jacob had rested when he saw the vision of the angels ascending and descending between earth and heaven.

whenever Edward or an overwhelming English force was not present. One of the principal leaders of the opposition among the mass of the Scottish people was William Wallace, who has stood in later stories as the representative of the Scottish struggle for independence, and the great national hero. He was according to all traditions a bold, chivalrous, and daring warrior. Most of the leaders made their peace by submission to Edward. Wallace kept up the struggle, was successful in many a fight, and won castle after castle from its English garrison. But he was an outlaw, with only such volunteers as he could gather around him, and after some years, in 1305, he was captured, taken to London, tried for treason, and executed.

Yet the national resistance had been growing steadily ever since Edward's first invasion, and notwithstanding his kingly qualities a permanent conquest of Scotland became evidently impossible. War surged to and fro through the Lowlands and up to the very entrance to the Highlands, continually embittering the native feeling. In 1306 Robert Bruce, a grandson of one of the earlier claimants of the crown, declared himself king, and, making use of the growing feeling of nationality, called all classes of Scotsmen to arms for a last great struggle. For some time the Scots gained but little. Bruce was often a mere fugitive in the mountains, though he always returned to the attack. Finally the tide turned. The Scots had no longer to contend with the warrior and statesman, King Edward I. He died in 1307, as he was about to enter Scotland with a new and still more powerful army. With his last breath he enjoined upon his son and successor, Edward II, the completion of the conquest of Scotland. Edward II, however, was unwarlike and indolent, and followed up the contest with little vigor or interest. A series of partial successes gave the Scots command of most of the Lowland cities, castles, and fortresses, and Bruce finally laid close siege to Stirling, one of the last and strongest of the English strongholds. The English brought a fresh army into Scotland to its rescue, and in 1314, near Stirling

Castle, was fought the decisive battle of Bannockburn. The Scots, drawn up in solid squares and masses of men, resisted the first attacks of the English, threw them into confusion, and then overwhelmed them and won a brilliant victory. Bruce had at last succeeded in making good his position and he soon obtained the recognition of Scotland as a kingdom independent of England.

The feelings of hostility engendered by this contest gave rise afterward to almost interminable border warfare between England



Stirling Castle

and Scotland. Bodies of raiders continually passed from the English side of the border over into Scotland, or from the Scotch side over into England, burning houses, destroying crops, seizing cattle, plundering villages, and killing people. The plan of Edward I had been to create a single, united, well-governed nation including the whole of the island of Britain, but this had failed. The national desire of the Welsh and Scotch for independence, as well as their state of barbarism and their different interests, could not be overcome and made the plan impracticable.

When Edward I died in 1307 he was sixty-nine years of age, having reigned thirty-five years. He was one of the greatest of English kings and, notwithstanding the failure of his "imperialistic" plans, he left a deep impression upon the history of England.

Bodiam Castle, built in the Fourteenth Century

195. Edward II. — Edward II was, on the other hand, of comparatively insignificant character and exercised little influence upon history. During his reign of twenty years he was alternately under the guidance of favorite friends and ministers and the control of rebellious parties of barons. In 1310 a great meeting of the nobles and prelates, much like the gatherings that forced the Great Charter on King John in 1215 and imposed the Provisions of Oxford on Henry III in 1258, forced Edward to put the work of reforming the government into the hands of a group of twenty-one nobles, who were known as the "Lords Ordainers." The Ordainers drew up a long series of ordinances introducing various reforms and banishing the king's favorite ministers. Edward's efforts for the rest of his reign were largely devoted to freeing himself from the ordinances, while the barons repeatedly rose in rebellion to enforce them.

During the last of these revolts, which occurred in 1327 and was directed in the first place against the king's favorites rather than against the king himself, Edward was captured and imprisoned. Under the influence of his opponents a parliament was called and a bill passed declaring the king incompetent and guilty of many offenses. He was therefore formally declared to be deposed from the throne. He died soon afterward, having doubtless been murdered.

196. The Minority of Edward III. — Edward III, a boy thirteen years of age, was placed on the throne when his father was deposed. During his minority and the early years of his reign there are no great matters to chronicle. But beginning with the year 1337 a series of events of much greater importance took place, which will be described in the succeeding chapter.

197. Summary of the Period from 1216 to 1337. — The great permanent change which occurred during the period included in this chapter was the consolidation of the English people into one well-defined race. For a time after the Norman Conquest there were two distinct peoples in England, — English and Norman;

but the process of union by intermarriage began early, and the distinction between the races was gradually broken down. Within a hundred years of the Conquest it was often impossible to tell whether a man was English or Norman. All men except the villeins, who were mostly pure English, were apt to be part English, part Norman. This process of union of races had now become complete.

The different customs of government of Saxons and Normans were also coalescing and combining to form new national institutions. For instance, the old Anglo-Saxon division of the country into shires and hundreds and the new Norman and Angevin royal ministers and officials were combined into one new system of Exchequer and court sessions. Old English customs and the new doctrines of the royal judges were combined into the common law of England. The various claims of the nobles and local bodies to separate customs and separate rights were giving way to the powers of the king and of the one central government. The old position of the king as elective head of the nation and the new idea of the king as feudal lord over the barons were combined into the limited monarchy of Henry III and the Edwards. The gradual increase of the power of the Great Council, or parliament, marks the reign of Henry III, and the final admission of the commons in 1295 makes that date one of the most important in English history. Men from all parts of England and from all classes of the people now met almost every year and exercised a strong and growing influence on the government.

Likewise during this period a national form of architecture was developed; the English language had gone through most of its changes of form and was fast displacing French and Latin in spoken usage; and the two great universities were drawing students from all parts of the country.

Therefore, instead of different races with different languages, various kinds of law, and various kinds of courts, the English people were now to a great extent one united nation with similar

customs and a single government representing the whole people. This national union was of course new as yet, but it was real. England was more united, more truly a nation, than any other country of Europe at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. iii, sects. 4–7; chap. iv. This portion of Green's work is particularly valuable. RICHARDSON, *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III*, and PROTHERO, *Simon de Montfort*, are very good accounts of the early part of this period. Of the latter part, TOUT, *Edward I* (Twelve English Statesmen), and JENKS, *Edward I* (Heroes of the Nations), give good accounts. The conditions of life in town and country can be read in CHEYNEY, *Industrial History*, chaps. ii and iii. The rise of the friars and the condition of the church can be read in full form in STEPHENS, *The English Church, 1066–1272*, or in LEA, *History of the Inquisition*, Vol. I, or in brief form in JESSOPP, *Coming of the Friars, and Other Essays*, essay i.

Contemporary Sources. — MATTHEW PARIS, *Chronicle* (Bohn's Library). A number of extracts from that chronicle are given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 25, and COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 31. Documents concerning the summoning of parliament are in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6; concerning towns and gilds, in Vol. II, No. 4; and concerning rural life, in Vol. III, No. 5. HUTTON, *Misrule of Henry III* (English History from Contemporary Sources), and FRAZER, *English History from Original Sources*, contain much scattered material. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 111–134, illustrate this period.

Poetry and Fiction. — JANE PORTER, *The Scottish Chiefs*, is a spirited and interesting story of the time of the Scottish wars, but its characters of Wallace and other heroes are quite imaginary. PALGRAVE, *The Merchant and the Friar*, although in the form of a story, is almost all drawn from contemporary records. MARLOWE, *Edward II*, is a tragedy written long afterwards but with a plot drawn from trustworthy chronicles.

Special Topics. — (1) The Origin of Parliament, MONTAGUE, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 58–81; (2) Roger Bacon, COLBY, *Selections from the Sources of English History*, No. 32; (3) St. Francis and St. Dominic, ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 225–232; (4) the Expulsion of the Jews, ABRAHAMS, *The Expulsion of the Jews from England*; (5) Architecture and Art, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 415–427; (6) Universities, *ibid.*, pp. 429–440; (7) Fairs, *ibid.*, pp. 460–470; (8) a Mediæval Village, JESSOPP, *Coming of the Friars, and Other Essays*, essay ii.

CHAPTER X

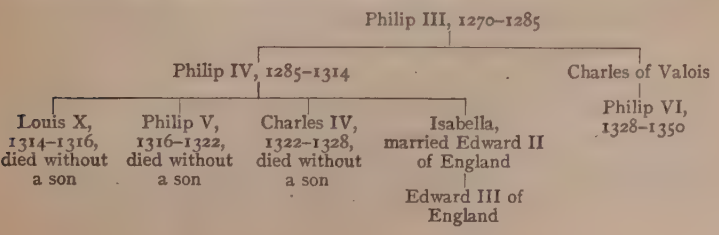
THE FIRST HALF OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR 1338–1399

198. Possessions of the English Kings in France. — National unity had been growing in France as in England during the thirteenth century, although more slowly and against greater obstacles. One of the results of this growth was to make the possession of the southern provinces of France by the English king seem unjust to the French rulers. The English had of course lost Normandy and the central French provinces, but the territories which they still held in the southwest of France made up at least a quarter of that country. The two most important of the provinces held by them were Guienne and Gascony, which together with some smaller provinces of the southwest were all frequently spoken of together as Aquitaine. The English king held them only as a vassal of the French king, and each successive sovereign from Henry II to Edward III had performed homage to the king of France for them. But they did it reluctantly. It was almost too much to expect an English king, used to being supreme in his island dominions, to kneel and in the forms of feudal humility promise to be the man of another ruler. He would naturally consider his dominions on one side of the Channel much the same as those on the other. The French kings, on the other hand, could not abate their claims. They must even take advantage of every excuse to extend them, because the English holdings in France stood in the way of their national unity. An irreconcilable conflict was therefore impending over the two countries so long as the English continued to hold Aquitaine.

199. New Causes of Conflict. — During the reigns of the three Edwards several subordinate causes of conflict were becoming stronger. First, the French had given constant help in money, men, vessels, and protection to the Scots in their wars against the English. Secondly, the sailors of the growing fishing and trading towns on the English side of the Channel were in constant petty warfare with those of similar towns on the French coast. The kings of England and France were not strong enough to keep their own subjects in order and each blamed the other for these attacks in time of peace. Thirdly, the interests of England and France clashed in Flanders. Flanders was under the dominion of a count who was a vassal of the king of France; but, on the other hand, all its trade interests and connections were with England, for the wool used by the weavers in their manufactures was imported from England and many of the articles manufactured in Flanders were exported to England. It was to the interest of the Flemings and the English to keep this trade open, but the French often closed it.

Edward III had also a more personal dispute with the king of France. This was his claim to the inheritance of the French crown. His mother Isabella was the daughter of the French king Philip IV. Three brothers of Isabella had reigned successively but died leaving only daughters. Edward might therefore have hoped to inherit the French crown through his mother.[1] But the feeling in France against the rule of a foreigner, especially if the

[1] Edward's claim to the inheritance of the French crown may be shown by the following genealogy of the French kings.


Philip III, 1270–1285
Philip IV, 1285–1314
Charles of Valois
Philip VI, 1328–1350
Louis X, 1314–1316, died without a son
Philip V, 1316–1322, died without a son
Charles IV, 1322–1328, died without a son
Isabella, married Edward II of England
Edward III of England

foreigner were an Englishman, was very strong. It was therefore declared by the French nobles and lawyers to be a principle of French law that women could not inherit the throne, and conse-

The Principal Wool-Raising Districts of England and Wool-Manufacturing Towns of Flanders and Brabant

quently could not transmit the inheritance of it to a son. This custom was known as the "Salic Law," from an obscure provision of the code of the old Salian Franks excluding women from the inheritance of land. From these causes of conflict the two

nations, France and England, were gradually becoming embittered against one another, and when war should arrive it would evidently be a real national conflict. It would be no mere feudal struggle between the English king and his overlord, the king of France, or a border war, such as had often occurred before, concerning the possession of some petty castle, but a great national struggle.

200. Outbreak of the Hundred Years' War. — In 1328, when the last of the sons of Philip IV died, a cousin, Philip, count of Valois, was declared to be king of France, and was accepted by the whole French nation. After some hesitation Edward also acknowledged him and did homage to him for his French provinces, although with some reservations. For almost ten years, during Edward's minority, there was little more than a series of disputes between the two governments, but in 1337 Edward began to make preparations for war and laid open claim to the throne of France. England had stood with her back to the continent for more than a century while struggles between king and barons, and the conquests of Wales and Scotland, had absorbed the great interest of the king and the people. Now, however, an apparently endless war with France brought England into much closer intercourse with the rest of Europe. "The Hundred Years' War," as it came to be called, may therefore be taken as the principal thread of the history of the time.

The English Royal Arms as adopted by Edward III in 1338 (the French *fleur-de-lis* quartered with the English lions)[1]

Edward and his ministers made every effort to obtain the approval and interest of all the people in the war, and found little difficulty in doing so. The circumstances that brought on the war were explained by the king's ministers in parliament,

[1] See royal arms on p. 173.

by the sheriffs in the county courts, and by the clergy in the churches. Taxes were readily granted. Ambassadors were sent over to the continent to make alliances with Flanders and with the nobles great and small along the eastern borders of France.

Edward himself went over to the Netherlands with an army in the summer of 1338, and a year afterwards invaded France. There was some fighting and much plundering, but little was really accomplished for several years. The methods of warfare at this time consisted more in the devastation of an opponent's territory than in actual fighting. English marauding expeditions pressed far into the heart of France, burning towns and villages, driving off flocks of sheep and cattle, destroying crops of grain, cutting down orchards, and leaving desolate behind them whole districts formerly fertile, prosperous, and thickly inhabited. The French retaliated by sending fleets to ravage and burn the English coast towns along the Channel, pillaging their shops and killing and maltreating the people.

201. The Battles of Sluys and Crécy. — Occasionally, however, serious battles occurred. After two years Edward made a visit to England and on his return, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty vessels gathered from the seaport towns of the southern and eastern coasts, met a great French fleet in the harbor of Sluys on the Flemish coast. A long and bitter struggle took place. The English weapons and plan of attack proved their superiority, most of the French vessels were captured, their crews slain or driven into the water, and a proof given of the English national capacity for sea warfare.

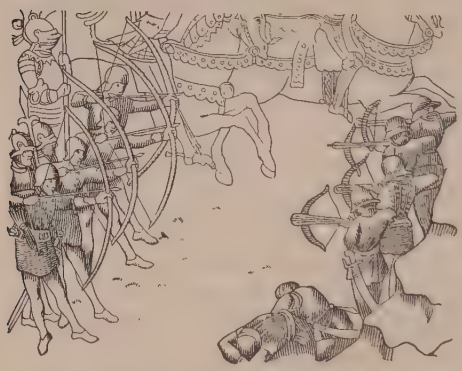
In 1346 there was an even more brilliant victory on the land. Edward had taken a small but well-equipped army over to France, and had entered upon a reckless and brutal plundering and burning campaign through the duchy of Normandy. The French king with a vastly larger army at last intercepted his march and forced him to give battle. King Edward took his station in a position where the flanks and rear of his little army

were protected by woods and the village of Crécy, and where the French would have to charge up the rising ground in front. The French army was large but poorly disciplined and disorderly. A thunder shower swept over the opposing armies, wetting the bow-strings of the Genoese crossbowmen who made up the advance guard of the French, but leaving unhurt the strings of the long-bows which the English archers carried and which they kept in their cases until the storm was over. The afternoon sun also shone in the faces of the French but on the backs of the English. Under these circumstances the French were poorly fitted to resist the shower of arrows which the English archers poured into their ranks as they approached. When the crossbowmen wavered, the fiery French knights dashed among and over them in their efforts to reach the English, till much of the French army was a struggling mass into which the English could pour a steady and destructive fire. Even when it came to hand-to-hand fighting, the position and discipline of the English gave them success. Finally they were able to press down the hill and drive the great French army into a confused flight. It was an overwhelming victory for English good generalship, good discipline, and good weapons, over the poor military organization, vainglorious bravery, and insubordination of the French.

202. The English Long-bow. — In all the early contests of the Hundred Years' War the superiority of the English national weapon, the long-bow, had made itself manifest. This form of the bow, five feet or more long, aimed from the eye with the arm above the shoulder,[1] had come into use in England during the preceding century and had become the popular weapon for use in hunting, in shooting at the target, and in actual warfare. Boys learned to use it from their earliest years and attained wonderful skill with it. It could be shot with great accuracy of aim and for a long range, but its greatest value in warfare

[1] The bow of earlier times was much shorter and was aimed from below the shoulder. See illustration of Norman archers on p. 97.

was its rapidity of firing. While the crossbow had to be laboriously reversed and wound up after each discharge, the long-bow could be held in the hand as the archer with a single motion picked an arrow from a sheaf thrown on the ground at his feet or from a quiver at his side, fitted it into the string, drew the bow, and discharged it again. The rapid, galling, unending pour of the English arrows, "like snowflakes," is mentioned in connection with all their battles and settled the fate of many of them in favor of the side which had the long-bow. At Sluys it was concentrated from the vessels of the English line upon the decks of the French vessels till they were cleared so that English men at arms might board them. At Crécy it was the flight of arrows that made the cavalry charge of the French more and more slow and disorderly till it came to a stop and left them at the mercy of the English attack. In almost every recorded battle of this time the long-bow played a similar part. It is no wonder that it became an object of pride and romance. "The cloth-yard shaft," "the crooked stick and the gray goose wing," and other expressions for the bow and arrow became familiar in song and story.



Long-Bows and Crossbows in a Battle of the Hundred Years' War (from a manuscript of the fifteenth century)

203. The Organization of the English Army. — The superiority of the English in a military way did not lie wholly in their weapons. The armies which were taken to the continent were comparatively small, but they were compact and well organized. All the troops

were paid regular wages. A knight received two shillings a day, an esquire one shilling, an ordinary archer threepence. Usual wages for workmen in the country were at that time from one to two pence a day, so the archers who took service in the army were paid almost twice the usual wages, besides what they might hope to get as booty. They were also volunteers, — they joined the king's forces at their own will. Many of them were in uniform and served under the noblemen with whom they had volunteered. The government went to great labor to provide proper equipment; bows, sheaves of arrows, food, and drink being continually sought by the king's officers. The armies were much more like modern armies than any that had fought before in either England or France since the time of the Roman legions. It was an expensive force, but so long as the English treasury could stand the strain it was far more effective than the armies which it met.

204. The Capture of Calais. — After the battle of Crécy the English continued their retreat to the coast. There they laid siege to the town of Calais, whose harbor had long been a retreat from which French sailors had come out to attack English vessels and coast towns. During the early campaigns the English army had almost invariably failed to capture French towns. They had been forced to retreat from before city walls and betake themselves to the miserable business of plundering and burning the villages and open country while awaiting a pitched battle. Now, however, the good organization and equipment of the English army made it possible to keep up a long siege, and after almost a year of close investment Calais surrendered. Edward had a long account against the townsmen and garrison of Calais, not only for their vigorous resistance to his siege, but for their piracies of earlier times. He was therefore inclined to impose harsh terms of surrender. The most that he could be prevailed on to grant was that all should be given their lives if six of the principal citizens would appear before him bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes

around their necks, bringing the keys of Calais. Eustace de St. Pierre and five others volunteered to sacrifice themselves for their fellow-citizens. Although they delivered the keys kneeling and begging for mercy, Edward at first ordered them to instant execution. The expostulations of his nobles and the prayers of Queen Philippa, who was in the camp, prevailed upon him, however, to remove the sentence and set the prisoners at liberty. The French were all expelled from Calais and the town thrown open to English settlers. It remained practically an English city for more than two hundred years. By the close of 1347, the year in which Calais was captured, both the English and French were nearly exhausted, so a truce was agreed upon which with occasional interruptions lasted for several years.

The Black Prince (from the effigy on his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral)

205. The Black Prince. — Part of the fighting at Crécy and before Calais had been under the leadership of the king's eldest son, Edward, then a boy of fifteen years and commonly known as the "Black Prince," from the color of the armor which he habitually wore. He became more and more prominent as the war continued, fighting beside his father in hand-to-hand battles on sea and land, leading successful ravaging expeditions through the heart of France, and contending in tournaments during the short periods when there was no actual warfare in progress. He was passionately fond of fighting, brave, and venturesome, yet skillful as a general. He was courteous and kind, at least to men and women of the noble class, whether they were his own companions in arms or his defeated enemies. He fully satisfied the ideal of a chivalrous knight as that ideal was held at the time.

206. Knighthood. — The fourteenth century was the golden age of chivalry. The word "chivalry" is somewhat vague in meaning and belongs perhaps to romance rather than to sober history. It is nevertheless true that in the later middle ages a group of ideals and practices grew up among knights and nobles which influenced their actions and feelings and did much to soften the repulsiveness of an age filled with brutality.

A young man born from the class of feudal landholders was expected to serve for some years as page to a nobleman, knight, or noble lady, learning to wait at table, to ride, to use weapons, to play music, and to have good manners. Next he acted as squire or attendant on a knight till he had obtained practice in the tournament, in war, and in the ways of knighthood, and had come fully to man's age. He might then hope for an opportunity, seldom long lacking, to show his bravery and skill in war, when perhaps his feudal lord or some other knight would dub him knight on the field of battle. Often, however, knighting was a matter of more ceremony than this. A festival was made of the occasion and a sword was girded upon him; he received the accolade, or stroke with a sword on the back, head, or neck, and then leaped upon his horse and rode away to show his skill in horsemanship or in arms. Religious services accompanied the ceremony, the arms of the new knight were solemnly blessed, and sometimes the candidate even fasted all night, watching in the church, then bathed, attended mass, and took an oath to fulfill all knightly duties. All present took part in girding on his armor and became witnesses of his oaths. To become a knight thus required considerable means, and many men of good birth never passed from the rank of squire to that of knight.

The more highborn knights, after the time of the First Crusade, wore special emblems and mottoes on their shields, banners, or robes, and the science of heraldry grew up, of which these coats of arms were the subject. Two or three orders of knights who were also monks were founded in the twelfth century, the most

famous of which were the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers. Some knights traveled from land to land looking for adventures. These were known as "knights-errant."

207. Rules of Chivalry. — There were certain rules of courage, faithfulness to one's lord, honorable treatment of enemies, respect for ladies, and religious devotion which were supposed to be known and practiced by every squire or knight. A good knight should be brave, truthful, and generous.[1] He should be ready to fight at any time and should always be in love with at least one lady. The rules and customs of chivalry were repeated in poetry and romance till they became familiar throughout all Europe. The fame of many knights and nobles celebrated in the middle ages was founded on their perfect observance of these rules.

Many of the ideals of chivalry were high. Much of its practice and some of its ideals, on the other hand, were gross and brutal. None of its rules were considered to apply to any one not of the knightly class. It glorified fighting for its own sake and it condoned many forms of immorality. Above all, chivalry was hollow. It was largely pretense, — a fashionable form of speech rather than of real feeling or of real action.

Yet in the fourteenth century there was a great deal of brave fighting, much gorgeous ceremonial, some good romantic literature, and much show, at least, of devotion of men to their wives, ladyloves, or mistresses. Much of this can fairly enough be credited to the rules of chivalry.

At the court of Edward III, and above all in the person and among the followers of the Black Prince, it reached its height in England. In 1344, for instance, the king held a great tournament at Windsor to which knights from all Europe were invited, and which he called, in remembrance of King Arthur, a "Round

[1] See the description of Chaucer's knight on page 258, and, further,

> He never yet no vileinye ne sayde,
> In al his lyf, unto no maner wight.
> He was a verray parfit gentil knight.

Table." About 1346 Edward founded the famous "Order of the Garter," a body of knights which still continues as one of the oldest and most honored knightly orders of Europe. Tournaments were a favorite pastime of this period and a frequent amusement of the king and his courtiers. In the narrative of Froissart, the chronicler who has most fully described the events of this period, it is this knightly, chivalrous side of life that is especially displayed.

208. The Battle of Poitiers. — Chivalry, however, lost rather than won the great battles of the Hundred Years' War. The reckless, unrestrained desire of the French nobles to get into personal combat with their enemies was responsible for most of the defeats which the French army suffered. The most striking instance of this was in the battle of Poitiers, fought in 1356. Upon the renewal of fighting after the last truce, the Black Prince led an English and Aquitanian army from Guienne northward through the heart of France, pillaging a part of the country not before reached by the war. The French king formed an army many times larger than that of the English, and succeeded in throwing himself in the way of their retreat. The English were in such a hopeless position that they were willing to retire on almost any terms they could get, but the desire for military glory on the part of the French nobles prevented them from accepting the English offers without having the pleasure of a battle. The same feeling led them into a reckless disregard of the advantages of their position and numbers, and the little English army under the Black Prince again won an overwhelming victory. The king of France, his son, and a great number of the highest nobles of France were taken prisoners, while many more were left dead upon the field. The king, the dauphin, and a long list of dukes, counts, and gentlemen were carried away to England, where they were held for ransom.

209. Peace of Bretigny. — After two or three more years of alternate truce and fighting, a peace was agreed upon at Bretigny, in 1360, between the English and the French governments, which,

it was hoped, would close the war. Edward III agreed to give up his recent claim to the French throne and the older claims to Normandy, Anjou, and the other northern provinces. On the other hand, the southern provinces were to be separated from France altogether and handed over to the English king. No oath of fealty or homage was to be any longer due the French crown. Calais also was to be left to the English. A large ransom was to be paid by the French for the release of their captured king, and hostages were to be given until this sum was paid. The southern provinces which were thus surrendered to the English were made into a separate principality by King Edward and given, under the name of the duchy of Aquitaine, to his son, the Black Prince.

210. Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire. — From the middle to the end of the fourteenth century a number of laws were passed which mark another of the frequent conflicts with the papacy. For some time the pope had been extending his claim to the right of appointment of church officials in the various countries of Europe. In England a parish priest was usually appointed by the lord of the manor in which the parish church lay, a bishop was elected by the canons of his cathedral, and other church officials were appointed by the king, the bishops, or the heirs of those who had originally endowed their benefices.[1] The pope by his supreme authority frequently gave "provisions," that is, direct grants of appointment to such positions, to persons whom he wished to favor or who sought such appointments from him. Persons who held provisions from the pope were called "provisors of benefices." Papal provisions were always unpopular in England. They took away from Englishmen the right of making these appointments; they were frequently given to foreigners who either did not come to England at all or could not understand the language of the people when they did come; they caused the carrying away of much money that should have remained in

[1] Benefice means a position in the church producing an income, such as that of cathedral canon, parish priest, or nobleman's chaplain.

ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Calais
Guisnes
Beachy Head
Crécy
Scheldt
Meuse
La Hogue
Rouen
Seine
Caen
Rheims
Paris
Chartres
Troyes
Bretigny
Orleans
FRANCE
Loire
Tours
Nantes
Chinon
Poitou
Poitiers
Isle of Rhe
La Rochelle
BAY OF BISCAY
Saintonge
Angoumois
Limousin
Périgord
GUIENNE
Bordeaux
Albret
Armagnac
Rhone
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TREATY OF BRETIGNY 1360
Scale of Miles
Longitude East from Greenwich
THE M-N WORKS

England. This opposition became still greater when the long war began, for the popes of the period were all Frenchmen, living at Avignon, and much under the influence of the French crown.

As a result, in 1342, the king forbade any one to bring into England provisions for benefices, and annulled all those which had recently been given. In 1351 the matter was brought into parliament, and the first "Statute of Provisors" prohibited the practice, declaring that all rights of election or appointment in England should remain in the free possession of their ancient claimants. This law and a number of others which followed it down to 1390 were poorly enforced. One reason for this was that disputes on such questions were apt to be brought into church courts, where decisions were naturally given in favor of the pope's appointee. To prevent this last practice a "Statute of Praemunire"[1] was passed in 1353 and another in 1393, forbidding appeals in such cases to the church courts and making it an offense punishable by loss of life and property for any one in England to act under authority obtained from the pope except with the king's consent.

211. **The Black Death.** — Just after the capture of Calais a terrible and widespread calamity fell upon England, as it did indeed upon all Europe. This was a series of attacks of a new pestilence, or epidemic, beginning in the year 1348, increasing in violence in 1349, and dying out in 1350, but visiting the country from time to time afterward. This disease was the bubonic plague, and this first and most destructive visitation is usually known as the "Black Death." From one town, monastery, or country district to another throughout England the disease spread rapidly. Far the greater number of those attacked by it died, often with terrible suddenness. It has been carefully estimated that instead of about one person dying out of twenty, as would be the rate in an ordinary year, one of every two died during this epidemic.

[1] *Praemunire*, to warn beforehand, is the first word of the writ by which this law was to be carried out.

The plague seldom lasted more than a year in any one locality. Thus half of the population, including members of the royal family, of the high nobility and clergy, as well as of the middle and lower classes, were swept away. Such a sudden and great decrease in population brought about many changes. So many of the clergy died that their places had to be filled with men less carefully trained and chosen; the monasteries, because of the loss of tenants on their lands, became poorer and able to support fewer inmates; fewer students went to the universities, and much of the building and enlargement of churches ceased for a time.

212. The Statutes of Laborers. — But the most distinct effect was on the position of the laboring classes, especially those in the country districts. As the demesne lands were still to be cultivated, and as the number of the population who were available to work upon them was much diminished, laborers were of course in great demand. Naturally those who survived asked higher rates of wages for their work, and the employers in their need for workmen felt themselves bound to pay the higher wages demanded. The king, however, issued a proclamation, which was followed up, when parliament next met in 1351, by a regular statute, forbidding laborers to ask any more for their services than the customary wages in the years next before the pestilence. This was the first of a series of laws known as the "Statutes of Laborers," which were reënacted time and time again for the next two centuries. They were very hard to enforce, as the lords of manors would in many cases rather pay the high wages than run the risk of letting their crops go ungathered and their cattle untended, while the laborers felt that it was an injustice to forbid them to ask what their labor seemed to be worth. The government, however, was entirely in the hands of the upper classes, the laws were made more and more severe, and fines were imposed both for paying and receiving higher wages than the law allowed. The effort to put the Statutes of Laborers into force was therefore a constant source of hard feeling between the employing and the employed classes.

213. Improvement in the Position of Villeins. — Several other changes, which were to a great extent the result of the pestilence, gradually showed themselves. Many tenants of small farms had died leaving no heirs, and landlords were therefore almost as much in need of tenants as they were of laborers. Under these circumstances it was a great temptation to villein tenants to run away from the manors to which they belonged, and where they lived under heavy payments and many burdens, and betake themselves to other places where they would be welcomed and given easier terms. In order to prevent them from leaving, therefore, the lords of manors had to agree to diminished payments and services, and thus the condition of the tenants became better.

Where the tenants had before this time been compelled to do two or three days' work in every week on the demesne land, the lord of the manor in many cases now felt himself compelled to let them pay small amounts of money instead, rather than have them depart altogether. An old chronicler says, "Those who received day's work of their tenants throughout the year, as the custom was with villeins, had to give them more leisure and remit such works, and either entirely free them or give them an easier tenure at a small rent."

Under these conditions of difficulty — scarcity of laborers, high wages, and diminished services — the lords of manors gradually gave up the practice of cultivating their own demesne lands and rented them to tenants for money rents. The most important result of this change was that the landlords, now that they had no need themselves for laborers, took little interest in keeping them bound to their manors, and so one of the harshest rules of villeinage, that which restricted villeins to the manor, gradually ceased to be enforced. From this time onward serfdom became less general and less burdensome. The villeins became laborers or tenants, who might or might not be prosperous but who were at least free.

214. Renewal of the War. — Every effort had been made by solemn oaths, the exchange of hostages, and papal guarantees to

make the Treaty of Bretigny permanent. Nevertheless it could hardly be expected that it would be so, when France had been deprived of almost one third of her territory, burdened with a heavy debt, and left smarting under defeat and disgrace. Within a few years, therefore, war broke out again, and ran on in the form of indecisive campaigns alternating with periods of truce during almost all the rest of the fourteenth century. The fighting was on the whole more favorable to the French than the early campaigns had been. A group of French leaders had learned the lessons which the war had taught. They fought with more caution and skill, and for the time at least drove the English out of many of their earlier conquests.

215. Parliamentary Agitation. — The ill success of the war during this period made the people of England more and more restless and dissatisfied with the government. King Edward himself as he grew old took little part in the management of affairs, and they were much mismanaged by the ministers and courtiers who governed in his name. The man who had most influence in the government was the third son of the king, John, duke of Lancaster, known in history and literature as "John of Gaunt";[1] but he showed little ability in statesmanship, and little attention was given to anything except the meeting of immediate needs. Taxes were heavy, the judges were open to bribery, and the king's officers throughout the country violated the rights of the people. Parliaments, however, were called almost every year to grant taxes, and thus an opportunity was given to present complaints against evil customs and to obtain promises from the king to introduce reforms and to change the laws. These repeated concessions to parliament confirmed its right to take part in almost all matters that concerned the government, although the laws made were by no means all carried out and discontent continued among all classes.

[1] He was so called because he was born in the Flemish town of Ghent, which the English pronounced *Gaunt*.

216. The Good Parliament and the Accession of Richard II. — The parliament which met in 1376 drew up a specially long and bold series of complaints covering almost the whole field of action of the government, its courage extorting from the king a promise to redress most of the grievances. This parliament also gave the first precedent for impeachment of the king's ministers by ordering the arrest and punishment of those men who had been guilty of unlawful actions while in the service of the king. The bold efforts of this parliament to introduce permanent reforms into the government caused it to be known as the "Good Parliament."

In the midst of its sessions the Black Prince died. He had returned from Aquitaine two years before, broken in health and depressed in spirits. He had encouraged the adoption of the reforms of the Good Parliament, but did not live to secure their enforcement. On his death Richard, his young son, was at the request of parliament brought before them and declared to be heir to the throne. Edward himself, who had already lost his mind, died in the next year (1377), and his young grandson succeeded him as Richard II.

217. The Poll Taxes. — Notwithstanding the fact that the English people had now all become one nation, with the same language, the same customs, a centralized government, and engaged in a great national struggle with France, yet there were many causes of bad feeling between the upper and lower classes. The improvement in the condition of the small farmers and laborers already described was prevented by the Statutes of Laborers from progressing as rapidly as it should have done. The villeins who were suffering under the burdens of serfdom felt even more impatient of them when some of their class were being emancipated. In many places there were old disputes between the landlords and their tenants, which had run on for long periods, but which now when the fortunes of the peasantry were rising became more bitter. The heavy taxation pressed upon all the people alike, but, as usual, the poorest suffered from it the most.

The discontent among the mass of the people was kept up and their restlessness increased by popular preachers who traveled through the country discussing the conditions of the time in their sermons. Curious rhymes were repeated from mouth to mouth, starting from no one knew where, but expressing in popular language the sense of misery and hardship, and increasing the widespread, sullen irritation among the lower classes. One preacher called attention to the natural equality of all men by crying,

> When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?

In 1379 this feeling became more intense when parliament introduced a new kind of tax, the so-called poll tax. Previously taxes had been laid upon land, upon the personal property of all freemen, and upon goods which were exported and imported. But now a direct tax was laid upon each person above twelve years of age. There was no chance of escaping it, since the collector came into each house to collect it from the head of the household. It was imposed upon freemen and villeins alike, and upon rich and poor. This tax was laid twice in three years, and when the second tax did not produce as much as was expected the collectors were sent around a second time to find who had avoided paying it.

218. The Peasants' Insurrection of 1381. — This second collection of the second poll tax was in the early part of 1381, and seemed to be the spark to set on fire all the long-piled-up material for a great conflagration. In one village after another the people began rioting and attacked the tax collectors. They next turned against manor houses, castles, and monasteries. This rioting extended through much of the southeastern half of England. At the same time several great bodies of the rioters set out for London to reach the young king and induce him to redress their wrongs. Some made their way into London from the east; others came across the river from Kent. They had no difficulty

in making their way into the city, as some of the London council and many of the citizens were in sympathy with them.

A born leader came to the front, Wat or Walter Tyler, from whom the whole insurrection is often called "Wat Tyler's Rebellion." There was no resistance and for two or three days London was at their mercy. They burned the city palace of the duke of Lancaster and a number of other buildings owned by unpopular nobles or by the Knights Hospitallers. They invaded the Tower, seized and, after the form of a trial, beheaded Archbishop Sudbury, who was lord chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, who was lord treasurer, and some lower officials. They attacked foreigners and unpopular citizens in the streets and put many to death.

In the meantime King Richard agreed to meet the rebels, at their request, at Mile End, a village just east of London. There were said to be sixty thousand of them present with Wat Tyler at their head. The rebels asked for freedom from serfdom, the abolition of labor services, low rents, the repeal of the Statutes of Laborers, and some other reforms, and begged that they should be granted pardon for their rebellion. The king agreed to their demands, although, as it afterwards proved, without intending to be bound by his promise. Boy of fifteen as he was, he recognized the powerlessness of the government, and determined to promise everything and then withdraw his promises when he should again have the power.

Some of the rioters then returned to their homes, but many others with their leaders remained in the city. The next day another interview with the king was arranged for, at which some further requests were to be made. The king with the mayor of London and a group of attendants met them in the evening at Smithfield. Tyler rode forward and laid the new demands before the king, who promised to grant them. But the tide soon turned. A dispute broke out between the companions of the king and the leader of the rebels. This became so violent that one of the

nobles sprang forward, stabbed Tyler, and dragged him from his horse, while the others stabbed him to death as he lay upon the ground. As the rioters drew their bows against the royal party, the king, with great presence of mind and capacity for deception, rode forward toward them, crying out, "Are you seeking a leader? I will be your leader." The peasants, confused and without guidance, followed him outside the city gates, where they were suddenly surrounded by a force of troops which had been gathered by some of the king's officers. Here they were disarmed and sent away, while the gates of the city were shut and all strangers ordered to leave.

While London was in the hands of the rebels, rioting had been in progress in many parts of the country. The manor court records kept by the landlords were burned by the peasants; stewards of estates, judges who had enforced the Statutes of Laborers, collectors of the poll tax, and foreign merchants were mobbed and in many cases killed. Monasteries were attacked and the abbots forced to grant to their tenants new charters giving privileges and freedom from old burdens. For a few days or even weeks everything seemed to be in the power of the insurgents.

219. Failure of the Insurrection.—Their power fell as rapidly as it had risen. After the death of Wat Tyler and the departure of the insurgents from London the government began to take action, the nobles in different parts of the country put down the rioters in their neighborhood, and so the storm began to abate. Many of those who had taken part in the revolt were tried and executed by the king's judges. The charters of liberty which the king had given were withdrawn by proclamation, and those given by abbots and other landlords declared by parliament to be invalid. Things were placed as far as possible in exactly the position they had been in before the insurrection had broken out. After a few months a general pardon was issued to all those who had taken part in it and had not yet been punished.

The rebellious laborers and small tenants had had no very clear idea of what they wished; they were not well organized and had

few capable leaders. It is therefore difficult to perceive any permanent results of the rebellion. The poll tax was given up, and serfdom probably passed away more rapidly than had been the case previously. On the other hand, there are indications of a more embittered feeling between the lower and the upper classes than there had been before, and the latter made successful efforts to get more complete control over all forms of government in parliament, the church, the counties, and the towns.

220. **Wycliffe.** — One of the causes of the restlessness among the people that led to the Peasants' Rebellion was a religious revival which was in progress at that time. John Wycliffe, a clergyman and a learned and popular teacher at the University of Oxford, was in the habit of calling frequent attention to the lack of earnest religious life on the part of most of the clergy. He complained that the bishops, abbots, and other higher clergy were engaged in the service of the government or occupied with the administration of the large property belonging to their churches. Priests of the parishes were neglectful of their charges, and the friars had become lazy, ignorant, and avaricious. The cure for this condition of affairs, he thought, was to be found in a life of poverty on the part of all clergymen, in less attention to ceremonies, and in a more intense religious earnestness.

He taught that no one had any right to property unless he obeyed the laws of God, who granted all their possessions to men on condition of obedience to Him. If any churchman committed sin his property might be rightfully taken from him by his parishioners or by the government. When these teachings were opposed by other churchmen, especially by the bishops, he declared that the higher officials of the church had no real authority over other churchmen, and that all priests had an equal right to teach and act as they saw fit. He opposed the authority even of the pope.

Like other learned men of the time, Wycliffe was much given to making fine distinctions in the use of words and expressions, and to disputing often for the mere sake of disputation and for

the enjoyment of keen argument. But he was also an earnest and self-reliant student of theology. In his disputations and writings he touched upon many of the doctrines of the church, and expressed views which were opposed to those generally held by churchmen. He thus made himself guilty of heresy.[1]

Wycliffe was in opposition to most of the churchmen of his time in three respects: first, in charging them with evil and unworthy lives which could only be amended by taking away from the church all its property; secondly, by refusing to acknowledge that the pope and higher officials of the church had any authority over the lower; and thirdly, in teaching religious doctrines which they considered heretical. He was, however, very popular in the university, and had many admirers among the learned and prominent men of the time.[2]

221. The Poor Priests and the Lollards. — To do the work of preaching the gospel, which the clergymen were leaving undone, to teach the people in their own language and to arouse them to a more earnest religious life, many men now began to go through the country wearing plain clothes and living on poor fare. They were known as "poor priests," and were probably sent out, and certainly encouraged and instructed, by Wycliffe, whose teachings they spread far and wide by their preaching. They were listened to with interest by the people, did much to awaken them, and gained wide acceptance for the views of Wycliffe. Those who

[1] Heresy consists in holding religious views which are declared by the proper authority to be untrue. In the fourteenth century this authority, of course, was the Catholic church. There was difficulty sometimes in obtaining an authoritative statement of what the teaching of the church really was, and until a decision had been given by the pope or a council there was room for much dispute.

[2] Wycliffe was a most voluminous writer. A society exists for the special purpose of providing for the printing of his Latin works. So far they have published twenty-five volumes, and several of his works still remain in manuscript. Four volumes of his English works have also been printed.

believed in the teachings of Wycliffe were given the nickname of "Lollards," a term long used in Germany and Holland for heretics, and now introduced into familiar use in England.

222. **The Bible in English.** — Besides their teaching and preaching the "poor priests" placed in the hands of the people the Bible translated into English. English and French translations of parts or the whole of the Bible were already in existence, but only in the possession of the learned and in a small number of copies. Such knowledge of the Bible as the people had was obtained from its use in quotations and in the church service. The translations now made by the Wycliffites were spread widely by the work of copyists, and all who could read them were encouraged by Wycliffe and his followers to do so. It is generally supposed that Wycliffe shared in this translation, and he certainly gave it his countenance; but there is no proof that he did any of the work of translation himself.

223. **Persecution of the Lollards.** — The church authorities were in no haste to take action against Wycliffe and those who agreed with him, and some of the bishops may have sympathized with his teaching. As the movement spread, however, Archbishop Arundel, who had succeeded Sudbury, the victim of the rebels of 1381, began a vigorous resistance to the Lollards. Wycliffe was brought before a church court and finally, in 1382, was ordered to withdraw from teaching at Oxford. He retired to the parish of Lutterworth, of which he was rector, where he spent the remaining two years of his life. He wrote many of his theological and philosophical works and religious tracts at this time, and issued directions and advice to the "poor priests." Soon after Wycliffe was silenced, his active partisans at Oxford were brought before a church council and forced to acknowledge their errors and to cease teaching his views. Some of the most prominent Lollard preachers through the country were also summoned before the bishops for examination. Most of these early leaders of the Lollards gave way when they were brought to trial, and recanted.

They were thereupon subjected to temporary punishment and then restored to the church. The authority of the church was still so completely unbroken, the doubt in the minds of these men as to whether they could be right when the whole church was against them was so strong, and their isolation was so complete that it is not a matter of wonder that in most cases they gave way when brought to the test.

224. The Statute against Heretics. — Nevertheless, the awakened religious feeling among the people could not be so easily lulled to sleep. Many continued to hold the views of Wycliffe, or opinions even more opposed to the teachings of the church. Even at Oxford many of the students and masters held Lollard views. The same was true of members of the upper classes and of individual clergymen and laymen throughout the country, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the bishops to punish all who held heretical beliefs. In 1401 a specially strong effort was made to stamp out heresy. An act was passed by parliament forbidding any preaching or religious teaching without the authority of the bishop of the diocese, and any holding or spreading of opinions which had been condemned by the church. Persons suspected were to be arrested by the officers of the bishops and held in prison until they could prove their innocence or would recant from their errors. If they could not or would not do so, they were to be handed over to the sheriff of the county or other proper official and burned to death in some high place as a warning to others. In the very year of the new statute a Lollard priest was burned at the stake, and during the next few years three or four others suffered in the same way.

Some years later, in 1414, the Lollards had become so numerous and their opinions had gone so far beyond those of Wycliffe that a group of them planned an insurrection. This was discovered and punished and was followed by more violent laws against them. In the next half century a large number, probably as many as sixty or seventy, were burned or hanged, either for heresy

or for heresy and treason combined. After that time the Lollards are heard of less and less, and their opinions either died out altogether or sank into obscurity.

225. Increasing Use of the English Language. — It was one of the notable characteristics of the Lollard religious revival that Wycliffe and his companions preached and wrote largely in English. In doing so they were appealing to all classes of men. The language of the common people was in the fourteenth century fast becoming the language of all Englishmen. Latin was still the language of the learned at the universities and in the church, and French was still understood and spoken by many of the nobles and the merchants. But more of them understood and spoke only English. In 1362 a law was passed requiring that the pleadings in the courts should for the future be carried on only in English. The next year the chancellor's speech at the opening of parliament was for the first time given in English.

Literature responded to this change. There was much religious writing in English by orthodox churchmen as well as by the Lollard teachers. Several translations were made of parts of the Bible into English besides that connected with the name of Wycliffe.

226. Piers Plowman. — Popular poems were also written in the language of the common people. The longest and most famous of these was the *Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*. It is a dreamy and somewhat confused series of allegorical descriptions and dialogues, in which Pride and Gluttony, Virtue and Reward, and other personified virtues and vices tell their experiences and make their confessions. It has, however, the charm of picturesque description and fiery earnestness. It is written in the homely, everyday language of the people, in a kind of alliterative verse similar to that of the old Anglo-Saxon poetry. It has a swing and a rhythm which made it catch the ear as well as the heart of the people. Its author seems to have been named William Langland, although nothing else is known about him than can be learned from the poem itself. He was

apparently a man of some learning, but evidently one of the common people, deeply, even bitterly in earnest in his condemnation of the special follies and evils of his time. The popularity of this poem, long and serious as it is, was very great. There are still in existence some thirty-six manuscript copies of it made before the invention of printing, a century afterwards. "Piers Plowman" became the common name to apply to a poor laboring countryman. Composed in its first form about 1370, it was rewritten by the author in two later forms with an interval of several years between each. Its English can still be read without much difficulty, as its opening lines will show.

In a somer sesun whon softe was the soune,
I schop me into a schroud a scheep as I were;
In habite of an hermite unholy of werkes,
Wende I wydene in this world wondres to here.
Bote in a Mayes morwnynge on Malverne Hulles
Me bifel a ferly, a feyrie me thouhte;
I was weori of wanderinge and wente me to reste
Under a brod banke bi a bourne syde.

227. Chaucer. — *Piers Plowman* was a poem of the common people, written by an unknown author. It was stern and religious in its character, representing the feelings of a period of popular excitement, and reflecting the oppressions, the hardships, and the coarseness of the poor. In quite another class of society and representing quite different surroundings and feelings was Geoffrey Chaucer, the most famous poet of the period and one of the most popular of English poets of all time. He was the son of a well-to-do London merchant, brought up as a page in the service of one of the ladies of the royal family. He took part in the war in France, traveled to Italy, and during most of his life was engaged in various government offices and in embassies to the continent. He was familiar with the French and Italian literature of the time, and wrote his English poems under the influence of these better models. His most famous poems

are the group called *The Canterbury Tales.* They describe thirty pilgrims on their way to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, all starting out from the Tabard Inn in Southwark, across the river from London, and each agreeing to tell two tales to while away the time during the journey. His poem is principally made up of these tales, told by the knight, the shipman, the wife of Bath, the miller, and all the rest of the merry party that he brings before us so vividly.

The poet's good humor and brightness never fail, his use of language and formation of verse are skillful, and the stories include a large group of romantic mediæval legends and many of the classical tales he had learned in Italy. There is a certain genial spirit of carelessness and even recklessness running all through Chaucer's poetry that strikes one as strange amidst the harsh realities and the popular excitement of his time. But it is to be remembered that he belonged to the upper classes, and that he represented the prosperous, traveled, chivalric, and lively element in English society. Yet even Chaucer had his earnest side. At the end of *The Canterbury Tales* he asks forgiveness for what is merely worldly in his book, and closes it with a prayer of penitence. Chaucer was England's most popular poet, and long afterward, when the art of printing was introduced into England, his *Canterbury Tales* was one of the very first books printed. His English is still more like that of modern times than the ruder language of "Piers Plowman," as can be seen from the following passages from the prologue to *The Canterbury Tales.*

Chaucer (from a contemporary portrait)

A Knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden oũt, he loved chivalrye,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisye.

There was also a Nonne, a Prioresse,
That of hir smyling was ful simple and coy;
Hir gretteste ooth was but "by seynt Loy";
And she was cleped madame Eglentyne.

. . . . . .

At mete wel y-taught was she with-alle;
She leet no morsel from hir lippes falle,
Ne weete hir fingres in hir sauce depe.
Wel coude she carie a morsel, and wel kepe,
That no drope ne fille upon hir brest.

228. **Personal Career of Richard II.** — Richard was but twelve years old on the death of his grandfather, Edward III, in 1377, and he did not take firm hold of the reins of government till he was twenty-three. During this long minority the government was controlled by successive parties of nobles and by ministers appointed by parliament. They cannot be said to have ruled the country wisely or successfully. The Peasants' Rebellion stirred the nation to its depths, expensive and ineffective campaigns in France wasted without result the force of both nations, the poll tax and other heavy burdens were laid upon the people, and there was a continual cry of misgovernment, disorder, and oppression.

In 1389 Richard suddenly appeared in the council, declared himself of age, asked for the resignation of the ministers, and announced his intention of managing the affairs of the realm, choosing his own councilors, and being the king of England in fact as well as in name. For seven years after this he carried on a moderate and popular government, following the old customs, calling parliament frequently, asking for but small taxes, encouraging the adoption of good laws, making a long truce with France, and respecting the rights of individuals and classes.

But the natural inclinations of Richard were to the exercise of absolute power. In 1396 he visited the French court and married the daughter of the king of France. Whether the long effort to rule moderately had at last wearied him, or whether he had been carried away by the greater freedom of action of the French king, or whether his mind was affected, as has been sometimes believed, from this time forth his character and actions changed. He began to collect money in various illegal ways, surrounded himself with a bodyguard of archers, brought about the trial and execution or banishment of several nobles for offenses which they had committed years before, and exercised such influence over the elections to the parliament of 1397 that when it met it was ready to do his bidding in all things. He induced it to repeal certain laws and pass others which made him practically an absolute monarch. For about two years he was in a position to rule as he pleased. His government, however, was unwise. He angered the people by extortionate taxes, made the extravagant expenses of the court still heavier, and committed many other acts of despotic power, which, together with the recent executions, banishments, and interference with the freedom of parliament, took away all the popularity which he had formerly enjoyed.

229. Deposition of Richard II and Accession of Henry IV. — Finally he banished his first cousin, Henry of Lancaster, son of John of Gaunt, and afterwards confiscated his estates, which were the most extensive of any noble of England. Henry was a man of much experience and ability. He had fought in a crusade in Poland, traveled to Jerusalem and through much of Europe, was well known and popular in England, and therefore was not likely to submit to permanent banishment and disinheritance. He waited in France till times should be better.

In 1399 when King Richard went on a campaign to Ireland, leaving England in the hands of a regent, Henry suddenly appeared with a small party in the north of England, declaring that he had come back to claim his estates. His popularity and

the unpopularity of Richard were so great that as he passed through the country he soon had an army at his back and extended his claims to the throne itself. When the king returned from Ireland he found himself deserted and all England in the hands of Henry. He recognized that all was lost and promised to resign the crown. He was imprisoned and required to sign a paper renouncing his position and power as king. Parliament was called, the abdication of Richard read, charges against him drawn up, and an act deposing him passed. Then Henry of Lancaster arose, stepped forward to the vacant throne, signed himself with the cross on his forehead and breast, and made a speech claiming the throne as being of royal blood and sent by God to restore the realm. Parliament immediately acknowledged him as king. He was then crowned with the title of Henry IV. He and his successors are known as the "House of Lancaster," or the "Lancastrian branch" of the Plantagenet line of kings. Richard was placed in captivity in a castle in the north of England and died within the next few weeks, from a cause then unexplained and always since unknown. Henry has of course been charged with bringing about his murder, but no proof has ever been given of it.

230. **Summary of the Period from 1338 to 1399.** — The period which has now been surveyed saw the English nation, which had been brought into complete union during the previous two hundred years, use its united strength in a great national war against France. The brilliant victories of Sluys (1340), Crécy (1346), and Poitiers (1356), and many smaller successes gained in this war furnished a fund of glory on which the English drew for centuries afterwards. Yet, notwithstanding the favorable Treaty of Bretigny (1360), the effort to put the English king on the throne of France or to gain any considerable part of France and make it permanently subject to England was a failure. The effort was plainly opposed by those two powerful factors in the evolution of history — geography and race. The indirect effects of the war were, however, very important. England was drawn into

closer connection with the continental countries, with great advantage to her trade, industry, and intellectual progress; and the excitement and successes of the war aroused the people in all respects.

Parliament grew stronger and obtained a recognized right to share in many of the powers of the government. Those classes of the people which were represented in its two houses now had a chance to be heard and to have their interests attended to, and there was consequently much legislation for their advantage. The lower classes of the people, however, had no influence over the government or opportunity to make their grievances heard in any peaceful way. It was because of this that they rose in the desperate insurrection of 1381. Although this revolt was completely put down by the king and the upper and middle classes, the time was nevertheless one of progress for the lower classes. The effects of the great pestilence of 1349 and other changes were quietly relieving the villeins of their serfdom and making some of them into free yeomen or small farmers, and others into free laborers.

Despite the war abroad and restless disorder in England itself, the latter part of the fourteenth century was a particularly active intellectual and literary period. The use of English became practically universal in literature, French being given up almost entirely and Latin to a very great extent. Wycliffe, Langland, Chaucer, and others wrote works which were widely known at the time and are read even yet. Besides these many pious works were written which still exist only in their manuscript form. The Bible was translated into English and reproduced in numerous copies, although the authorities of the church restricted the reading of it and an effort was made to destroy all the copies that had already been made. They feared the effect of the unauthorized interpretations expressed in the translations or in the comments accompanying them. The idea that each man should be allowed to hold what opinions he chose on religious matters had not yet

arisen, and the organized church was still too strong and too narrow-minded to permit a group of men to exist holding or teaching a different set of religious views from its own. The church authorities, with the help of the king and the royal and town officials, persecuted the heretical Lollards so vigorously that all such belief died out for the time.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. v, sects. 1–5, contains a vivid account of this period, especially characteristic of Green's predilections but inaccurate in its account of the Peasants' Rebellion. MACKINNON, *History of Edward III*, is the most recent book on his period. WARBURTON, *Edward III* (Epochs of Modern History), is good. For the later part of the period the best book is TREVELYAN, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*. The Black Death is best and most fully described in GASQUET, *The Great Pestilence*. JESSOPP, *The Coming of the Friars*, essays iv and v, gives a very vivid and interesting account of the pestilence in the eastern counties. The Peasants' Rebellion is carefully described in the book by TREVELYAN named above, and by KRIEHN, *American Historical Review*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2. For Wycliffe see SERGEANT, *Wyclif*, and POOLE, *Wycliffe and the Movements for Reform* (Epochs of Church History), and LECHLER, *John Wiclif* (two volumes). Much interesting material about this period is to be found in JUSSERAND, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*. CORNISH, *Chivalry*, illustrates still another side of the life of the time.

Contemporary Sources. — FROISSART, *Chronicle*, gives by far the most full and interesting account of the events of this period and is reasonably accurate, though always prejudiced in favor of the king and the nobility. It is translated by JOHNES in two thick volumes. The Globe Edition volume contains a well chosen series of extracts. *The Boy's Froissart* is not so good but may be used. CHAUCER and *Piers Plowman* can be read in their original form with but little difficulty. ASHLEY, *Edward III and his Wars* (English History by Contemporary Writers), contains many interesting extracts from chronicles and state papers. *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 5, is devoted to material illustrative of this period. Several interesting extracts from Froissart and other contemporary writers are in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 29–36; a still larger number and of greater variety in FRAZER, *English History Illustrated from Original Sources, 1307–1399*; a few in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 39–42, and in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 90–99. A large number of documents of a legal and constitutional nature are given in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, but none during this period are of the first importance.

Poetry and Fiction. — SHAKESPEARE, *Richard II*, begins the series of continuous historical plays which extend over this and the next two centuries. They are based in most cases on Holinshed's *Chronicle*, and although not strictly accurate interpret the history of the time with wonderful power. Miss YONGE, *Lances of Lynwood*, is a tale of this period. MORRIS, *A Dream of John Ball*, is an idealization of the objects of the peasants in the rebellion of 1381. SOUTHEY, *Wat Tyler*, is a drama concerning the same events.

Special Topics. — (1) The Black Death, TRAILL, *Social England*, II, pp. 133–137; (2) Effects of the Black Death on Wages, *ibid.*, 137–146; (3) Methods of Warfare during the Hundred Years' War, *ibid.*, 172–181; (4) Wycliffe's Influence, *ibid.*, 159–172; (5) Chaucer's Poetry, *ibid.*, 206–222, and *The Canterbury Tales*, *Prologue;* (6) the Treaty of Bretigny, FROISSART, *Chronicle*, chap. 212; (7) the Battle of Crécy, *ibid.*, chap. 130 (given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 30); (8) the Peasants' Rebellion in Norfolk and Suffolk, POWELL, *Peasant Rising in East Anglia;* (9) the Disappearance of Serfdom, CHEYNEY, article in *English Historical Review*, 1900, pp. 20–37; (10) the Recantations of the Lollards, CHEYNEY, article in *American Historical Review*, 1899, pp. 423–438.

CHAPTER XI

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK. 1399–1485

231. Reign of Henry IV. — Parliament had taken a prominent part in the deposition of Richard and the election of Henry of Lancaster to the throne. Indeed, although the change of kings was really the result of the military power shown by Henry, yet in appearance it was altogether the action of parliament, and could not have been accomplished with so little difficulty except with its consent. Henry pledged himself to govern in accordance with the wishes of that body, and neither to interfere in elections nor to violate its rights, as his predecessor had done during the last two years of his reign.

The power of parliament had been increasing almost steadily during the century since it had obtained its full form under Edward I. Its division into the House of Lords and the House of Commons has been already described. The constant necessity for appeals by the king to parliament to grant taxes for the expenses of the long war with France had given it abundant opportunity to demand and obtain the grant of new rights. It met almost every year, sometimes more than once in the year. In the fifty years of the reign of Edward III, parliament met forty-eight times. In Richard's reign of twenty-two years, it met twenty-four times. Frequently when a grant of taxes was asked for, the members of parliament, especially of the House of Commons, replied by making complaints of certain actions on the part of the king or his ministers, and agreeing to appropriate the money if their wishes in these matters were granted. The king was generally obliged to yield. Thus changes were introduced into the mode of carrying on the

government, and precedents established for the further interference of parliament.

Little by little parliament obtained in this way four classes of powers. No taxes could be imposed or collected without its consent; no new laws could be adopted without its agreement; it could impeach the king's ministers; and it could press upon the king its advice in all important measures of government, including foreign wars and treaties. Besides these powers, members of parliament had obtained certain well-established privileges. They were free from arrest while present at, going to, or coming from parliament, and they could say anything they wished in debates in parliament without being punished afterward for it. Many of the rights and privileges which all modern legislatures possess are derived from the powers which the English parliament gained between 1295 and 1400.

Henry IV (from the effigy on his tomb)

Henry kept good faith with parliament and ruled for the most part in accordance with its wishes, although its complaints and demands were numerous. His reign, which lasted for fourteen years, was not, however, a fortunate one. There were partial renewals of the war with France. The struggle of the government with the Lollards which has been already described fell mostly within his reign. He had difficulties with Scotland, dissensions in his own family, and above all, as might have been expected from the way in which he had obtained his crown, he was troubled with many conspiracies and rebellions.

232. Rebellion of Owen Glendower. — One of these was of greater importance and survived longer than any of the others because it had back of it the still unconquered national spirit of

the Welsh people. Since the conquest by Edward I, the native Welsh princes had been deprived of their independence, and castles had been built here and there through Wales to hold the country down. These castles were occupied by English barons, known as "Lords Marchers," who exercised most of the powers of government over the surrounding natives. The Lords Marchers were hard masters to the native Welsh gentry and peasants, and disputes and conflicts were frequent and bitter. Just at the beginning of Henry's reign a Welsh gentleman named Owen Glendower rose in revolt against the English nobles. These were of course upheld by the king. Glendower, on the other hand, gradually drew to his side by far the larger portion of the native population of Wales. He was descended from the native princes, and could appeal to that loyalty which is the strongest of all sentiments among a people still living as clans. The love of independence of the Welsh people proved to be still alive, and minstrels passed through the country stirring up the people by recalling traditions of resistance to invaders from the time of the Romans downward.

Owen was soon proclaimed Prince of Wales and proved to be a skillful leader. He made devastating raids through the adjacent counties of England and the more thickly settled parts of Wales, and even captured several of the castles. He was idolized by his countrymen and credited by the superstitious among both Welsh and English with magical knowledge and powers. He defeated or evaded successive armies sent against him, several of them led by the king himself, and for a few years made Wales almost independent. His power was strengthened by the outbreak of a great conspiracy against Henry. The two most powerful noblemen of the northern shires of England, Henry and Thomas Percy, earls of Northumberland and Worcester, who had helped to put Henry on the throne, now rose in revolt and joined Glendower. With them were "Harry Hotspur," son of the earl of Northumberland, a famous young soldier, and the earl of Douglas,

a Scottish nobleman. This conspiracy threatened to be too strong for the king to resist. But in the destructive battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 the conspirators with their army of fourteen thousand men were overthrown, Hotspur killed, and the two earls captured. Little by little the greater wealth and power and better organization of the English, and the perseverance of the king and his son, Prince Henry, broke the resistance of Owen and his Welsh adherents. The castles were recaptured and the whole of Wales was finally restored to obedience and comparative good order.

Henry V (from a contemporary portrait)

233. **Renewal of the French War under Henry V.** — In 1413 Henry IV died and his eldest son Henry succeeded him. Almost from the beginning of his reign Henry V planned to renew the old war with France. He was by nature and early training a good soldier and a vigorous ruler, and was ambitious to win glory. What was more natural than that he should seek it in France? Conditions were favorable; the French king was insane and two great parties among the nobles of France were involved in bitter disputes which constantly brought them to the verge of civil war. In 1414 Henry took a small but well-equipped army across the Channel. The war was soon marked by another brilliant victory for the English, that of Agincourt, fought in 1415, which was even more decisive than Crécy or Poitiers. The English archers and men at arms stood at bay while they were attacked by a French army six times as numerous as their own; then when the French were halted by muddy ground and the flight of arrows the English swept down upon them and crushed them.

In the main the policy of Henry V was to carry on a war of sieges and of the capture of towns instead of mere ravaging, as had been done by Edward III and the Black Prince. He captured the cities and occupied the country methodically as he passed through it. But while he was engaged in besieging the principal towns of Normandy, he was at the same time trying to obtain the support of one of the two contending French parties. He was finally successful in this, and in 1420 a treaty was signed at Troyes by which Henry was acknowledged as heir to the throne of France after the death of Charles VI, the insane king, and its regent in the meantime. To seal this treaty Henry married the daughter of the French king and proceeded rapidly to seize those parts of France which held out against his claims.

The reign of this great king was, however, a short one, lasting only nine years. His death and that of his father-in-law, which occurred a few weeks afterward, made his infant son Henry VI, in 1422, nominally king both of England and France. The eldest son of the late king of France still considered himself heir to the throne, although he had been disinherited by the Treaty of Troyes. The war therefore still continued. For a long time it went in favor of the English. John, duke of Bedford, an uncle of the young king, acted as regent, and with the aid of veteran English leaders and soldiers succeeded in holding most of France and defeating the Dauphin's party in many engagements.

234. Joan of Arc. — Finally, however, the tide turned and the war began to go against the English. This was due in great part to the influence of a young French peasant girl, Joan of Arc. Inspired by the belief that she had been given a mission by God to deliver France from its invaders and to place the Dauphin on the throne of his fathers, she appeared before him, secured his reluctant consent to allow her to lead some troops, inspired them with her own enthusiasm and confidence, and won a great success by driving away the English who were besieging Orleans. The Dauphin himself was then stirred to greater activity and under

the persuasion of the Maid of Orleans, as she came to be called, made his way to Rheims, the ancient coronation city of the French kings, and was there crowned king of France. Joan now felt that she had fulfilled her mission and asked to be allowed to return to her home, but the Dauphin insisted that she should remain with the army. Some time after this she was captured by the English. After a trial which was planned to end in but one way she was burned as a witch in the market place of Rouen. Even one of the persecutors of the innocent French patriot girl wavered and turned away, crying, "God have mercy upon us, we have burned a saint." The movement of success which Joan had begun continued, and although the French frequently wasted their opportunities, yet on the whole the reconquest of their native land went steadily on. The English were driven out of one province after another; their expeditions from England were more poorly equipped and more unsuccessful. Finally the long war came to a close in 1453 by the defeat of an English army near Bordeaux, and the loss of all their territory in France except Calais.

235. **Wars of the Roses.** — The close of the Hundred Years' War was only a change from war abroad to war at home for the next thirty years. The wealth and power of the English nobles were at this time very great. A number of them were related in one way or another to the royal family. They had valuable estates scattered in different parts of the country and kept in their service large numbers of retainers.[1] With these numerous bodies of followers in their service and wearing their badge the nobles were never at a loss for men to carry out their quarrels, which were very frequent. There were many jealousies and enmities, and parties were continually being formed among them in deadly opposition to one another. So long as there was a

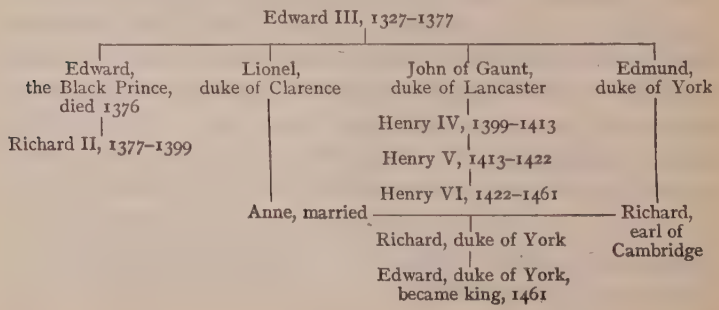
[1] Retainers were hired followers who could be called upon to act as attendants on occasions of show, to fulfill duties as messengers or servants about their lord's household, and, if there should be need, to fight for him.

strong king reigning the nobles were forced to keep order among themselves, but after the death of Henry V there was a long period, while Henry VI was still a child, when they could not be controlled. Even after he had grown up he proved to be too mild, easy-going, and weak to keep a strong hand over the turbulent and disorderly elements of the country.

The king was always under the influence of one group of nobles or another. Those who were excluded from office plotted to drive from power those who surrounded the king. These efforts finally led to civil war, and a succession of bloody battles was fought, several years, in some cases, intervening between one battle and another. This series of battles is known as the "Wars of the Roses."

236. The House of York. — The king's nearest kinsman and the most powerful and conspicuous noble in England was Richard, duke of York. He was descended on one side from an elder and on the other from a younger brother of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the father of Henry IV and great-grandfather of Henry VI. The duke of York had therefore, by strict hereditary right, a better claim to the throne than Henry himself.[1] He did not openly make this claim, simply acting as leader of one faction of the nobility. Yet more than once he and his party took arms

[1] The claim of the duke of York to the throne was based on the following line of descent from Edward III.


Edward III, 1327–1377
Edward, the Black Prince, died 1376
Richard II, 1377–1399
Lionel, duke of Clarence
Anne, married
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster
Henry IV, 1399–1413
Henry V, 1413–1422
Henry VI, 1422–1461
Richard, duke of York
Edward, duke of York, became king, 1461
Edmund, duke of York
Richard, earl of Cambridge

against those nobles who were gathered around the king, and thus in a certain sense fought against the king himself. This division of parties gave its name to the civil war. A white rose was one of the family emblems of the duke of York, and was used by the nobles of his party. A red rose was then adopted as a badge by the nobles who surrounded the king and were adherents of the Lancastrian family from which the king was descended. The white rose of York and the red rose of Lancaster thus became synonymous with the two great political parties.

Rose Noble of Edward IV, showing on the Side of the Ship the White Rose Badge of the House of York

Little by little the contest drifted into a struggle for the crown. As feelings became more embittered and as the king became subject to attacks of insanity, inherited no doubt from his grandfather, the king of France, the ambition of Richard of York to seize the kingship for himself was aroused, but in 1460, at the battle of Wakefield, he was defeated and slain. His claims to the leadership of his party, to the headship of the House of York, and to the crown itself then descended to his son Edward.

237. **Edward IV.** — Events now moved on rapidly. After a successful battle against the nobles of the king's party in 1461, Edward declared himself king by hereditary right and was crowned with the title of Edward IV. He treated Henry as a usurper, and forced him to flee, with his wife, son, and principal adherents, into Scotland.

The civil war still continued, however, the party of the fugitive king fighting more than one successful battle, and even in 1471 driving Edward temporarily from the country and replacing Henry on the throne. This change of rulers was largely brought

about by the change of sides of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, previously a strong supporter of the Yorkist claims. His influence over the changes in the holding of the crown has given him the name of the "king-maker." This arrangement lasted but a few months, when Edward was restored and Henry was imprisoned in the Tower, where he soon died. On the whole the reign of Edward IV, which continued till 1483, was peaceful, successful, and prosperous.

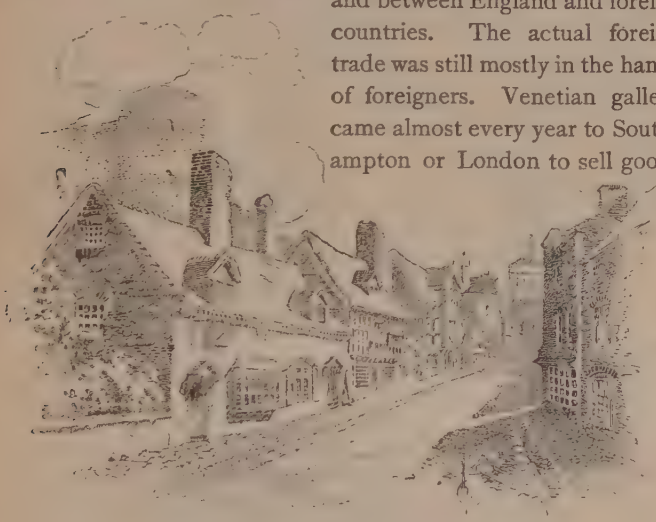
238. The Towns in the Fifteenth Century. — The civil war was mainly a contest among the nobles and was fought out by their own retainers. It passed over the heads of the great body of the people and they were not much affected by it. This was the period when the towns of England attained their greatest prosperity and most complete self-government. Less labor, money, and attention were now given to the building of castles, cathedrals, and abbeys than in earlier times, but much more were given to town buildings and improvements. The towns were becoming larger, and wharves, market houses, paved streets, aqueducts, timber-built dwelling houses, and new parish churches were becoming common. At the same time the townsmen were securing better charters from the royal government, and making use of the representation which they had in parliament to obtain favorable laws and attention to their trading and industrial interests. The fifteenth century was also a period when wealthy merchants were endowing many schools and other charities and establishing chantries.[1] Printing

Edward IV (from a contemporary portrait)

[1] A chantry was an endowment to pay the expense of keeping up a shrine in a church and supporting one or more priests to perform service at it in memory of the founder.

was introduced into England in the middle of the reign of Edward IV. The king took a great interest in matters of trade as well as in literary advancement, and invented "benevolences," a method of obtaining gifts from wealthy men to take the place of taxation.

239. **Foreigners in England.** — Much of the increased importance of the towns was due to the larger amount of manufacturing and of trading between different parts of England and between England and foreign countries. The actual foreign trade was still mostly in the hands of foreigners. Venetian galleys came almost every year to Southampton or London to sell goods



An Old Street in the Town of Shrewsbury

from Italy and the East, and to buy English wool and other articles. German traders came from the Hanseatic cities along the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea, and not only traded at the English cities and fairs, but had permanent dwellings and warehouses in London, Lynn, and Boston. Flemish merchants carried on much of the wool trade with Flanders. Representatives of Italian and German banking companies lived in England and made loans to the government and to churchmen and

noblemen. Since the reign of Edward III many weavers and other artisans had come from the continent to live in England, and from them the English were rapidly learning to be themselves successful in several lines of manufacturing. England had been backward in manufactures, commerce, and finance compared with other European countries, but its people were now learning from the foreigners who dwelt among them valuable lessons which were to carry them in time far beyond their teachers.

240. Richard III and Henry VII. — When Edward IV died in 1483 he left two young sons and a daughter. The eldest son was crowned king as Edward V, but he was soon set aside and probably murdered in the Tower of London, along with his brother, Richard, duke of York, by their uncle Richard, duke of Gloucester, who then made himself king as Richard III.[1]

Richard III (from a contemporary portrait)

The civil war, however, was not even yet settled, and after two years a new conspiracy was formed and Richard in turn was killed on the battlefield of Bosworth by Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, the representative after the death of Henry VI of the old Lancastrian party. The victorious earl was crowned in 1485 as Henry VII. He had gained the adhesion of many of the Yorkist party by agreeing to marry Elizabeth, daughter

[1] The murder of the two young princes was long a mystery and is not yet entirely clear, but twenty years after their disappearance Sir James Tyrrel confessed that he had secretly strangled and buried the two boys in the Tower, and two hundred years later two skeletons, which corresponded to their size, were discovered buried under the steps.

Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk: a Fortified Manor House of the Wars of the Roses

of Edward IV, and this marriage now took place. There was thus founded a new and great line of kings, the Tudors. So many and such important changes occurred during the period of the Tudors that by general consent it is looked upon as a new epoch and its history will be the subject of the next two chapters.

The Wars of the Roses have left a dark record. There was no great principle for which the two parties were fighting. The early battles were merely to gratify the jealousy and mutual hatred of the great nobles, the later ones only to secure possession of the crown. The leaders frequently betrayed one another, and changed sides from motives of anger or personal ambition. Some of the battles were very bloody, and many captured nobles were put to death on the baseless charge of treason.

There was a constant succession of confiscations of estates, many of the old noble families were ruined in fortune, and some of them were left without a single representative to continue the family name and title. This resulted in the weakening of the baronage, which, with the hearty desire of the people for peace, for a settled succession, and for good order, worked for the benefit of the first Tudor king, Henry VII.

241. Summary of the Period from 1399 to 1485. — The second part of the Hundred Years' War, after its renewal under Henry V, was marked by still another brilliant victory for the English, that of Agincourt, in 1415; and by a temporary settlement, the Treaty of Troyes, in 1420. But these did not prevent the final failure of the English effort to conquer France, and at the end of this period England had less territory on the continental side of the Channel than she had at its beginning.

When the wars with France were over, and a weak-minded king was on the throne, a civil war broke out among the English nobility which resulted in 1461 in deposing the king and putting the House of York in the place of the House of Lancaster. There were still, however, numerous battles before the Wars of the Roses were closed by the final success of Henry VII in 1485

and his marriage with Elizabeth of York, a lady who represented the claims of the other line.

During this whole period the middle classes of the people both in the country and in the towns were steadily becoming more important and influential. In the succeeding period it will be found that the opinions and interests of these middle classes are

The Cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral

especially considered by the kings, and it is they who make the history of the time to a far greater extent than in any of the periods we have so far studied.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chap. v, sect. 6, and chap. vi, sects. 1–3. RAMSAY, *Lancaster and York* (2 vols.), is a detailed history of this period, paying especial attention to military and financial matters. GAIRDNER, *The Houses of Lancaster and York* (Epochs of History), is a shorter and more well balanced work. WYLIE, *England under Henry IV* (4 vols.), is a study of encyclopedic minuteness of that reign. OMAN, *Warwick the King-Maker*, furnishes a useful clew to the Wars of the Roses. KINGSFORD, *Henry V* (Heroes of the Nations), is a good work.

A full study of town life is Mrs. GREEN, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*. DENTON, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, describes some sides of history neglected in other works.

Contemporary Sources. — A number of extracts from the chronicles are gathered in THOMPSON, *The Wars of the Roses* (English History by Contemporary Writers), and DURHAM, *English History from Original Sources, 1399–1485*. *The Paston Letters* are a valuable collection of family correspondence referring to the latter part of this period. Interesting extracts are given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 38, and COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 47. This period, which is but briefly treated in this book, is more fully illustrated than some other periods by the contemporary records in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 164–184.

Poetry and Fiction. — SHAKESPEARE, *Henry IV*, parts 1 and 2; *Henry V; Henry VI*, parts 1, 2, and 3; and *Richard III* are most valuable. His characterization of Joan of Arc, as of many other individuals, is absolutely without historical basis, but his insight into motives and drawing of character are of the greatest historical value. BULWER-LYTTON, *The Last of the Barons*, STEVENSON, *The Black Arrow*, and CHURCH, *The Chantry Priest of Barnet*, are tales of the Wars of the Roses. Miss YONGE, *The Caged Lion*, is a good story of the earlier part of the fifteenth century. DRAYTON, *The Battle of Agincourt;* SOUTHEY, *King Henry V and the Hermit of Dreux*, and ROSSETTI, *The King's Tragedy*, are three ballads printed in BATES and COMAN, *English History Told by English Poets*.

Special Topics. — (1) Joan of Arc, GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chap. vi, sect. 1; (2) Caxton, *ibid.*, chap. vii, sect. 3; (3) The Steelyard in London, PAULI, *Pictures from Old England*, essay vi; (4) The Later Lollards, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. II, pp. 277–293; (5) Magic and Sorcery, *ibid.*, pp. 370–375; (6) The Towns in the Fifteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 407–413; (7) Parliament in the Fifteenth Century, MONTAGUE, *Constitutional History*, chap. vii; (8) The Treaty of Troyes, KINGSFORD, *Henry V*, pp. 300–308.

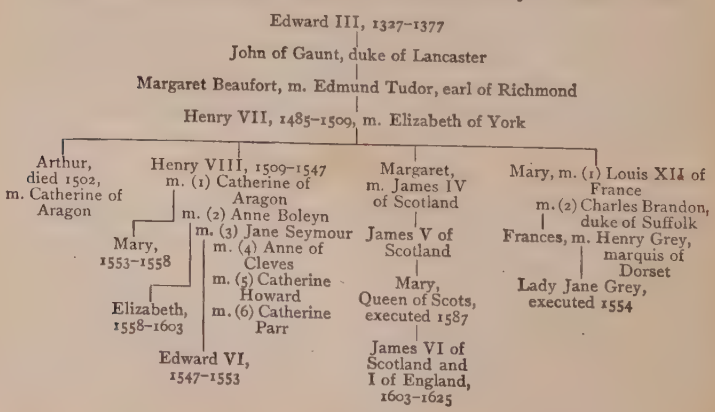
CHAPTER XII

THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD. 1485–1558

242. Henry VII. — The reigns of the new line of kings fall in so exactly with a number of very important changes affecting the history of the whole people that the name of the Tudor family is quite naturally applied to this period. To this dynasty belonged five sovereigns who reigned altogether for somewhat more than a century. The reigns of four of them fall within the period covered by this chapter.[1]

The title of Henry VII, who had been crowned on the battle-field of Bosworth, was not a very clear one. It was, however, accepted by parliament and by public opinion, and was made stronger by his marriage with Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV. Nevertheless Henry had to put down four separate

[1] The descent and relationships of the Tudor family were as follows:


Edward III, 1327–1377
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster
Margaret Beaufort, m. Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond
Henry VII, 1485–1509, m. Elizabeth of York
Arthur, died 1502, m. Catherine of Aragon
Henry VIII, 1509–1547
m. (1) Catherine of Aragon
m. (2) Anne Boleyn
m. (3) Jane Seymour
m. (4) Anne of Cleves
m. (5) Catherine Howard
m. (6) Catherine Parr
Mary, 1553–1558
Elizabeth, 1558–1603
Edward VI, 1547–1553
Margaret, m. James IV of Scotland
James V of Scotland
Mary, Queen of Scots, executed 1587
James VI of Scotland and I of England, 1603–1625
Mary, m. (1) Louis XII of France
m. (2) Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk
Frances, m. Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset
Lady Jane Grey, executed 1554

armed rebellions, two of which threatened to drive him from the throne. Two years after his coronation he was confronted by a serious revolt headed by a certain impostor named Lambert Simnel, who claimed to be nephew of Edward IV and true heir to the crown. A bloody battle was fought at Stoke in which many of the leaders were killed and the pretender captured. Henry in derision made him a scullion in the palace kitchen. The second attempt was still more threatening but not more successful. A Fleming named Perkin Warbeck was carefully trained to personate Richard, duke of York, younger son of Edward IV, who had really been murdered in the Tower. For several years he passed from one European court to another, acknowledged by those sovereigns who were hostile to Henry, and keeping the English king in constant fear of invasion. One after another of these dangers was, however, avoided by Henry's diplomacy or concessions, and when Warbeck finally invaded England in 1497 it was with a volunteer force which soon melted away and left him in Henry's power. He was imprisoned in the Tower and after an attempt to escape was hanged.

Sovereign of Henry VII, showing the "Tudor Rose," the Emblem of the Combined Houses of York and Lancaster

Henry VII had two sons, Arthur and Henry, and two daughters, Margaret and Mary. They were all married in such a way as to strengthen his position abroad and prevent help being given to claimants to his crown. He arranged a marriage between Arthur and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Aragon and Castile. Arthur died a few months after his wedding, but it was arranged that Catherine should remain in England as the future bride of the king's second son, Henry.

Margaret went to Scotland as the wife of King James IV. The youngest daughter Mary was only a child at her father's death, but the same policy was carried out later by her brother, who gave her hand to the king of France, as pledge of an alliance with that country.

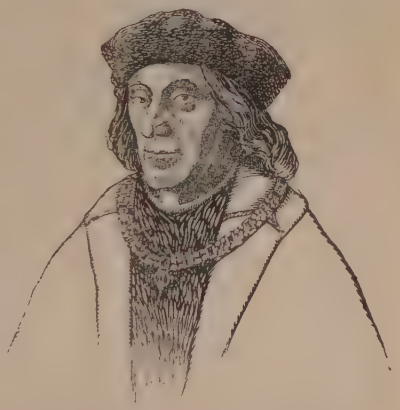
Henry VII was a self-controlled, clear-sighted, and able man. He was hard-working, shrewd, and persevering. He was more a man of business than former kings had been and devoted himself largely to the practical work of statesmanship. He obtained the help also of capable and devoted ministers. The ablest of these was old Cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who had held office under Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III. He served Henry as lord chancellor and was his most trusted adviser during most of his reign. To the wisdom, judgment, experience, and skill in statecraft of Cardinal Morton most of the success of the new government was due. Henry chose his other ministers also not from the high nobility, but wherever he could find men of sufficient ability.

243. The Preservation of Order. — Henry came to the throne determined to keep good order in his kingdom. Lawlessness had been too common in England during the Wars of the Roses, and he showed from the very beginning of his reign that he intended to insist on a new standard of peace and good behavior. Not only were all revolts put down with a heavy hand, and their leaders executed, but one by one all possible rivals to the throne were put to death. Both Henry VII and his successor were determined that there should be no more Wars of the Roses.[1] These executions were brought about by regular process of law, after the offenders had laid themselves open in each case to a charge of

[1] The persons of royal blood who were thus executed were, in the reign of Henry VII, the earl of Warwick, nephew of Edward IV: in the reign of Henry VIII, the duke of Buckingham, great-great-grandson of Edward III; the marquis of Exeter, a grandson; Lord Montague, a great-nephew; and the countess of Salisbury, a niece of Edward IV.

treason; but they were brought to trial at the instance of the king, and the condemnation and execution that invariably followed were in accordance with the king's wishes and interests. It is doubtful whether any one of these executions would have taken place if the king had not been known to wish it.

Next the nobility was reduced in importance. The part which the great nobles had played in the government ever since Saxon times was now over. So many noble families had been destroyed in the Wars of the Roses, so many estates had been forfeited to the crown, and so powerful was the king, that the landed nobility were no longer able by their great numbers and possessions to overawe the crown.



Henry VII (from a contemporary portrait)

244. Court of Star Chamber. — Means were also taken to prevent the lesser disturbances through the country for which the nobles and gentry were responsible. The king forced them all, when they came to parliament, to bind themselves by an oath to keep the old laws against livery and maintenance, not to hire armed followers who should wear their badges, and not to interfere with the action of the regular courts. In 1487 a law was passed giving a stronger organization to the Court of Star Chamber. The law provided for the appointment of certain members of the privy council who were to act as an extraordinary court taking charge of several kinds of cases which the ordinary courts had not been strong enough to settle. Its duties were the punishment of persons who kept large bands of armed retainers, those who bribed or threatened sheriffs or

jurymen, and those who took part in riots or other unlawful gatherings. This group of councilors held its sessions in the room in the palace of Westminster known as the "Star Chamber," and got its name from this circumstance. As it sat at the capital of the kingdom, as it had all the authority of the king immediately behind it, as well as the authorization of parliament, and as it was not limited by such strict rules of procedure as the ordinary courts, it was able to exercise a great deal of power which the other courts of law did not possess.

245. **Strong Monarchy.** — This creation of what has been called a "strong monarchy" was one of the constant objects of Henry's policy. He succeeded in creating what was practically an absolute rule. He not only strengthened the law courts but made every effort to arrange the income and expenditure of the government in such a manner that he should always have enough money when it was needed. All the old sources of income, — crown lands, feudal dues, customs duties, and parliamentary grants were made as productive as possible. The whole country was growing richer and the good order kept everywhere made it possible to collect larger amounts from these sources than had been possible before.

While the income of the government was in these ways increased, the king watched expenditures carefully. Exact accounts from all officials were insisted upon, foreign wars were carefully avoided, and many other expenses reduced. In addition to these legitimate financial reforms, Henry adopted various irregular expedients for raising money, such as benevolences and the infliction of heavy money fines upon men who had unwittingly violated obsolete statutes. "Morton's fork" became a famous form of dilemma. Henry's minister of that name frequently intimated to persons who lived extravagantly that it was evident that those who spent so much could readily afford to make a gift to the king; while he informed those who lived frugally that it was evident that they who spent so little must have something from which they could make a gift to the king. By these various means the financial

Map of Towns and Counties

condition of the government became so strong that the king was able to pay regular expenses out of regular income, and yet spend large sums at certain times when they were needed without exhausting the treasury, which was full at the time of his death.

246. Decrease of the Power of Parliament. — By his financial independence the king was freed from the necessity of calling parliament for the purpose of obtaining grants of money, as his predecessors had done. It was therefore summoned much less frequently than before, meeting only five times during his whole reign, and only once during its last twelve years. Even when it did meet it was much under the king's influence. In the House of Commons a member who was also an official of the king was usually chosen speaker and through him the king's wishes were carried out. The laws which were favored by the king were in most cases those which were favorable to the interests of the middle classes who elected the members of the House of Commons. Thus parliament interfered very little with the government of the king, and showed itself ready and willing to follow the suggestions made to it by his ministers.

247. The Merchant Adventurers and Other English Traders. — Clothed with these high powers and served by able officials the government of Henry VII turned its attention to the regulation of a great many things which had been disregarded by the government before this time. One of the directions in which this was most successfully done was in the encouragement of foreign trade. It has already been explained that English trade, although large in amount, was carried on almost altogether by foreigners. In all treaties with other countries into which Henry now entered he arranged that English traders should be admitted there for the purpose of selling and buying goods. An instance of this policy was the *Intercursus Magnus*, made in 1496 with the duke of Burgundy, to admit English goods into the Netherlands. He encouraged all English companies of merchants which were formed to take part in foreign trade.

There had been for a century and more, in the Netherlands, an organization of English merchants known as the "Merchant Adventurers," engaged mainly in the sale of English woolen cloth. This trade was steadily increasing, but the merchants were loosely organized and had few powers from the home government to regulate the affairs of their trade. They attracted the attention of Henry, and were by him given the right to have a company seal and coat of arms of their own and granted a new charter giving them complete control over the affairs of their trade abroad and even in England. At the same time foreigners coming to trade in England were deprived of the privileges which they had formerly possessed and found opposition instead of encouragement from the English government. There were many commercial changes in progress. The conquests of the Turks in the eastern Mediterranean had cut off the old routes to India, and Portugal had discovered a new one around the Cape of Good Hope. Both the Venetian galleys and the Hanse vessels came less frequently and in smaller numbers to England. English traders, on the other hand, were going with their vessels in constantly larger numbers to the ports on the Mediterranean and Baltic seas and to the shores of the continent directly opposite England.

248. The New World. — This interest in commercial life was leading Englishmen to join in the explorations which were then being made not only by the Portuguese but by several other nations. The seaport of Bristol was the center of English activity in this direction. Columbus visited it some years before he set out on his successful voyage, and several early but fruitless expeditions in search of new lands were sent out from that city. Settled at Bristol was a Venetian merchant named John Cabot, with his three sons. Cabot had either thought out for himself or gained from Columbus the idea of sailing westward to reach the great spice-producing lands of Asia. In 1496 Henry gave him permission to organize an expedition under the English flag and to take possession in the name of the king of England of any lands

he might discover. The expedition sailed in 1497 and during a three months' trip discovered and explored the coast of Labrador and brought back a map of the discoveries. In Henry's diary is recorded a gift of £10 "to hym that founde the new Isle." Afterwards new expeditions and voyages of discovery from Bristol were made from time to time, but they had little success. They were in search either of riches in the lands that they first reached, or of a passage beyond them to the East Indies. In the parts of America to which the voyage directly westward from England brought them, they found nothing of the former, and in seeking a northwest passage they only pressed deeper and deeper into the ice-bound regions of northern America. Nevertheless, from this time forward England had a new interest and new ambitions in the unknown western world.

249. **The Renaissance.** — The age of Henry VII was a time of great intellectual awakening. Much of this was due to the influence of Italy. In that country there had been during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a new and lively interest in many lines of study and art, and a great development of learning, literature, painting, sculpture, and building. This is called the "Renaissance," that is, the new birth of the interests, knowledge, and ideas which the Romans and Greeks of antiquity had possessed. From Italy these intellectual interests gradually spread to other countries. Many young Englishmen went to Italy to travel or study and came home imbued with the ideas prevalent there. They brought back with them books on a variety of subjects in which Englishmen had previously taken little interest. Some learned Italians came to England to visit or to settle, and they also spread the same love for and interest in classical learning. One of the men who exercised the strongest influence in England was Erasmus, a great Dutch scholar who was familiar with all the new Italian and the older classical learning and came to England for the first time in 1498, having been invited by a young English nobleman whom he had met at Paris. He visited England again

and again in after years, kept up a correspondence with several learned Englishmen, and took an active part in the discussions of the time.

250. **Humanism in England.** — As a result of this awakened attention to ancient forms of learning, several new subjects came to be studied at the universities. Three men, Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet, who had all studied in Italy, taught Greek at Oxford from 1494 onward, and also gave instruction in other subjects, such as medicine and philosophy, to which the Greek language served as

Tomb of Dr. Yonge, Rolls Office, London (in the Italian style)

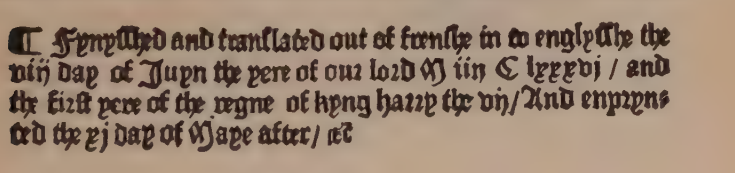
an introduction, and to which it gave a new interest. These men, by their enthusiasm, imparted to their students a love of the Latin and Greek languages, and a desire to become familiar with the works of the ancient authors who had written in them. This study of the classical authors and of their language and their writings, which is characteristic of all Europe during this period, is spoken of as "humanism." The special form it took in England is often called the "new learning." Many men who had never been abroad became equally earnest devotees of this new learning. Thomas More was one of the most gifted and learned of these. He studied at Oxford and always afterward remained on terms of

friendship and kept up his intercourse with the group of learned men who were there at that time.

Most of these men were not only students but reformers, anxious to improve the condition of the world, to spread education more widely, to improve the schools, to bring about a cessation of wars, to abolish unjust and unwise laws, and to make men more broad-minded and liberal in their feelings and actions. Soon after the death of Henry VII, More wrote a book in Latin, which he called *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," in which he called attention to many of the bad conditions existing in Europe at that time, and then described a fictitious country in which all these evils had been remedied. The criticism was too outspoken for him to venture to publish his book in England or to issue it in the language of the people. It was published on the continent and remained long untranslated. In some directions, however, reforms were introduced of the sort that More advocated. Several new professorships and some new colleges were endowed at the universities. Linacre became tutor to the prince of Wales, and physician to the king, and exercised a strong influence for good over them. John Colet was appointed dean of St. Paul's at London, where he founded St. Paul's school, by his private means, and introduced into it new methods of teaching and more enlightened ideas. New text-books were prepared for the boys, and men interested in humanistic studies were appointed as their teachers. There was more effort to rouse their interest, and less dependence was placed on whipping. Many other schools were also founded at about this time, and it became a nearly universal custom for boys and girls of the higher and middle classes to be well educated.

251. The Introduction of Printing into England. — The invention of printing had been one of the products of the Renaissance. From the German city of Mainz the new invention had been carried far and wide. In 1476 William Caxton, an Englishman, who had learned to print in the Netherlands from one of the early printers there, brought a press and type to England and set up

a small printing establishment in a building which he was allowed by Edward IV to use at Westminster. Here he proceeded to print books, for which there proved to be an abundant demand. Before his death, in 1491, he had printed Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and many other English poems, chronicles, and works translated from the French and Latin. Meanwhile several other printing presses had been established in England. The writings of the men of the new learning, and the works of the classical authors whom they so much admired, could now be printed and circulated comparatively cheaply and abundantly, instead of being only slowly and expensively copied by hand as in earlier times. This cheapness and abundance of books increased still further the extension


¶ Fynyſſhed and tranſlated out of frenſſhe in to engliſſhe the viij day of Juyn the yere of our lord M iiij C lxxxvj / and the firſt yere of the regne of kyng harry the vij/And enpryntyd the xj day of Maye after/ &c

Laus Deo

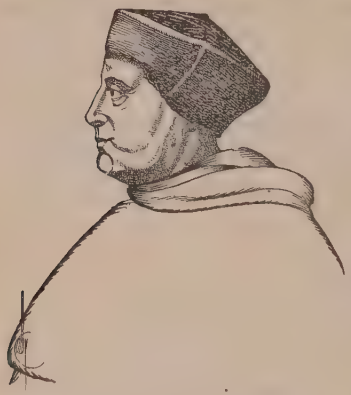
Specimen of Caxton's Printing in the Year 1486

of education, and spread the habit of reading among a far wider class of the people than before. The language was also reduced to much greater uniformity by the work of Caxton and the other early printers.

252. **Accession of Henry VIII.** — When Henry VII died, in 1509, his son, Henry VIII, came into a rich inheritance. The dispute about the succession to the throne had been settled, the king's position was independent and powerful, the treasury was well filled, the country was at peace, and there was a great and spreading interest in trade, manufactures, learning, education, and art.

Henry VIII was well suited to these times. He was only eighteen years old, but he was well grown and handsome, a fine rider, runner, sportsman, and swordsman, well educated, and on

intimate terms with the best men of the time. He was more open-handed, hearty, and good-humored than his father, and he came to the throne without any bad memories of struggle behind him. "Bluff King Hal," the nickname by which he has been called, reflects his manner and his popularity, during the earlier part of his reign at least. He married his widowed sister-in-law, Catherine of Aragon, immediately after his accession. His reign lasted for thirty-eight years, until 1547. This period may very well be divided into two parts: the early years, in which the principal events were those gathering around the policy of the great minister Wolsey; and the later years, in which the great change known as the Reformation was in progress.



Cardinal Wolsey

253. Wolsey. — During the first fifteen years of his reign, Henry took comparatively little part in the work of the government. Like his father he chose able men for his ministers, and one of these soon came into practically complete control of affairs. This was Thomas Wolsey. He was the son of a merchant of Ipswich,[1] was educated at Oxford, became a clergyman, acted as tutor to the sons of a nobleman, traveled on the continent, and then came to the court of Henry VII, where he was employed in various services.

When Henry VIII succeeded to the throne he found Wolsey acting as king's almoner, a member of the council, and the most active and able of the ministers and advisers who had been in his

[1] According to an old but apparently mistaken tradition his father was a butcher. His low birth was a cause of reproach and difficulty to him at the time.

father's service. He was almost twenty years older than the young king, and was eloquent, witty, full of ideas, and clear and bold in the expression of them. He was ready to take part in anything that needed to be done, whether it was to plan a campaign or to arrange a dance or banquet.

Wolsey obtained almost complete influence over Henry, and for many years he was the most trusted adviser of the king and in many ways the practical head of the government. He was a man born to command, and he forced his will upon every one but the king. To him he was ever, in case of a difference of opinion, the submissive servant, or at most the cautious adviser. He obtained a long series of promotions and offices which brought him an enormous income. The most important of these appointments were lord chancellor, archbishop of York, cardinal, and legate of the pope. He thus held the highest position possible for an English subject in the state and, except the archbishopric of Canterbury, in the church, besides receiving the income from various bishoprics, abbeys, and other offices. He lived in a style to correspond to his position, having from two hundred to six hundred persons in various positions as servants or officials, wearing the most gorgeous of robes, and giving the most magnificent banquets and entertainments.

Wolsey's life was a very busy one, fulfilling his duties as lord chancellor, sitting as a member of the Court of Star Chamber, holding conferences with foreign ambassadors, reading and dictating letters, attending to the manifold interests of his position as a minister and churchman, and spending besides much time with the king at his business or at his pleasures. His haughty manners and arbitrary actions and the contrast between his low origin and the lofty height to which he had risen made him extremely unpopular with the nobles, the lawyers, and many other influential persons; but so long as the king favored him his power was almost as unlimited as that of the king himself.

254. **Foreign Wars.** — The hope of the reformers of the time, that universal peace could be brought about, — a hope shared

by Colet, Erasmus, More, and even Wolsey, — was sadly disappointed. Not only were there great wars between France, Spain, and many lesser states of the continent, but the English king and the nobles were not willing to look on and take no part in them. Several times during this period English troops fought again in France, as they had not done since the close of the Hundred Years' War, and Wolsey and the king were continually engaged in arranging and rearranging alliances. In 1520 Charles V of Spain visited England to knit still closer with Henry the bonds which had bound their predecessors in an alliance.

A similar conference between Henry and Francis I, king of France, occurred on the borders of the English possessions in France in the same year at a place then described as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." For weeks before the meeting workmen were busied in erecting temporary buildings for the two monarchs and their courts. These were provided with the most gorgeous furniture, hung and covered with the richest tapestry of silk and cloth of gold and silver. Then for two weeks the two kings held court there, and, with a vast company of noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies attending on the two queens, feasted and held tournaments, gave magnificent entertainments, and exchanged visits, while the ministers prepared a new treaty.

England's position in foreign affairs seemed to be a high one, for her alliance was continually sought; but her allies had their own objects and when they obtained these were willing to give up her friendship. The English therefore obtained little but hollow glory and a slight extension of the territory around Calais, while the cost of war preparations, along with the other expensive habits of the king and court, used up all the money which Henry VII had saved, and threw into disorder the arrangement of the finances which he had with so much difficulty perfected.

255. **The Amicable Loan.** — Parliament was called very seldom and the taxes and loans it authorized were soon expended. Therefore, when the king and his advisers determined on a new

war and invasion of France, the government demanded what was called an "amicable loan." This was a loan which each man was urged to make, in proportion to his property, with but small probability of its ever being paid back. The effort to collect it caused such great complaint and even resistance on the part of the people that the attempt was given up. Wolsey as usual took upon himself the responsibility for having suggested the loan and obtained the hatred of the people for it. The king's own popularity with all classes during the whole of this period of his reign remained boundless.

Henry VIII

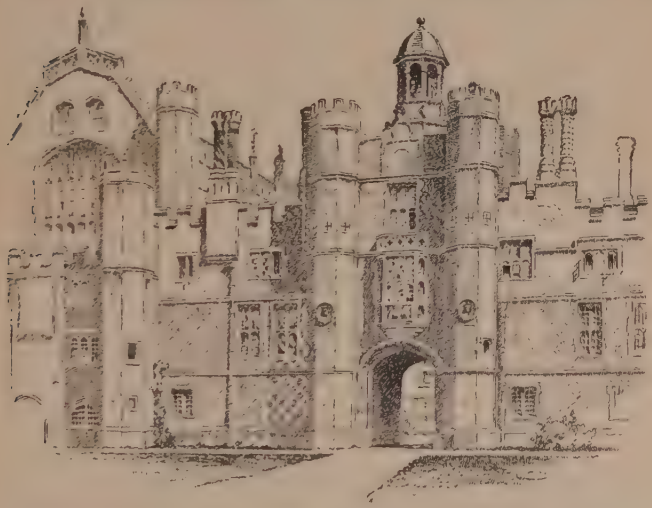
256. The Divorce Question. — By 1527, however, a new question was arising which was destined not only to occupy much of the private thoughts and interests of the king for several years, but to exercise an enormous influence upon the history of the whole nation. Henry's wife, it will be remembered, was Catherine of Aragon, who had been first married to his older brother Arthur just before that prince's death. According to the canon law a man was not allowed to marry his brother's widow. The pope, however, was generally considered to have in special cases a right to suspend the canon law in respect to marriage, if there was sufficient reason for doing so, and Henry VII had obtained from him a dispensation which permitted the marriage of Henry and Catherine to take place. Moreover, for many years the marriage was in the main a happy one. But all the children which were born died

successively, except one, Mary, a delicate little girl. Gradually Henry began to feel some doubts as to whether his marriage to his brother's widow had really been lawful. He was extremely anxious to have a son to inherit the throne after him, and he feared that the death of his children might be a judgment of God upon him for marrying against the laws which religion laid down. He therefore began to think of separating himself from Catherine.

At about the same time he fell deeply in love with Anne Boleyn, one of Queen Catherine's ladies of honor. Which of these sentiments, doubt as to the legality of his first marriage or the wish to form a second one, came first will never be known. Probably Henry himself did not know. But he soon asked from Wolsey and others whether his marriage had been legal or not. The whole question depended of course on whether the pope had been justified in the first place in giving the dispensation from ordinary canon law when it was asked for by Henry's father. If so, Catherine was legally his wife and he could not marry again during her lifetime. If not, she had never been his wife according to law, and he was at liberty to marry some one else if he chose. Whatever may have been his original conscientious scruples, Henry's sole wish soon came to be to obtain a divorce from Catherine and to marry Anne Boleyn. To this object he devoted his thoughts and directed his policy for several years. With all his brilliant gifts, his abilities, and his popularity, Henry was absolutely selfish and heartless; and no consideration of old affection, honor, or duty could deter him from an end on which he had set his heart.

257. **Fall of Wolsey.** — Various efforts were made to obtain a decision by the church authorities in the divorce case. It was necessary to refer the question to Rome, as the papal tribunal was the court which gave decisions on the law of marriage. Under the laws of the church, however, even the pope himself could not grant a divorce for any cause whatever if the king's marriage to Catherine had been valid. Year after year now passed by

and the question remained unsettled. The king, becoming suspicious that Wolsey was not doing all he could to have the matter settled, gradually gave less of his confidence to his great minister, and finally in 1529 removed him from his offices and allowed an action of Praemunire to be brought against him for violations of the law while in office.[1] In the hope that submission would ward off further penalties, Wolsey signed a general confession and



Part of the Palace of Hampton Court (built by Cardinal Wolsey and presented to Henry VIII)

acknowledgment that his life and property were at the disposal of the king. Henry with his usual heartlessness seized the property of his fallen minister and ordered him to retire to his religious duties. There are few greater contrasts in history than that between the middle and the last years of the great cardinal.

[1] Wolsey had accepted from the pope an appointment as legate and had acted on its authority in several matters in England. He had thus laid himself open to a charge under the old statutes of Praemunire. See p. 243.

Living in splendor equal to that of a king, commanding the services of officers and dependents by the hundred, occupied with vast plans of administration and reform in his own country, and holding in his hands the threads of a diplomacy that extended throughout Europe, he was the greatest man in England, save the king alone. Then, deprived in a day of all offices except those which came to him from the church, and almost impoverished, he retired, stunned by the withdrawal of the king's support, to a little country house just outside of London, whence he soon started on the long journey to York, which was his see as archbishop. In less than a year, in 1530, a second blow fell and he was summoned southward again to be tried for treason. Sick and weary he made his way by slow stages toward London till, unable to proceed farther, he stopped at the abbey of Leicester and died there within a few days.

258. Submission of the Clergy. — Henry still put pressure upon the pope to give a favorable decision in the divorce case. He sent embassy after embassy to him, appealed to the universities of Europe to give an opinion on the matter, threatened to cut off the payments made to the pope from England, and to put an end to the papal right of appointment and other forms of his ecclesiastical authority. The king also strengthened his power over English churchmen and the weight of his threats against the pope by causing suit to be brought against the clergy for illegal obedience to Wolsey when he acted as papal legate. By holding a prosecution for Praemunire over their heads he induced the convocation of the clergy in 1531 to pay a heavy fine, to acknowledge that the king was supreme head of the church as well as of the civil government in England, to hand over to the king for revision the canons of the church, and to promise that they would enact no new canons without his consent. This action is known as the "Submission of the Clergy." But even yet the pope gave no decision on the divorce question, although the pressure from the emperor had been removed.

259. Subserviency of Parliament. — In 1529 the king called a new meeting of parliament. At this time the House of Lords was made up of noblemen, bishops, and abbots, most of whom had been raised to their high position by Henry or his father; the House of Commons consisted of lawyers, merchants, and country gentlemen, many of whom had been nominated as members by the privy council and all of whom belonged to the middle classes, which had been so much favored by the policy of the Tudor sovereigns. Their respect for the crown was therefore very great, their devotion to the king unlimited. They were naturally inclined, therefore, to follow the king's lead and meet his wishes. Even if they had not felt so well disposed toward him resistance would have been difficult. The power of the crown had been rising so rapidly under Henry VII and Henry VIII that obedience had become a habit. The interest of parliament in religion, on the other hand, was very slight. The sixteenth century in England was a period of much greater interest in trade, agriculture, and manufactures, in learning, art, and travel, than in religion.

Parliament was therefore ready to pass willingly enough almost any laws on church matters that the king chose to ask from it. A weapon was provided to the hand of Henry by which, as he believed, he could force the pope to grant him his wishes.

260. The Foundations of the Reformation. — But other motives were influencing king, parliament, and people, and making changes in the old religious system inevitable, quite apart from the personal designs of the king and the subserviency of parliament.

First, the civil government both of king and parliament had been rising steadily above the ecclesiastical power. Men were no longer willing to give to churchmen so high a position or such wide powers as they had held during the middle ages. The first step of the English Reformation was to consist in reducing the church to a distinctly inferior position. Secondly, it was a time when men were influenced by strong feelings of national pride and independence. There was a growing dislike of foreign interference

or control, a growing desire to settle all English questions in England. A prohibition of the pope's interference in the government of the English church was therefore a natural and popular measure. Thirdly, it was a time when many changes were in progress. Methods of farming and manufacturing, houses, clothes, food, — all were changing. It was easy for changes to take place in religion also. Therefore the alterations introduced by Henry VIII, although directed in the first place toward his personal ends, were in many cases the natural outcome of the conditions of the time and would have soon occurred even without his action.

261. The Reformation Statutes. — The parliament which met in 1529 and sat in successive sessions for seven years has been called the "Reformation Parliament." It began by making a number of complaints of excessive fees in church courts and other abuses in the church, and with the king's consent passed laws to correct them. Its most important acts, however, were those directed against the authority of the pope over the church in England. Two "Acts of Annates" were passed in 1532 and 1534 cutting off all money payments from the English clergy to the pope. In 1533 the "Act of Appeals" was passed forbidding for the future any appeals from the church courts in England to the papal court, even in cases of canon law. In 1534 a law was passed putting the nomination of bishops in the hands of the king and forbidding any communication with the pope. In 1534 the "Act of Supremacy" was passed giving Henry the title of "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England," and giving him the same power to regulate the church of England that he already possessed to regulate civil affairs. Several other laws were passed transferring powers formerly exercised by the pope either to the king or to English church officials, and it was ordered that the pope should be referred to as the "bishop of Rome," and should have no more power in England than any other foreign bishop. One by one the bonds which had united the church of England with the papacy through many previous Christian centuries had

now been broken, until there was no connection remaining. The laws which were passed between 1530 and 1535 divided it as an organization from the general body of the Christian church in the west of Europe and made it a distinct national body.

In the process of bringing about this separation the English church had been completely subordinated to the king. Its bishops were named by him, its laws could only be adopted with his consent, his supremacy over it had been formally acknowledged. It was not only a national church but a national church under the control of the king.

262. **Decay of the Monasteries.** — Other changes were bound to follow upon these. The monasteries were peculiarly open to attack. Of these groups of monks or nuns of various orders, each with its buildings and landed property, some had been founded in the earliest days of Christianity in England, and had existed, therefore, for many hundred years; while others had been founded from time to time during all the intervening centuries. Some were large and wealthy, while others were of every size, oftentimes mere "cells" or branch establishments where only two or three persons were sent from one of the larger houses to live together. They had had a great history. For a long period they had been prosperous and respected, and had attracted within their walls or educated in their midst learned, pious, and useful men and women. But there is little doubt that this period of prosperity and usefulness was to a great extent past. Many of the monastic houses were in a bad financial condition. Their lands were mortgaged, their income had decreased, and their buildings were out of repair. The class of men and women who sought admittance to them was not so high as it had been. There were many ways now in which a man might live a life of intellectual employment as a teacher, lawyer, writer, or otherwise without becoming a monk. The belief that a religious life could best be led by withdrawing from the active world and giving one's self to prayers, devotional exercises, and self-denial had long been dying out. There was

much to criticise in the actual life led by the monks. Their idleness was evident. The old laws requiring labor, study, and other services from them were but poorly enforced. Many stories, some of them no doubt false, others true, were told of bad lives led by monks and nuns under the protection of their privileged position and religious reputation. They were probably no worse than other men and women of their time, but they were probably not conspicuously better, while more might fairly be expected of them.

Many bishops and archbishops tried to improve the declining condition of the monasteries. Others, like Wolsey, had obtained permission from the king and the pope to take the property from some of the poorest and smallest of them and to use it for the founding of schools, colleges, and hospitals.

263. Cromwell and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. — Henry and his ministers now followed a bolder plan, and one more attractive to the avarice of the king. Since the fall of Wolsey the principal adviser of the king had been Thomas Cromwell, a man who had been one of Wolsey's officers, was familiar with business methods, had traveled much abroad, had read much, was determined, unscrupulous, and devoted to the service of the king. Henry and Cromwell had little respect or consideration for the monasteries, feared their devotion to the pope, and were eager besides to get possession of their property to meet the needs of the government. Henry determined, therefore, to bring about their suppression and the confiscation to the crown of their lands and other property.

To do this Cromwell, who had been appointed by the king vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs to exercise the power of regulation of the church granted to the king by the Act of Supremacy, made use of the floating stories and charges of immorality made against some of the monasteries. He sent out a group of commissioners, professedly to inquire into the condition of the monasteries and report upon them, but really instructed to

bring back sufficient charges against them to justify their suppression. This was done and parliament was in 1536 induced to pass a law confiscating the property and dissolving the organization of more than three hundred of the smaller monasteries. Some of the larger abbeys were then attacked on the ground of the treason of their abbots or inmates. Still others were forced

Ruins of the Abbey of St. Mary at York

or persuaded to dissolve themselves and hand over their property to the king, and finally in 1540 all the remaining monasteries were suppressed.

The gold, silver, and precious stones in their possession were taken to the royal treasury; the lead, stone, and glass of the roofs, walls, and windows were sold as building materials; and the lands taken into the possession of the government and sold or given away at nominal prices to courtiers or noblemen and gentlemen whom the king wished to favor. The monks and nuns were in some cases sent to live with their friends, in others given a government pension, and in still others appointed to various offices

in the church. The abbots of course ceased to be members of the House of Lords. The dissolution of the monasteries was probably a desirable measure, but the way in which it was carried out was none the less shameful.

264. Destruction of Relics and Shrines. — In the monasteries had been many shrines,[1] relics, and wonder-working images, to which pilgrimages had been made for centuries. But veneration for these on the part of the people had long been waning. Many of the more intelligent of the clergy and laity alike disbelieved in any benefits or special merits to be obtained from worshiping at the shrines, and doubted the genuineness or the sanctity of the relics. When the monasteries were destroyed, therefore, the shrines also were dismantled, their ornaments seized by the government, and they and their contents alike destroyed. The bones of St. Thomas of Canterbury, objects of pious veneration for almost four centuries, were burned and scattered. Other relics likewise were destroyed, in many cases having been first tested and shown to be fraudulent in the sight of the people. Wooden images of the Virgin Mary and of the saints were in many cases cut to pieces and burned. Pilgrimages to sacred places were also forbidden, on the ground that they were superstitious and disorderly.

Shrine of St. Thomas of Hereford

[1] Shrines were stone burial vaults built above ground, often beautifully ornamented with gold and precious stones, in which the remains of the founder of the abbey or of some other saint were preserved. Relics were parts of the body of some saint or martyr, or objects made sacred by having been used by them during life or blessed since death.

265. Execution of More and Fisher.— These changes were not carried through without opposition. When Henry's antagonism to the pope became manifest, Sir Thomas More, who had been in the service of the crown for many years and had become lord chancellor on Wolsey's downfall, resigned in 1532. The Act of Supremacy provided that an oath to accept and abide by it should be taken by every one who should be asked to do so, and that a refusal to take the oath should be considered treason. When More was asked to take this oath he refused, on grounds of conscience; and Fisher, the aged bishop of Rochester, another old friend of Henry, did the same. They were both brought to trial and beheaded as traitors, to the astonishment and disapproval of all Europe. Many others, including a number of prominent ecclesiastics, were executed for treason on the same grounds in the year 1535. The pope in retaliation excommunicated Henry and declared him deposed from the throne. Such a sentence, which three hundred years before had humbled King John, had now but little meaning in England, and there was no serious probability of any regard being paid to it.

266. The Pilgrimage of Grace. — Yet among both the gentry and the masses of the people, especially in the more distant parts of the country, the abolition of the pope's authority, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the tyranny of Cromwell, led to more than one rebellion. They were directed not so much against the king as against his ministers, but as there was no standing army in England they were a great danger to the government. The greatest of these risings was a revolt in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, in 1536, called the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The king was forced to promise to consider the petitions of the rebels in a new parliament to meet in the north, and to grant pardon to them for their rebellion. But other questions besides the religious one were mingled with the grievances of the people, and the rebels divided on these and ceased to be dangerous. The king broke his promise, and, taking advantage of a later opportunity, obtained

the trial and execution of many of the leaders of the rising. Several of the great northern nobles, gentry, and abbots, and a great number of lesser men, were sent to the block.

267. Ireland. — The opposition in Ireland to the Reformation was even greater than in the north of England, but that country was too disunited to resist. Since the conquest under Henry II the English kings had used the title "Lord of Ireland," had kept a representative at Dublin ruling over the Anglicized district known as the "Pale," and had asserted a supremacy over the native chieftains and the nobles of English descent who held estates in the more distant parts of the country. But English government in Ireland did not mean much until the time of Henry VII. He had introduced a stronger government there as he had in England. The most important step in this had been the enactment by the Irish parliament, which only included representatives from the Pale but bound all Ireland by its acts, of the law known as "Poynings's Law." This was adopted in 1494 and provided that in future no act should be introduced into the Irish parliament until it had first been submitted to and approved by the king and the English privy council, a measure which subordinated the Irish parliament entirely to England.

Henry VIII put down a rebellion of a great Anglo-Irish family, the Geraldines, and in 1526 sent an able lord deputy, Lord Leonard Grey, to Ireland to introduce the new royal supremacy in the church and to strengthen the old royal supremacy in the state. The Irish monasteries were suppressed and their property confiscated, relics and images were destroyed, and adherents of the new system placed in the archbishoprics and bishoprics. To the great mass of the Irish people these changes were only a part of the tyranny of the English government. They not only did not sympathize with the Reformation, but they probably did not understand or think of it at all. No alteration had taken place in their opinions or practices, except such as had been forced upon them by their conquerors.

A few years afterwards Henry took the new title of "King of Ireland," and by that title he was acknowledged in a parliament which met in 1541, and which included for the first time in Irish history the native chiefs from beyond the Pale.

268. Stages of the Reformation. — Three steps in the Reformation had by this time been taken in England. The bishops had been humbled before the king, the church of England was separated from Rome, and the monasteries had been destroyed. But it was no part of the wish or intention of Henry and his principal advisers that changes should go farther. The English Reformation as a whole may be said to consist of six principal changes: (1) the subordination of church to state, (2) the separation from the papacy, (3) the abolition of monasteries, (4) the common use of the Bible and of church services in English, (5) the simplification of ceremonies, and (6) a change in long-accepted doctrines. Only the first three or at most four of these were in accordance with the desires of Henry VIII. He wished that the changes should stop with the ecclesiastical independence of England, his own control of the English church, the destruction of the monasteries, and perhaps the translation of the Bible and some parts of the prayer book into English.

To make plain the fact that the doctrinal beliefs of the church of England were to be the same as they had always been, various proclamations were issued from time to time to declare and explain these beliefs. The most decisive of these was the "Act of the Six Articles," approved by parliament and issued in 1539, in which the principal doctrines of the old church were reannounced, and death declared the penalty for disbelief in them. Thus far was the Reformation to go and no farther.

Yet change was in the air. New religious teachings were being brought into England from Germany and other continental countries. The "new learning" had set men to thinking, to criticising, and to planning for improvement. The king himself and many of the clergy were more or less under the influence of the

spirit of the times, which called for more reasonable grounds for beliefs than the mere fact that they had always been held.

It was not probable, therefore, that religious faith would remain as it had been, now that the English church was no longer bound to retain uniformity with the rest of the Christian church. During the middle ages the church of England had been bound to the general system of European church belief, organization, and practice. Now by the breach with the papacy it had been freed from Roman Catholic traditions, and become subject to all the winds and tides of the thought of the time.

269. Growth of Protestant Belief. — Acts of parliament and proclamations of the king were therefore not sufficient to put a stop to changes in belief that were taking place quite apart from the intentions or desires of the government. More and more men were coming to hold religious views very different from those taught by the old church or by the Six Articles. The Protestant teachings of Luther, Zwingli, and other reformers in Germany were gaining acceptation in England. Many men were thinking religious problems out for themselves and were coming to conclusions far different from the beliefs authorized by law.

At the very time that parliament and the king were passing laws to preserve England in the old faith, various young scholars at the universities, tradesmen in London and other cities, obscure priests, and others, mostly of the middle or lower classes, were adopting a very different faith. Some of these went abroad, had tracts and religious books which taught Protestant views printed at Antwerp and elsewhere, brought them back to London, and distributed them through the country. One of the most influential of these Protestants was Tyndale, a scholar successively at the two English universities, next a preacher in London, and then a student in Wittenberg under Luther. There he translated the New Testament into English, added to it much of his own explanation of its meaning, and had it printed and conveyed in as large numbers as possible into England. Even among the king's advisers and

the higher clergy many were influenced by the new teachings and the new direction of thought. Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Latimer were conspicuous representatives of this class of men who were subjecting old doctrines and old customs to new criticism, and were coming to feel the desirability of further changes.

During the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, therefore, men were divided in religious matters into three classes. There were in the first place the vast number who disapproved of all the recent religious changes; secondly, there were those who approved of the changes which had been made but did not wish them carried farther; thirdly, there were the reformers who would gladly have carried the Reformation to greater lengths, but were prevented from doing so by the policy of the king and the influence of those who were opposed to further changes.

270. The Scriptures in English. — The only advances which were made during the last eight years of Henry's reign were in the fourth of the points just enumerated, — the greater use of the common language of the people in the church services. In 1526 Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had been secretly imported. It was disapproved and condemned by the church authorities, partly because of expressions used in the translation and of Protestant explanations given in footnotes and introduction, and partly because of the old objection to the common people reading the Bible without explanation. A few years later, however, in 1537, when a translation of the whole Bible, based partly on one made by Coverdale, partly upon Tyndale's, was brought into England, its use was encouraged by Cromwell, and the king ordered that a copy should be placed in every parish church, to be read by the people. A year afterwards all prohibition against the people reading it in their own houses was taken away, and in 1539 a new translation known as the "Great Bible" was authorized and issued by the government.

Much the same change was in progress in the forms of private and public prayer. The "primer" or collection of private prayers

had been long used in English, but a new and authorized form was now issued. All parts of the Scriptures which were read in the church services were put into English, and in 1544 Cranmer composed a new litany [1] to be said in the language of the people.

But no changes of doctrine were allowed. In the eyes of the king, of his most influential advisers, and of the majority of the higher clergy, the new beliefs coming to be so largely held were still heresy. Those who believed in them were from time to time brought to trial, and several were burned at the stake. Many more were imprisoned, frightened into denying their beliefs, or forced to go into exile in foreign countries.

271. The King's Marriages. — Henry's private life, if a king can be said to have a private life, was not happy. While the ecclesiastical changes which have been described were in progress he had carried out the personal objects which had led him into conflict with the old church. When the delay of the pope to grant the divorce had gone on for five years, and parliament was about to pass the Statute of Appeals, Henry took things into his own hands, married Anne Boleyn, and referred the question of the legality of his previous marriage to a church court made up of English clergymen. This court, presided over by the new archbishop, Cranmer, decided that the king had never been legally married to Catherine, and that his recent marriage to Anne was therefore legal. The pope thereupon gave his decision to the contrary; but according to the Statute of Appeals this decision had no force in England. Henry and Anne had one daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth, but they were not happy together. Henry came to believe her guilty of a base crime, and for this she was in 1535 divorced, tried, convicted, and beheaded. Ten days after the execution of Anne, Henry married a lady named Jane Seymour, who later bore a son who became Edward VI. She died within a year of her marriage. Henry was afterwards three

[1] The litany was a series of responsive prayers to be recited in the religious processions of priest and people.

times married, two of these wives successively being divorced.[1] Cromwell, who had been principal minister for ten years after the fall of Wolsey, gradually lost the king's confidence. In 1540 the many enemies whom he had made in carrying out the king's despotic policy brought about his downfall by carrying through parliament a bill of attainder against him.

272. **Close of the Reign.** — Henry's health was bad during his later life, and he became so stout that he could hardly ride or even walk. He became steadily more tyrannical. The fundamental selfishness of his character, increased by bodily discomfort, personal unhappiness, and the sense of failure in many of his schemes, made him an irritable, harsh, and capricious ruler throughout all these later years, though his mental vigor never left him. In the course of his reign he had brought about or approved the execution of two of his most devoted ministers, More and Cromwell, and the disgrace and unhappiness of a third, Wolsey. Besides his disavowal of Catherine, he had caused the execution of two wives, of many of the highest nobility, some of them blood relatives, of a score of churchmen of high dignity, and of a large number of lesser men. It is true that these men and women had been declared guilty of rebellion, treason, or other serious offenses. But many of the laws under which they suffered were newly made for Henry's benefit, and he was responsible for their harsh administration. Notwithstanding his early popularity, his great abilities, his leadership in the Reformation, his preservation of national peace and order, and his long, masterful reign, there was a general sigh of relief when in 1547 his death occurred.

273. **The Succession to the Crown.** — There had been so much confusion about the legitimacy of Henry's children, and uncertainty

[1] Henry's fourth wife was Anne of Cleves, daughter of one of the Protestant princes of the continent. She was divorced from Henry by mutual agreement. His fifth wife was Catherine Howard, who was guilty of misconduct, divorced, and beheaded. His sixth wife was Catherine Parr, who outlived him.

as to their right to the inheritance, that parliament had passed a special act giving him the right to provide in his will for the succession to the crown. In accordance with this act of parliament he left instructions that his son Edward should succeed him and pass the crown down to his children, if he should have any. If he had none, it was to go to his elder sister Mary and to her children. If she also should die without children, it should go to Elizabeth. As a matter of fact, each of Henry's children reigned in succession and all died without heirs.

274. **The Protectorate.** — The young king Edward VI was a boy of ten, and provision had therefore been made in his father's will for the government to be carried on by a council in his name. This plan, however, was immediately changed and the powers of government given to the king's uncle, the duke of Somerset, with the title "Protector." From 1547 to 1549 the government was practically in his hands, and for the remaining three years of the king's life, in the hands of a successor in a similar position, the duke of Northumberland. The king never came to rule at all, though he was very precocious, and in the last two years of his life, when he was fourteen and fifteen, he took a great interest in affairs of government and discussed matters of state with his council.

275. **The Advance of Protestantism.** — The most serious obstacle in the way of the continuance of the Reformation was removed by Henry's death. Somerset was one of those who had favored further changes, and he now threw himself into the work of carrying them out. Some of the bishops who opposed his plans were removed, and advanced reformers were put in their places. The fourth step of the Reformation before described was now carried to completion. A prayer book entirely in English was prepared by Archbishop Cranmer and others of the clergy, approved by parliament in 1549, and ordered to be used in all the churches. It was reissued in a modified form two years afterward and has ever since been used, with but few further changes, in the church of England and in the Protestant Episcopal church in America.

Other changes in the forms of worship and in religious customs were introduced rapidly. Partly by voluntary action of various congregations and parish authorities, partly by authoritative commands issued by Somerset, what has been described above as the fifth step of the Reformation was now taken. Crucifixes and the images of saints were generally removed from their niches in the churches, melted down when they were of metal, burned when they were of wood, and broken when they were of stone. The stained-glass windows on which were pictured the figures of Christ, the apostles, and the saints were destroyed. The emblematic religious pictures on the walls of the churches were plastered or whitewashed over. The use of holy water was given up. Clergymen abandoned the use of colored robes at the services and frequently even of the white gown. Fasting was generally dispensed with, clergymen were allowed to marry, penance was no longer imposed, and pilgrimages were prohibited.

276. The Completion of the Reformation. — The Reformation passed rapidly on to its last stage, alteration of certain religious beliefs. Doctrine had been slowly modified during the last few years as practice was changed. In 1548 the Act of the Six Articles was repealed, and in the second prayer book many points of doctrine were put in a strongly Protestant form. In 1553 all these theological matters were drawn up in forty-two articles, which were adopted by Parliament and declared to be the religious beliefs of the English church. Later these, in the form of the "Thirty-nine Articles," became, like the prayer book, a permanent part of the English church system.

The changes of this period of the Reformation, like the earlier steps, were carried through largely by the government. Many of the people welcomed them heartily and approved of all that was done. Many others disapproved of them entirely and would gladly have returned to the old ways. The great proportion of the people, however, either from indifference or because they held more moderate opinions, felt themselves to be somewhere between

these two extremes. Nevertheless the government insisted that all the people should conform to the law in religious matters just the same as in all others. In 1552 an Act of Uniformity was passed ordering that the official prayer book should be used in all churches. No clergyman was allowed to use the Latin mass or any other form of worship than that established by law; and all persons were required on Sundays and holy days to attend their parish churches where this service was used. Homilies or approved sermons explaining the doctrines and moral teachings of the church were also prepared and ordered to be read by ministers in the churches.

Thus the church of England had been transformed from its mediæval character as a branch of the Roman Catholic church to a form very similar to that of other Protestant churches.

277. Dissolution of the Chantries. — Another break with the past was made in the time of Edward VI by the abolition of all chantries and their services. Men had from time to time during several centuries bequeathed to trustees certain property, the income from which was to be used to support a priest to say daily and anniversary masses, to keep a candle burning before the shrine of some saint, to give alms to poor people, to support a schoolmaster, or to fulfill other pious requirements. Such a bequest was called a chantry. In some towns there were whole rows of houses held by the town authorities, by chaplains, or other trustees, who rented them out and used the income thus obtained for the purposes required in the wills of the founders. Many of the old craft gilds also possessed property with which they kept up chantries, and in other cases religious gilds were specially formed by poor persons who each contributed a small sum for the purpose of supporting a priest who should say commemorative masses for the souls of the contributors.

In the later years of Henry VIII, property which had been left by will for religious purposes was coming to be looked upon as fair game by the government and by influential courtiers. Many

of the trustees of such funds were showing the same disregard for the wishes of the founders by betraying their trusts and either using the income from the property in their hands for their own purposes or diverting it to different uses from those for which it was intended. Just before Henry's death, therefore, a law was passed authorizing him to take possession of these endowments, just as had been done in the case of the monasteries, and to use their income for educational and other purposes.

Henry's death prevented any action being taken under this law, but in the first year of the reign of Edward VI the same act was renewed. It was declared that the offering up of prayers for the souls of the dead, the burning of candles before the shrines of saints, and the hallowing of private chapels were superstitious and unchristian practices, and that the property possessed by chantries and devoted to these uses should be confiscated to the government. Immediate steps were taken to carry this out. The old memorial services and celebrations came to an end as completely as had the monasteries, and some two thousand chantry priests ceased to perform their old duties but received small pensions from the government to recompense them for the salaries of which they had been deprived.

A Fifteenth-Century Grammar School at Taunton

278. Schools. — The chantries had performed other duties along with their religious services. Some had distributed alms to a certain number of poor persons. Some had provided for the support of one or more schoolmasters to give free instruction. These duties the government now undertook to perform or to provide for by the return of a proportionate part of the endowments

which had been confiscated. A promise was also given to devote a portion of the money before used for the support of priests to the support of schools. This duty was only partially carried out. Many, it is true, of the schools formerly kept up by the chantries were reëstablished by the government and their old endowments returned to them; but the confusion of the times and the difficulties of the government prevented any proper attention to the support and encouragement of the reorganized schools, and much of the funds secured from the chantries was wasted or used for very different purposes. At about the same time, however, several new schools were established and endowed by private persons, and the reign of Edward VI has usually been looked back to as a time of the founding or refounding of schools.

279. **Inclosures.** — The period of the early Tudors was one in which many other fundamental changes besides the Reformation were in progress. The country districts underwent a complete transformation. During the middle ages England had been in the main a country of small peasant farmers, each raising enough grain, farm animals, and other products to feed and clothe his family, and perhaps a little more to sell. Whether he was a villein or a freeholder his acres were few, scattered around in the open fields of the village, and devoted to the usual round of crops. At the other extreme in size were the great farms of the lords of manors, differing but little in the distribution of the acre strips of which they were composed, the crops raised upon them, and their methods of agriculture from the small farms, but much larger and carried on by stewards with the forced or hired labor of the peasantry, or by tenants who had taken the demesne on lease from the lord of the manor.[1]

Another class of farmers, however, was now coming into existence. They were those who rented considerable amounts of land from the lords of the manors and introduced new methods

[1] See pp. 200–203 and p. 245.

of farming upon them. The principal use to which these larger farms were put was the raising of sheep in large numbers for their wool. In order to raise sheep to advantage the farmers needed a large tract of land in one stretch. This was impossible so long as the land lay in the old scattered strips, so they induced the landlords to evict large numbers of small farmers and rent the land to them for their sheep farms. The sheep farmers inclosed with hedges the large fields thus obtained, instead of allowing them to lie open and unfenced as had before been customary. They also inclosed large parts of the open commons, which had before been used by the small farmers and country laborers for pasturing their animals.

280. Evil Results of the Inclosures. — As a result of these inclosures and of the evictions great numbers of small farmers found themselves without occupation. Farm laborers also lost their employment; since sheep raising requires very few hands. The small farmers found no other land and the laborers found no demand for their services in other places, since the same thing was going on throughout much of England. Men who had been thrifty small farmers were often driven with their families to become paupers and vagabonds. All the inhabitants of a country village were sometimes forced to give up the homes that they and their forefathers had occupied; the houses soon disappeared; the church became a ruin; and there was nothing left but a sheep-cot and a few herdsmen's hovels. The new farmers were of course growing wealthy from the greater profits of sheep farming, and the landowners from the higher rents that were being paid; there was also abundance of wool produced for use in weaving and for export. But these gains were made at the cost of much loss and suffering to the small farmers or yeomen.

Inclosures had been in progress since the middle of the fifteenth century and went on more and more rapidly through the early part of the sixteenth. The lands which were confiscated from the monasteries and sold or given to the courtiers of Henry VIII were

very generally inclosed in this way for sheep farming by their owners or by those to whom they were rented, and the old tenants upon them had, as in other cases, to be turned out. The general cry of misery, the fear of a decrease in the population, and the dislike of changes early attracted the attention of the government to inclosures, and successive laws intended to prevent them were passed by parliament. The laws, however, proved ineffective. Other voices were also raised against the inclosures. Writers and preachers charged the landlords, large farmers, and capitalists with harsh, unjust, and unchristian dealing, and appealed to them to consider the sufferings of the poor. But the inclosures still went on, with all the advantages which they brought to the class of landowners and large farmers, and all their evils to the small farmers and laborers.

281. The Protector's Favor to the Poor. — These conditions were at their height in the reign of Edward VI. The Protector, Somerset, along with a group of reformers, now determined to put a stop to inclosures by enforcing the laws which had already been passed or by securing the passage of still stronger laws. A commission was therefore appointed to go from county to county to inquire into the matter and to prosecute those who had violated the laws against inclosures. The commissioners found their task a hard one. They were met with every kind of opposition. Juries were afraid to convict wealthy landlords or influential large farmers, witnesses were threatened or attacked, and the laws were evaded in numberless ways. Even members of parliament, judges, and members of the privy council resisted the enforcement of the laws and opposed the designs of the Protector.

In 1549 the peasantry, already excited and displeased by the sudden changes of the Reformation, resentful at the evictions and loss of occupation, stirred with the prospect of reforms and yet made desperate by the opposition to them, rose in revolt almost simultaneously in several parts of England. The Protector, although he sympathized with their grievances and at first treated

them leniently, had at last to use military force. There was a bitter struggle in which several thousand men were killed, and the rebels were only put down with great difficulty.

282. **Fall of Somerset.** — Those who were opposed to Somerset's policy of favor to the common people, those who felt that he had failed in his larger plans, and some members of the council who were jealous of his power, took advantage of this opportunity to organize an opposition party and call for his resignation of the office of Protector. This he gave when he found that he had no sufficient party of supporters. The most influential position in the council which governed in the name of the young king was now taken by the duke of Northumberland, who did not, however, take the title of Protector. Somerset was imprisoned in the Tower of London, then released for a while, but afterwards tried for conspiracy against his successor and executed on the charge of treason.

The effort to enforce the laws against inclosures fell with Somerset, at least for the time. The great difficulty was that exactly the class which was most influential in government and social life at this time — the country gentry and the wealthy merchants of the towns — was the class which was most interested in seeing the changes in the use of the land carried on, because it increased their rents and their profits. Most of the laws of this period were in favor of this class, and those which were opposed to their interests, like those directed against inclosures, could not be enforced.

The movement, therefore, still went on, though it gradually came to cause less distress. More of the inclosing came to be for improved grain farming rather than for sheep raising; the increase of manufacturing came to require more laborers; and the small farmers and country workmen gradually adapted themselves to the new conditions. Inclosures went somewhat out of fashion among the farmers themselves, and by the close of the sixteenth century little more is heard of this particular kind of trouble, though there were some later revivals of it.

283. The Debasement of the Coinage. — There were troubles enough, however, of other kinds. One was the great rise of prices, or rather their irregularity. One cause of this was the change going on in farming and other forms of industry. Another was the change taking place in the purity of the money of the country. All through the middle ages there had been about the same amount of alloy mixed with the pure silver or gold when they were coined, and the coins remained of nearly the same weight. In the reign of Henry VIII, however, the king decided to coin a pound of silver into forty shillings instead of thirty-seven and a half, as before. Somewhat later he had a pound coined into forty-five shillings, and later still into forty-eight. The new shillings were therefore only about three fourths as large as the old. At the same time he began putting more and more alloy in with the pure silver till the coined metal was only half silver. Under Edward VI the coin was made still worse, only one quarter of the metal being silver and the remaining three quarters alloy. Thus the coins were not only smaller but of very much poorer metal than of old. The same was done with the gold coins. People, however, recognized the new and poorer money and charged different prices for their goods according to the kind of coins that were offered them. This interfered with trade and was particularly hard on the poorer classes, who could not insist on receiving good money rather than bad. Finally so much of the money in circulation was bad that a proclamation was issued declaring that shillings should in the future be considered as worth only sixpence, but debased money continued to be coined for some years.

284. Close of the Reign of Edward VI. — As time passed on it became certain that the young king was destined to an early death from consumption. In 1553, when he was sixteen years old, he was so ill that it was evident his death might occur at any time. According to the will of Henry VIII, Edward's successor, since he had no children, would be his elder sister Mary. Mary had lived much in retirement, but so far as she was known she

was popular; and notwithstanding the fact that England had never been ruled by a woman, and that Mary was known to be a Roman Catholic, people believed that there would be peace and good order in the country under her rule. Under the government of Edward's council Protestantism had been forced upon the majority of the people in such an extreme form and by such tyrannical measures that to many it had become more distasteful than the mediæval faith. It was a sad time. There was universal suffering among the poor, disturbance of trade, dislike and distrust of the king's guardians, and the great body of the people looked forward with hope and satisfaction to the reign of Mary.

285. **The Plot for the Succession of Lady Jane Grey.** — The duke of Northumberland, however, knew that his power and perhaps his life would be lost the moment Mary came to the throne, and he was ready to adopt desperate measures to prevent it. So long as Edward lived the duke had control over all the troops, forts, navy, treasury, and the government officials. He had also obtained unbounded influence over the young king. Strengthened by these opportunities he planned a bold stroke for a continuance of his power.

The young king had a cousin, a girl of about his own age, Lady Jane Grey. She was the granddaughter of Mary, the younger sister of Henry VIII. She had been brought up in retirement under the care of her mother and private tutors. She had the precocity of intellectual development and the thoroughness of education which were common then among women of the higher classes. She was besides a sweet, attractive girl, affectionate to her relatives and friends, but with no interest in or knowledge of the politics of the time. It was she whom Northumberland had chosen as a rival of Mary. He arranged a marriage between Jane and his son, and then induced Edward to draw up a paper setting aside his father's will and appointing Lady Jane to the throne. Edward had no constitutional right to make this arrangement, as his father had been especially authorized by parliament

to arrange the succession, and had only exercised the power by this authority. Nevertheless the king, by appealing to the feelings and self-interest of the Protestant nobles and the bishops, by commanding the judges on the ground of their duty to him, and finally by begging with tears in his eyes those who still refused, induced a large number of those who were in positions of authority to sign their names to this document and to pledge themselves to support the accession of Jane rather than of Mary.

The wan face of the dying king might secure a promise from those who surrounded his deathbed, but it could not overcome the difficulties in the way of the succession after his death. The lords of the council hailed Lady Jane as queen, and even her father-in-law, the great duke, knelt before her. She was proclaimed queen in London, taken to the Tower, and treated with royal honors for a few days, while Northumberland carried on the government in her name.

But Mary was not a woman to yield without a struggle. She declared herself to be the rightful queen as soon as the news of her brother's death reached her. The nobles gathered around her, the troops that were sent by the duke to capture her refused obedience to his orders, and within a few days Northumberland was arrested and imprisoned, and Jane remained in the Tower a prisoner instead of a queen.

286. Queen Mary. — Mary was received with universal rejoicings and seemed inclined to let bygones be bygones, to be merciful to her late opponents, and to rule with the advice of the more moderate nobles. The duke of Northumberland was executed, but the other leaders of the plot were left in prison unharmed for the time, and many of the members of the late king's council still remained in office. Nevertheless, when some of Mary's actions and plans proved to be unpopular, another plot was formed among a number of the nobles and gentry, and a fierce revolt broke out under the leadership of Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Kentish gentleman. It gained its principal strength among the people of that

turbulent county, which had been the birthplace of so many earlier rebellions. The plan of the conspirators was to depose Mary and to put her younger sister Elizabeth on the throne. This revolt, however, was put down after some fighting in and around London, where for a moment it had seemed on the point of success.

The queen was now angry and bitter. She wished all who had taken part in either of the efforts to exclude her from the throne to be put to death. More than a hundred were tried and executed for complicity in the last rising. Even Lady Jane Grey, who had known nothing about this rebellion and who would not have profited by its success, was informed that she with her husband must die for her treason in occupying for a few days an undesired throne. Only seventeen years of age, alone, inexperienced, and innocent, Lady Jane Grey went to the scaffold with a quiet courage and dignity and a serene persistence in her Protestant faith that shamed many an older and guiltier sufferer, so that her character stands out as an oasis of purity and pathos in the desert of violence, betrayal, and hardness of that time.

Medal with Portrait of Queen Mary (by the Italian engraver Primavera)

287. **The Roman Catholic Reaction.** — The causes which had led to Wyatt's rebellion were principally two, — Mary's plan to reintroduce religion in its mediæval form by making England again subject to the pope in church affairs, and her announced choice of her cousin Philip, the son of the king of Spain, for a husband. Immediately on her accession some of the recently introduced Protestant practices were given up and Roman Catholic ceremonies took their place. The most extreme and active of the Protestant reformers either went voluntarily into exile or were shut up in prison on various charges. The old Catholic service in Latin was reintroduced here and there with little opposition,

and soon became almost universal. The Roman Catholics in each parish, or at least those who preferred old rather than new ways, set up again the crucifixes and resumed the old familiar religious customs. The queen and her advisers took even more decisive action in the same direction. She released immediately from their confinement the bishops who had opposed the Protestant changes of the last reign, and restored them to their honors and duties, expelling those who had been put in their sees. Then she required all the clergy who had married either to put away their wives or to give up their offices in the church. When parliament met, a general repeal act was passed by which the laws on religion passed in the reign of Edward were abrogated, and matters restored to much the position in which they had been at the death of Henry VIII.

288. **The Spanish Marriage.** — But Queen Mary was not satisfied with this. She wished to have the connection with the papacy restored as it had been before any of the events of the Reformation had taken place. Besides this she had made up her mind, at the suggestion of the Spanish ambassador, who was her most trusted adviser, to marry Philip. Both of these plans were unpopular in England, but little could be done in opposition to the will of the queen. Men and parties were in mutual antagonism, the authority of the sovereign was still as great as it had been in the time of Henry VIII, and Mary's inclinations were drawing her nearer and nearer to both the marriage with Philip and the restoration of the papal power. Then came the rising of Wyatt and his friends, and when it was put down not only was Mary more determined than ever, but resistance by the people was now hopeless. She at last had her way. Philip came to England, the marriage took place, and for a few weeks or months Mary fancied herself happy. But Philip had no love for his bride, in fact actually disliked her. He avoided her as much as he could and in about a year left England.

289. **Loss of Calais.** — The principal object for which Philip had sought the marriage with Mary was to draw England into the

war which had been in progress for some time between Spain and France. After long hesitation English troops were at last sent to the continent to fight on the Spanish side. They won little honor, and soon afterwards England, as a result of being at war with France, suffered what was then felt as a great disaster. In 1558 Calais was suddenly besieged by a large French army and fleet. It was poorly provided with men and supplies and the home government was too slow in sending reënforcements. As a result it was taken by storm, notwithstanding a gallant defense. All the English inhabitants were driven out, leaving their property behind them, and returned to England with nothing but their clothes. Calais became again a French city. The sorrow, anger, and humiliation of the queen and of the whole people of England were extreme. For more than two hundred years the English flag had floated over Calais and English merchants and citizens had occupied it. It was an outpost of English defense, the proof of England's military power, the badge of her control of the Channel, the center of her trade with the continent, the gate of entrance through which her warlike expeditions entered France. Its loss seemed to set the stamp of humiliation upon England and to deprive her of much of her old glory.

From a practical point of view the loss of Calais was probably a real gain for England. Its garrison had long been a great and unremunerative expense, trade had changed so much that Calais was not needed to obtain an entrance to the continent, and it was just as well that England should not be tempted to send military expeditions into France. Nevertheless it was a great blow to the nation's pride and a bitter disappointment to the queen. An old story says that on her deathbed she declared that if her body were opened two names would be found written on her heart; one would be "Philip," the other "Calais."

290. **The Restoration of Papal Control.** — In her resolution to restore the old church in England, Mary was as successful as in the Spanish marriage. A number of influential churchmen had never

agreed to any part of the Reformation, many persons were disgusted by the unworthy actions of some of the extreme reformers, and the great body of the nation was either tired of such sudden changes, or entirely indifferent to the whole matter. Thus the queen and a few bold Roman Catholic leaders were able to induce parliament to agree to restore the old powers of the Roman church in England. They found it necessary first, however, to promise that there should be no effort made to get back the monastery and chantry lands from their present owners. All those who had obtained lands formerly devoted to religious purposes were confirmed in them by the queen's promise, by a special dispensation of the pope, and later by act of parliament. Then Cardinal Pole, an Englishman who had been exiled on account of his opposition to the policy of Henry VIII, was sent as special ambassador from the pope. The two houses of parliament, for themselves and in the name of the whole people, asked to be forgiven for their disobedience and rebellion against the pope and promised to repeal all the acts which they had passed against the papal authority. Then the king, queen, lords, and commons bent on their knees and received forgiveness and absolution from the legate in the name of the pope. Parliament after this passed a great act repealing some sixteen acts of former parliaments, being all the laws antagonistic to the church passed since 1529, and restoring the ecclesiastical system almost to its old form.

291. The Religious Persecution. — It was one thing to declare that all should be as it had been of old, it was quite another to induce every one to believe as had been believed in former times. However anxious to return to Roman Catholicism, or however indifferent to religion the great majority of the nation might be, there were many individuals in all classes of society who had become convinced and earnest Protestants. For some time there was little interference with these, though Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper, and other prominent religious leaders who did not voluntarily go into exile remained in prison.

As time went on, however, and the Roman Catholic reaction became stronger, Mary first allowed and then encouraged the effort to force everybody to accept the old faith in all its strictness or else be punished for heresy.

Parliament reënacted the old laws for the burning of heretics under which the Lollards had suffered and reëstablished the church courts. Soon the sad work began. Many prominent Protestants who had long lain in prison were tried before church officials, and, when they refused to give up their opinions, were handed over to the sheriffs or town officials to be burned at the stake. There were very few cases of recantation. Most of those who were tried persisted in their beliefs and the law was then carried out. Archbishop Cranmer, a man of delicate, shrinking physical nature, of hesitating and over-cautious habits of mind, broken and wearied by long imprisonment, by the knowledge of the suffering of many of those who had been burnt, and by the unending strife of opinions and apparent conflict of duties, was drawn into one form of recantation after another, till he had practically denied all his recent teachings and approved the whole Roman Catholic system. Nevertheless, when actually in sight of the stake, he withdrew these recantations, declared his faith in Protestant doctrines, and when he was burned held his right hand in the flame in order that it should be burned first for signing his name to a falsehood.

The scenes of public execution of heretics by fire became only too common. More were put to death in two years than in the preceding century and a half during which the heresy laws had been in existence. Between two hundred and fifty and three hundred altogether were thus martyred, while hundreds more lay suffering in the miserable prisons of the time. Most of the persecution was carried on in two or three dioceses whose bishops were especially determined or which were particularly under the influence of the queen and those of her advisers who favored this attempt to force the people into conforming to the official doctrines.

292. Mary's Declining Health and Happiness. — The queen had no child, notwithstanding her passionate eagerness for one, and the hope of Philip and of the English people for an heir to the throne. She soon recognized the absence of love for her on her husband's part, though her own for him seemed to increase rather than diminish. It was the same with her popularity. Like her father and her brother and sister she was extremely anxious to have the love of her people. Yet her somber nature, her policy, and the occurrences of the time rapidly deprived her of the popularity she had possessed at her accession to the throne. More than once letters and placards were found thrown into her own room telling her that she was hated by the people and ridiculing her devotion to a husband who despised her. As the queen failed in health, lost her spirits, and became more unhappy she turned with still greater urgency to the work of rooting out heresy. Partly no doubt she felt this to be her religious duty, hoping with superstitious devotion that a more vigorous fulfillment of it might bring to her that favor of heaven of which she seemed so far to have enjoyed so little. Partly it was no doubt a relief to her bitter feelings to exercise severity upon the heretics who, in her opinion and that of all the men in whom she confided, were unworthy to live upon the earth and were destined to everlasting punishment.

But the persecution failed of its intended effect. Crowds gathered around those who were condemned to die, and, even when they did not agree with them or take any interest in their beliefs, cheered them in their resolution, pitied their sufferings, encouraged them with shouts and prayers, and cried out against the clergy and the queen who were responsible for putting them to death.

Thus Mary's reign drew to an end. There were several conspiracies and plots to overthrow the government. All of these were discovered in time or else failed at the first attempt. Nevertheless each bore its fruit of executions and increased the confusion and dissatisfaction of the time. Mary died in 1558, and all

England again looked with hope to the beginning of a new and better age under the third child of Henry VIII, Mary's sister Elizabeth.

293. Summary of the Period 1485–1558. — The greatest characteristic of this period was the enormous power of the ruler. England was practically an absolute monarchy. Although most of the actions of the government were carried out through the regular procedure of council, courts, parliament, and local officers, yet these did not have either the power or the desire to resist the will of the king. Although the king had no standing army to enforce his wishes, yet the habit of obedience was so great and the organization of the government so complete that forcible resistance was in no single case successful.

The greatest result of this despotic position of the king was the carrying through of the Reformation as a scheme of royal policy. Many of the tendencies of the time favored the Reformation, and in some of its phases its form and progress were very different from what the king would have wished. Nevertheless in the main it followed the personal desires of the king, and England was Protestant, Catholic, or merely independent of the pope according as Edward, Mary, or Henry was on the throne. It was only later that the Reformation became an affair of the English people, independent of their rulers, and never did the established church cease to represent the wishes of the crown.

The end which Henry VII put to the disorders and turmoil of the barons, and the heavy hand the kings always kept over breakers of the peace and other ill doers, made this a time of advancing wealth and prosperity for the merchant class and for the landholders and large farmers in the country. The inclosures, the debasement of the coinage, and the severity of the laws made it a hard period for the lower classes, and the unwise policy of the government went far to counteract the advantages of peace and order.

This was also the period of the "new learning," which was destined to lead on to a new literature only a generation later; and

printing, good portraiture, much building, improved schools, more widely spread education, and interest in discoveries all indicate that it was an active intellectual period. It was an age of much breaking with the past, and the times of Queen Elizabeth which were to follow were much more like modern times than they were like the middle ages.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. iv, sects. 3–6, chap. vi, sects. 1 and 2. GAIRDNER, *Henry VII.* BUSCH, *England under the Tudors.* Vol. I has the subtitle *King Henry VII.* SEEBOHM, *The Oxford Reformers.* WAKEMAN, *History of the Church of England*, chaps. xi–xiv. MOBERLY, *The Early Tudors* (Epochs of History). CREIGHTON, *Wolsey.* POLLARD, *England under Protector Somerset.* The longest work on this period is FROUDE, *History of England*, Vols. I–VI. It is a book of much learning, sagacity, and charm of style, but it is so prejudiced that it cannot be considered a trustworthy account. GASQUET, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, corrects Froude on many points. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, is a valuable work including much new matter. A good short account of the German Reformation, which exercised so much influence on that of England, can be found in ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, chaps. xxv and xxvi; and another account in SEEBOHM, *Era of the Protestant Revolution* (Epochs of History). The inclosures are quite fully described in CHEYNEY, *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century*, Part I (Rural Changes), and in ASHLEY, *English Economic History*, Vol. II, chap. iv. INNES, *England under the Tudors*, is a good book in a single volume covering the period of this chapter and the next.

Contemporary Sources. — CAVENDISH, *Cardinal Wolsey.* Cavendish was one of Wolsey's clerks and wrote of what he had himself seen and heard. ROPER, *Sir Thomas More.* Roper was More's son-in-law. MORE, *Utopia. Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 1, *The Early Reformation Period.* The Reformation statutes are given in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, Nos. 150, 153, 159, etc. Many other documents concerning the Reformation are in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 104–132. Those in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 50–60, are particularly interesting and varied; and there are several in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 44–50. Extracts from some of the longer works, as well as the principal statutes, are in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 185–212.

Poetry and Fiction. — SHAKESPEARE, *Henry VIII*, stands out as the best known poetic representation of this period. TENNYSON's fine drama,

Queen Mary, gives a pathetic picture of her character. Miss YONGE, *The Armourer's Prentices*, is a story of the time of Henry VIII, and AINSWORTH, *The Tower of London*, of the time of Queen Mary. MARK TWAIN, *The Prince and the Pauper*, refers to the period of Edward VI. The battle of Flodden of 1513 has left many poetic memorials, the best of which are SCOTT, *Marmion*, AYTOUN, *Edinburgh after Flodden*, and Miss ELLIOTT, *The Flowers of the Forest*.

Special Topics. — (1) The Fall of Wolsey, CAVENDISH, *Life of Wolsey* (Morley's Universal Library), pp. 137–263; (2) How More came to write the Utopia, *Utopia*, Book I; (3) Inclosures, CHEYNEY, *Social and Industrial History*, pp. 141–147; (4) Changes in the Gilds, *ibid.*, pp. 147–161; (5) Death of Lady Jane Grey, FROUDE, *History of England*, Vol. VI, chap. xxxi; (6) Trial and Execution of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, *ibid.*, chap. xxxvi; (7) Latimer's Sermons, *English Prose* (Camelot series), pp. 10–15; (8) The Merchants Adventurers, LINGELBACH, *The Merchants Adventurers, Translations and Reprints*, Second Series, Vol. II, pp. i–xxxix; (9) The New Learning in England, GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chap. vi, sect. iv; (10) The Renaissance in Italy, ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 321–353; (11) Early Voyages of Discovery, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. III. pp. 209–228; (12) Ireland in the Early Sixteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 293–302.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH. 1558–1603

294. The New Queen. — There has been no greater period in English history than the reign of Elizabeth. To this greatness many things contributed, — the vigor of the new nobility, the enterprise of the middle classes, the strength of national feeling, the activity of mind due to the "new learning" and the Reformation, and the character of the queen. When Queen Mary died Elizabeth was a young woman of twenty-five, animated, intelligent, and vigorous. She had received the solid education then in fashion for young women of high birth. She could read, write, and speak Latin, French, and Italian, as well as remarkably vigorous English. She had studied some Greek and had much general information. She possessed also a sense of humor and a capacity for bluff, good-natured repartee inherited from her father, while her prudence of speech and caution of action proclaimed her the granddaughter of Henry VII. A girlhood passed during the reigns of Edward and Mary, when she was more than once in imminent danger of suffering the fate of her cousin, Lady Jane Grey, had made her self-reliant and wary.

Notwithstanding these intellectual gifts Elizabeth was not a lovable woman. She was selfish and egotistical. Nor was she capable of inspiring any very deep personal respect. She was often faithless to her friends and vacillating in her likes and dislikes. Sincerity and a delicate sense of honor were absent from her character. But few of the great number of men and women who surrounded her through life really loved her, or respected her for any of her more personal or womanly qualities. Nevertheless

she was thoroughly English. Her very faults were those of her people and her time. Back of her affectation and petty coquetry she was large-minded and lofty in spirit. She was willing to allow differences of opinion and able to understand the feelings of different men. Above all, Elizabeth was devoted to England. She was determined to rule for the whole English people, not for any party at home or in subservience to any power abroad.

Portrait of Elizabeth

Elizabeth was proclaimed queen in 1558, and chose as her secretary of state and most trusted adviser Sir William Cecil, whom she afterwards made Lord Burleigh. Though she often refused to take his advice, and even at times sent him into retirement, Burleigh was always restored to influence again and remained her principal counselor until his death in 1598. Somewhat later than Cecil, Sir Francis Walsingham came into her service and became almost equally influential. Upon her accession the queen set herself, with the help of these ministers, the task of establishing the new reign on firm foundations.

295. The Religious Settlement. — The most critical question was that of religion. Foreign rulers and their ministers, the English bishops and office holders, the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, all were in suspense awaiting the action of the queen. Her decision was shown at her first parliament, which met two months after her accession.

In 1558 a large proportion of the people were still indifferent in religious matters, and the power of the crown was very great. It was quite possible, therefore, for the ruler to control the form

which the religious organization of the people should take. Elizabeth chose her own ministers, and with them exerted so much influence over parliament that almost any laws which she wanted could be carried through. Her birth from a marriage forbidden by the pope and her desire for freedom from outside control prevented her from continuing the Roman Catholic policy of Mary. She and her ministers therefore settled upon a middle course, going back in all matters of church government to the system of Henry VIII, and in matters of doctrine and ceremonial to that of the reign of Edward VI. To carry out this arrangement two important laws, known as the "Act of Supremacy" and the "Act of Uniformity," were passed by parliament. By these acts all laws against the pope which had been repealed in Mary's reign were reënacted, and it was declared that "no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of parliament, use, enjoy or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, preëminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm." Although the old title "Head of the Church" was not revived, the regulation of the English church in matters of doctrine and good order was put into the hands of the queen, and she was authorized to appoint a minister or ministers to exercise these powers in her name. The mass was abolished and in its place the second book of common prayer, which had been issued in the reign of Edward VI, with some slight modifications, was reintroduced. The ornaments of the churches and the forms and ceremonies used in the church services were ordered to be the same as in the reign of Edward VI. Notwithstanding the protests of the clergy, the law proceeded to declare that all clergymen and officers of the crown should take an oath of obedience to the law as it now stood before entering upon any office. Some time afterwards the doctrines of the church were promulgated in the form of the "Thirty-Nine Articles," which have since remained the standard of doctrine of the church.

296. The Middle Position of the English Church. —Thus the church of England was established in a form midway between the church of Rome and the Protestant churches on the continent of Europe. It was not Roman Catholic, as it had been during the middle ages, for it had rejected the headship of the pope and had introduced many differences in doctrines and ceremonies. On the other hand, it was not Protestant like other reformed churches, for it retained the organization under archbishops and bishops, it had a prescribed form of worship, the clergymen still wore robes at the services; and in fact the changes from the mediæval customs and beliefs were relatively slight.[1]

From this time onward the organization of the English church was strictly national, possessing no connection with any authority outside of England and modeling itself on no other church. It was designed to include every one in England. The form of religious service was established by law, and this service, and this alone, was to be used by every clergyman and in every church in England. It was to be as binding on the people as on the clergy. All persons must attend church every Sunday and holy day, under penalty of a fine of a shilling for every absence. To see that the ecclesiastical laws were carried out and to enforce the control over church matters granted to the sovereign by the Act of Supremacy,

[1] This middle position of the reformed church of England is the cause of much difficulty in the common words by which it is described. Those who are much attached to the church and its ideals object strongly to speaking of it as a *Protestant* church. They declare that it is historically the same church of England coming down from the time of the apostles, having simply undergone a process of purification, in the sixteenth century, in the form of the Reformation. They object also to the use of the word *Catholic* to describe the Roman Catholic church in this connection, claiming that the church of England is also Catholic in the sense of being a part of the universal church. The adjective *Protestant* has, however, been customarily applied to the reformed church of England for centuries, as it is used in this book. For the sake of greater clearness and stricter accuracy *Roman Catholic* is used in all cases in this work where adherents of the Roman Catholic Church are intended.

Elizabeth from time to time appointed commissioners who came finally to form the permanent Court of High Commission.

297. The Roman Catholics and the Puritans. — The middle position in church matters which Elizabeth and her advisers had determined upon, although apparently satisfactory enough to the majority of the nation, caused deep dissatisfaction to those who were at the two extremes in religious matters. On the one hand, earnest Roman Catholics did not approve of the abolition of the power of the pope in England, or of the other changes from the old ways. They wished the continuance of Mary's settlement of the church. They were very numerous among the nobility and gentry, especially in the north of England and in the rural districts. Many who at the beginning of the reign held office as sheriffs, lord lieutenants, and justices of the peace were firm Roman Catholics, opposed to change, and reluctant to take the oaths required of them by the new law.

On the other hand, there were many who were dissatisfied with the retention of so much from the mediæval church and were anxious to have the Reformation carried much farther than it had been. These became known as "Puritans," since they constantly expressed a desire for a "purer" form of worship than that of the established church. The Puritans were numerous among the middle classes and in the towns. Many of them were clergymen, and numbers of these had been in exile during the reign of Mary. On the continent they had come under the influence of the reformers of Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, and France, and had learned from them far more radical religious views than had ever been held in England.

The government took its position firmly between these two extremes. Several bishops had recently died, but the remaining fourteen were summoned before the queen and told that they must submit to the requirements of the Act of Supremacy. All but one of them declined to take the oath which denied the ecclesiastical power of the pope and required submission in religious

affairs to the control of the queen and her ministers. They were therefore deprived of their offices and new bishops and archbishops appointed or elected to their places. The pressure put upon the lower clergy to conform to the change was more gradual and more successful. Of a total of more than nine thousand parish priests and other clergymen, less than two hundred stood out in their refusal to take the oaths. These were removed from their posts. Those who had conformed gave up the Latin mass gradually, though in many cases reluctantly, and reëstablished the use of the reformed English service in their churches. The government showed considerable leniency in the application of the law, especially during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. So long as men would conform outwardly there was no such effort to inquire into private religious beliefs or to force people into conforming as there had been under Mary. The old heresy laws of Lollard times, which had been reënacted under Mary, were now repealed again and forever.

Lord Burleigh

298. **The Political Settlement.** — When Elizabeth came to the throne England was in close alliance with Spain and at war with France. Peace was soon made with France. At the same time the queen and the ministers made every effort to retain the alliance with Spain. It was to the highest interest of England to be on good terms with both the great continental powers, as the country was not prepared to go to war. Her little navy was in bad condition, her troops few and poorly equipped, her fortifications out of repair, and her treasury empty. It was desirable, moreover, to remain at peace with Spain because Spain governed the

Netherlands, whither England sent most of the manufactured goods which she exported. It was desirable also to avoid war with France, because France and Scotland were allies, and a war across the Channel was almost sure to mean an invasion of England from the Scottish border.

Yet this policy of peace and neutrality was a difficult one. France and Spain were almost continually at war, and England was in constant danger of being drawn into the contest. If she failed to strengthen herself by a warlike alliance with one of them she was apt to be attacked by the other. Each of them had reasons for interfering in English affairs. The Spanish government was dissatisfied with the loss of the influence which it had enjoyed during Mary's reign and was displeased with the religious settlement. Spain looked upon herself as the special champion of the English Roman Catholics. France was guardian of the claim to the English throne of a rival of Elizabeth and might readily plan an invasion for the dethronement of the queen.

Yet Elizabeth and her ministers felt that the advantages of peace to the country were so great that war must be avoided by every possible effort. In this, by difficult and tortuous means, they were successful. In the political as in the religious settlement the government pursued its policy of national independence and isolation. English interests were looked after at home and abroad without making any sacrifice for the sake of other nations, and without hesitating at the adoption of unscrupulous means. Above all it was the policy of Elizabeth to avoid being drawn into foreign war and to preserve her own shores free from invasion.

299. The Social Settlement. — The changes, rebellions, and disorders of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary had left a legacy of much distress and confusion among the people. Inclosures of common land and open fields, and evictions of yeomen from their little farms, were still going on; many men were out of work; prices were high and wages were low. The currency of the country was debased, trade was irregular, and there were

great numbers of paupers unable to support themselves. These matters needed settlement as much as religion and politics. Some of them proved to be incurable except by the slow process of time. The laws against inclosures, for instance, were reënacted, but had no more success than before. Pauperism, as will be shown, remained a problem but partially solved.

300. Restoration of the Coinage. — In one field, however, there was greater success. The government set itself vigorously to the improvement of the condition of the money, the debasement of which under Henry VIII and Edward VI has already been described.[1] After careful preparation a proclamation was issued by the government, in 1560, stating that collectors had been appointed in each market town who would give money of standard fineness[2] in exchange for current coins. Every one who brought his money to this officer would receive the value of the pure silver or gold in the coins he had brought. He would therefore receive a smaller number of pieces but they would be of standard silver. To induce people to bring their money a small bounty was promised, and it was ordered also that after a certain time the old money should not pass current at all. A large force of refiners and coiners were set to work at the mint to recoin the bad pieces as they were brought in into money of the standard purity. This was used to buy more of the old pieces as they were presented. In about nine months practically all the old coin had been brought in to the government in this way and recoined, and since that time there has been no change in the weight or purity of the English coinage. This was one of the most beneficial actions of the long reign of Elizabeth.

301. The Statute of Apprentices. — The rates of wages provided for in the Statutes of Laborers[3] could no longer be enforced; the regulations of the old craft gilds were no longer carried out, and in many other ways time had changed the relations between employers

[1] See p. 318.

[2] Standard fineness for the English silver coinage is 98 parts pure silver to 2 parts alloy.

[3] See p. 244.

and employed. The government, however, had no idea of leaving wages unregulated or masters and men free to settle such matters between them, as it was at this time extending its regulations to new fields, not withdrawing from old ones. In 1563 was passed a long act for the regulation of labor, known as the "Statute of Apprentices." It required that in most trades engagements should be by the year, no employer being allowed to discharge his workman, nor any workman being allowed to leave his employer, except at the end of a year of service and after a quarter of a year's warning. Every craftsman must go through an apprenticeship of seven years. No workman should travel from his home without a certificate from the authorities. All laborers were required to work in the summer from five in the morning to seven or eight in the evening, in the winter from dawn to dark. This was about equal to a twelve-hour day of labor. Wages were to be settled each year by the justices of the peace in each county, and no employer must give and no workman ask for more than the established rate of wages. This law remained in force for two hundred and fifty years.

302. Pauperism.— Much difficulty with the poor was experienced at this time. During the middle ages there had been, of course, many who were unfortunate and miserably poor; but the changes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had made the number far greater. Evictions, the dissolution of the monasteries and the inclosure of their lands, the abolition of the chantries, the weakening of the gilds, the more active competition in all lines, and the introduction of new methods of working, threw many out of work and produced a vast army of paupers. Those who had no employment, or who could not or would not work, traveled up and down the country, gathering in great numbers on the outskirts of the larger towns and indulging in all forms of lawlessness. Many laws had been passed in the last half century to punish vagabonds and to restrict to their home counties those who could not find work, but none had been effective.

In the same year as the Statute of Apprentices, 1563, a law was passed "to the intent that idle and loitering persons and valiant beggars may be avoided, and the impotent, feeble and lame, which are the poor in very deed, should be hereafter relieved and well provided for." According to this law collectors were to be appointed in each parish whose duty it was to make a list of all paupers, another list of all who were able to give help, to secure from the latter a promise to pay a certain amount each week for the support of the poor, and to collect this sum weekly and pay it over to those whom they had put upon the list as paupers. If any one who had means could not be persuaded to make a contribution, he was to be forced to pay a tax assessed upon his property by the authorities. Since by this means all the poor would be looked after, they were forbidden by law to beg publicly in future; and, as all those who could not work would in this way be provided for by their neighbors, all persons wandering through the country could be recognized and punished.

It was thus that in the earlier years of her reign the queen, with the aid of her council and her parliament, sought to bring order and tranquillity to the country in these different spheres of national life.

303. Elizabeth's Court. — Settlement and tranquillity are, however, the last terms to apply to the court of Queen Elizabeth. It was a busy scene of festivities, negotiations, and plots. Foreign ministers came and went, seeking interviews with the queen or with Cecil; meetings of the council were held to discuss matters of foreign or internal interest as they arose; intrigues were discovered and those who had taken part in them were banished from the court, while new courtiers arose into influence; sudden threats of war gave occasion for preparing ships or calling out the militia; projects of foreign exploration or the extension of trade were considered, and the financial difficulties of the queen were met in all kinds of irregular ways. Affairs of state and personal affairs, great matters and small, were mingled inextricably. Everything seems marked by change, chance, and caprice. It is only by looking

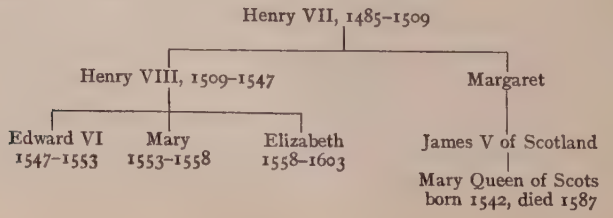
carefully below the surface that the more permanent questions of the time can be distinguished.

304. Mary Stuart. — Chief among these and among the personal difficulties of Elizabeth was the rivalry of Mary Queen of Scots. Mary was the granddaughter of Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII, who married the king of Scotland. She was therefore Elizabeth's cousin and the next heir to the throne. Indeed, if the marriage of Elizabeth's mother to Henry had been illegal, as all Roman Catholics claimed, Mary had a better right to the throne of England than Elizabeth.[1]

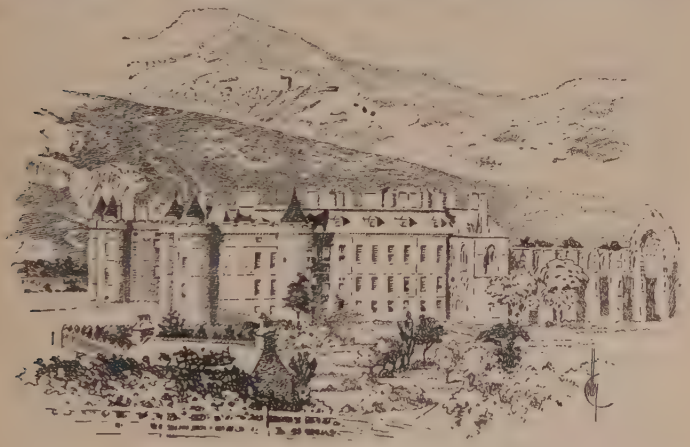
Mary Queen of Scots (a medal by the Italian engraver Primavera)

Although Mary was the daughter of the king of Scotland, born in that country, and nominally its queen from her infancy, she had been brought up in France, had married the heir to the French throne, and just after Elizabeth's accession had become, through her husband, queen of France. She threw down the gauntlet to Elizabeth by using the title "Queen of England, Scotland, and France." Although she made no effort at this time to make good her claim to the throne of England, a rivalry with Elizabeth thus began which was to last through their lives. Mary was eight years younger than Elizabeth, well educated, attractive, intelligent, and quite the equal of Elizabeth in shrewdness, though

[1] The relationship of Mary and Elizabeth is shown by the following table.



her inferior in self-control. Her long residence at the French court had given her all the love of scheming for which that court was famous. She knew how to seem artless and confiding even when she was really working out some deep-laid plan. She habitually used her charm as a woman to further political intrigues, and in her private life and amusements was frequently plotting to carry out political objects which she wanted to reach perhaps far in the future. The greatest difference between her and Elizabeth



The Palace of Holyrood, near Edinburgh

was that the latter in her personal plans and feelings always retained her sense of responsibility and love for her own people and for England, and made her final decision according to their interests, while Mary sought more purely private ends and ambitions.

Her husband was king of France only a year and a half. When he died, Mary, finding herself ill at ease in France and urged to come home by her subjects, determined to return to her Scottish dominions. She asked Elizabeth's permission to pass through England, but as she was unwilling to agree to a treaty definitely giving up her claim to the English throne, permission was refused.

She then sailed directly for Scotland and in 1561 landed in her own kingdom and took up her residence in the ancient palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh.

305. The Reformation in Scotland. — Mary found Scotland already far more radically Protestant than England. In Scotland the Reformation had been a movement carried out by the people in opposition to the government, instead of being a government measure but partially assented to by the people, as in England. Its leaders were a group of preachers, the most famous of whom was John Knox, a man of unrestrained religious zeal, but pure in life, masterful in character, fearless, and unswervingly devoted to Protestantism. His experiences were wide and varied, from slavery in the French galleys to a position of power in Scotland which enabled him by his eloquence to bring even Mary Stuart to tears for her later crimes.

Mary's position in Scotland was a difficult one. She was a Roman Catholic queen in the midst of a population in the main strongly Protestant. The wealth, luxury, and brilliancy of the French court to which she had been accustomed found a harsh contrast in the poverty and rudeness of the Scottish nobility who surrounded her at Holyrood. Gifted, well educated, and used to French polish and courtliness, she found her lot cast in with courtiers who were rough, ignorant, and quarrelsome. The gayety and love of pleasure which belonged as much to Mary's nature and age as it did to her training was checked and opposed by the austerity of Scotch Protestantism, with its condemnation of all the vanities of the world. It is no wonder that she found her life irksome.

306. Mary and Elizabeth.—The unavoidable contest with Elizabeth soon began. Elizabeth had already before Mary's return to Scotland taken the part of the Scotch Protestants in a rising against their regent. Mary tried steadily to induce Elizabeth to acknowledge her as the heir to the English throne, should the queen have no children. Elizabeth as steadily avoided doing so. As was natural she did not like to think of her own death

or failure of heirs. She feared besides that if Mary were once declared to be her successor her death would be so much a matter of desire to the English Roman Catholics and to some of the other powers of Europe that an invasion of England or her own assassination might speedily follow. She therefore steadily refused to name either Mary or any one else as her successor.

Mary soon began to use her position as queen of Scotland to intrigue for the crown of England also. With the object of strengthening her position with Roman Catholics in Scotland and in England she married in 1565 her cousin, Lord Darnley, one of her few Roman Catholic noblemen, and near in blood to both the Scotch and English crowns, but one of the most worthless of men. This led to a revolt of the Protestant nobles, led by the queen's illegitimate brother, the earl of Murray. Mary promptly crushed them, however, and drove them into England as refugees.

307. The Murder of Darnley. — But she had now entered on a policy of satisfying her own personal wishes and ambitions without consulting the interests of her subjects, and this carried her farther and farther. She soon learned to despise her weak and vicious husband and gave her confidence to an Italian secretary in her service named David Rizzio. Her husband became jealous of Rizzio, and with a company of nobles stabbed him to death in her very presence and summoned back the exiled Protestant lords, with whom, Roman Catholic as he was, he had made a temporary pact.

Mary hid her resentment against her husband until she had won him over from the Protestant confederacy, gathered a loyal army, and again driven the recalled exiles abroad. Soon after this she bore a son who was named James, after her father, James V of Scotland, and who afterwards became king of both Scotland and England. Mary's pretended reconciliation with her husband and the birth of her son drew him closer to her, and an attack of illness made him even more dependent upon her. He tried his best to win her affection and support. But Mary had fallen in love,

with all the strength of her passionate nature, with the proud and fierce earl of Bothwell.

Then happened an event the true circumstances of which have never been explained. The queen brought her husband to Kirk-a-Field, a half-ruined royal dwelling just inside the walls of Edinburgh. Here she visited him daily for a week or more, returning usually to Holyrood to sleep. After she had left him at twelve o'clock one night the house of Kirk-a-Field was blown up with gunpowder, and the bodies of Darnley and his page were found in the morning near by, where they appeared to have been murdered during an effort to escape from the wrecked building.

Whether the queen knew of the murder beforehand or not, her lover Bothwell certainly did, and either killed Darnley with his own hand or directed his death. Passion ran high and accusations against him were made and denied. Shortly afterward the queen went to Stirling. Here she was seized and carried off by Bothwell, as it is generally believed, with her own consent. While he held her in captivity she married him.

308. Expulsion of Mary from Scotland. — By these actions Mary had at last roused to anger all classes of her subjects. Soon there was a rebellion. After a fierce battle, Bothwell was driven into flight and the queen was captured and imprisoned in a little castle in the middle of Loch Leven. Here she was forced to sign an abdication of the crown and to authorize the coronation of her infant son. From her captivity, however, Mary soon made her escape and fled to England, appealing to Elizabeth to provide her with an army with which to regain her kingdom and take revenge on her enemies. While Elizabeth was hesitating as to what action to take, the leaders of the rebellious Scots placed in the hands of the English council a certain silver casket captured from Bothwell containing a number of letters and other documents. The letters seemed to be in Mary's handwriting and to have been sent by her to Bothwell during the months preceding her husband's murder. They showed not only knowledge of the

plans for the murder, but base treachery and reckless willingness to sacrifice all her own and her country's interests to her lover.

These "casket letters," as they have since been called, have been declared by many to be forgeries, and to this day no certainty has been reached as to whether they were genuine or false. But they were believed then by Elizabeth's council to be genuine, and Elizabeth could not, therefore, if she had wished, venture to place Mary upon the throne of Scotland. As Mary's actions had deprived her of the support of the Scotch people, it seemed to Elizabeth to be on the whole to her own interest to keep Mary in England without either agreeing or refusing to help her. For nineteen years, therefore, from 1568 to 1587, the unfortunate Queen of Scots remained a prisoner in England, pining in captivity and spending half a lifetime weaving fruitless plots.

309. **Elizabeth's Marriage Plans.** — The people of England were anxious that Elizabeth should marry and have children who should inherit the throne after her. But whom should she marry? If she had consulted her own wishes she would gladly have married Sir Robert Dudley, whom she made earl of Leicester. But Dudley was already married, and although his wife died opportunely at his castle of Cumnor, he was so deeply suspected of having had her murdered that the queen's marriage to him would have been a public scandal. Elizabeth recognized this, and, although she treated him as a lover and talked frequently of marrying him, probably never really expected to. The influence of all her best advisers was against him, as he was personally unworthy. Moreover, a queen can seldom choose her husband from mere motives of love, and least of all at that time could the political needs of the country be neglected in such a matter. The choice of an English husband would have been popular, but the queen did not approve of any English nobleman but Dudley.

Elizabeth must have been conscious from her earliest life that the selection of her husband was purely a matter of politics. The choice of a prince of any one of the royal families of Europe

for a husband would be the same as the choice of an alliance for England. Yet the policy of England was to avoid an alliance with any foreign country so close as to bring her into conflict with others. Partly because of this difficulty, partly from her love for Dudley, partly from her own fickleness and vacillation, her reign saw a succession of what were treated as courtships, but which were rather negotiations for foreign treaties. Even while Elizabeth was a young girl two or three different plans for her marriage had been proposed. Immediately after her accession to the throne, Philip II, who had been her sister Mary's husband, offered to marry her and continue the alliance with Spain. This proposal was declined. Through the succeeding years one suitor after another either visited the English court in person or was proposed and discussed by ambassadors, ministers, the queen, and the court ladies. The Scotch earl of Arran, Eric, king of Sweden, the archduke Charles of Austria, Philibert of Savoy, Charles IX of France, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Alençon pass in a seemingly endless procession of suitors through the chronicles of the time. The queen was more than forty years old before the comedy ceased to be played.

The Duke of Alencon

The negotiations were often spun out merely to serve a political purpose; the vanity of Elizabeth was pleased with the flattery of constant love letters and love speeches, and she liked to think of marrying. She dallied with the various plans as long as she dared, and more than once made not only her suitors but her ministers believe her intentions were serious, but her good sense, her devotion to the best interests of England, and her unwillingness to lose the freedom of her single state always prevented the marriage from taking place, and she grew old and died unmarried.

310. Increase of Puritanism. — The religious settlement introduced by Elizabeth was preserved with difficulty. The Puritans became constantly more numerous. Some of the bishops, many of the parish ministers, and an ever-increasing number of the people were opposed to the ceremonies of the established church and even to some of its doctrines and its mode of government. The Reformation in England began to interest the mass of the people. Many congregations and their pastors dropped the form of service required by law; "prophesyings," or meetings of clergymen and laymen for the discussion of religious subjects, were held; and at London new congregations were organized which met not in the parish churches but in other buildings and followed other religious practices. In parliament a majority of the members of the House of Commons were Puritans and introduced law after law intended to make changes in the established church in the direction of more complete Protestantism.

Against these proceedings Elizabeth took vigorous action. In 1570 Thomas Cartwright, a professor at Cambridge, was removed from his position for Puritan teaching; the newly formed congregations in London were broken up, those who attended them imprisoned, and all irregular religious meetings forbidden; clergymen who refused to accept in their entirety the Thirty-Nine Articles or to agree to use only the prayer book in public worship were deprived of their benefices. Somewhat greater uniformity in the church was thus obtained for a while, but it was only a seeming uniformity. The real divisions were still great and constantly becoming greater.

311. The Counter Reformation. — The Roman Catholics also were becoming more active if not more numerous. This was principally due to what is known as the "counter reformation." This movement on the continent consisted partly of moral reform in the old church, partly of a clearer statement of its doctrines, and partly of more active personal efforts to stem the tide of Protestant influence. The more earnest Roman Catholic leaders,

realizing the need of reforms in the church if it were not to continue to be the object of the just criticism and successful attacks of the Protestants, chose better men to the papacy and brought about the choice of better bishops. The bishops made strenuous efforts to secure greater learning and more devout lives among the lower clergy. The doctrines of the church were put in more definite form and many doubtful points settled by the decrees of a great church council held at Trent between the years 1545 and 1563.

312. The Jesuits. — New power was introduced into Roman Catholicism by the foundation in 1540 of the Society of Jesus. This was a monastic order formed by a group of young Spanish students under the leadership of Ignatius Loyola. They took the usual monastic vows, but added to them an additional oath of special obedience to the pope. Their organization was peculiar and effective. They were governed like a military body by a "general," who was in direct communication with the pope, and by a "provincial" in each of the principal countries of Europe. Absolute obedience to these superiors was a fundamental rule of their order. Any member of the order was bound to go where he was sent, to devote himself to the work appointed him, and to carry out unquestioningly his instructions in the form they were given him. The education and training required of a candidate before he was admitted to full membership in the order was long and severe, so that a Jesuit was always a well-educated and thoroughly trained man. Their enthusiasm and devotion were equal to their training. They took up as special tasks, education, the conversion of the heathen abroad, and the reconversion of Protestants at home. They soon became famous and influential in almost every country in Europe, Asia, and America. Such men, burning with devotion, were not likely to remain away from England because the laws forbade mass to be performed there and required all Englishmen to attend the service of the established church. Several made their way into England, disguised as ordinary travelers, and

did much to strengthen in their faith those Englishmen who had always remained Roman Catholics, and to win back many who had fallen from their faith or weakly conformed to the state religion. A college was established by some English exiles at Douai on the Belgian coast just opposite England, for the training of young English Roman Catholics, many of whom became priests and returned secretly to England.

Thus by the middle of Elizabeth's reign the Roman Catholics were really a greater problem than they had been at its beginning. They were probably not more numerous, but they were stronger and more earnest in their belief and in their devotion to their church.

313. **Political Danger from the Roman Catholics.** — This state of affairs was a constant danger to Elizabeth. The imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots did not make her any less dangerous as a Roman Catholic candidate for the throne. In some ways it made her cause stronger. The Roman Catholic nobles felt it a duty and honor to succor their mistress in her distress. The king of Spain, when he failed to obtain Elizabeth's alliance, planned to secure Mary's release and enthronement in England as an ally for himself. Her presence, therefore, made her a permanent center of intrigue. In 1569, soon after Mary's arrival in England, there was a rebellion in her favor on the part of some of the nobles. This was soon put down, although it gave occasion for the infliction of bloody punishment on those who had taken part in it. In 1570 Elizabeth was excommunicated by the pope, and a bull proclaiming her deposition was found nailed on the door of the dwelling of the bishop of London.

More severe laws against the Roman Catholics were now passed. All who brought papal bulls into England, and all who secured the conversion of Englishmen, or who were themselves converted, were declared to be traitors and were to be punished as such. Later the "Recusancy Laws" were passed. These imposed fines and imprisonment upon persons saying or hearing mass, and

additional penalties to those before imposed were levied upon those absenting themselves from the regular church services. Campion and Parsons, two influential Jesuits, were arrested and put to the torture. Parsons escaped, but Campion was executed as a traitor. Several "seminary priests," as the graduates of Douai were called, were also captured and some of them hung. Notwithstanding this severity a serious plot was soon discovered. Philip was to lead an army into England, Mary was to be liberated and to marry the Roman Catholic duke of Norfolk, the highest noble in England, Elizabeth was to be deposed and Mary crowned, and Roman Catholicism again to become the religion of the country. This is known as the "Ridolfi Plot," from an Italian merchant in England who acted as the messenger between the parties concerned in it. All was discovered before any action had been taken, and the Duke of Norfolk was beheaded for his share in it. From this time forward an invasion either by Spain or France, or by the two countries together, to help the Roman Catholics dethrone Elizabeth was a recognized danger.

314. **England and the Continent.** — Various causes, some of them the good fortune, some the wise policy of England, prevented this invasion from taking place. One cause was the internal troubles of both Spain and France. The Netherlanders, who were under the government of Spain, in 1572 rose in revolt and fought for their independence under the prince of Orange through the whole remainder of the sixteenth century. The effort to put down this rebellion kept the troops of Philip of Spain occupied and exhausted his funds so that he was in no position to enter into a struggle with England. From motives of policy Elizabeth helped to keep this rebellion alive by occasionally sending money to the prince of Orange and by allowing English volunteers to serve under his banner. But she hated rebels and gave the Dutch but little consistent or whole-hearted encouragement. France also was torn by civil wars between the Catholics and the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called. To the Huguenots

Elizabeth likewise gave some reluctant encouragement, so that they might remain strong enough to cripple the royal power of France.

A second way in which the danger of invasion was avoided was by playing off the two great continental powers against one another. England always helped to keep up the quarrels between Spain and France. She never herself quarreled with one of them without showing herself at the same time more friendly to the other. The interminable marriage negotiations of Elizabeth also served as a useful means of accomplishing this purpose. So long as a marriage with a French prince was in prospect there could be no probability of an invasion from France, because such a marriage would mean a friendly alliance between the two countries. Spain, on the other hand, must for the time postpone invasion for fear she might have to fight both England and England's proposed ally. The same security against France was obtained when a Spanish candidate for her hand was being considered.

But the time came when neither the internal difficulties of France and Spain nor the queen's skillful pitting of them against one another was sufficient to keep them from secretly planning a joint invasion. The plots formed by Roman Catholics for the dethronement or assassination of Elizabeth and the release of Mary usually included the plan of asking help from abroad. They were, however, one after another discovered, and several of those concerned in them put to death.

After 1583 it became evident that these plots were known to the Spanish government, to at least one party in France, to Mary Queen of Scots in her imprisonment in England, as well as to many Roman Catholic Englishmen, some living abroad and some at home. The moment Elizabeth's assassination should occur a Spanish army from Flanders or a French army from Normandy, or both, would be sent to England, Mary would be released, and the whole character of the English government changed. When the complicity of Spain in one of these conspiracies became evident in 1584, the queen sent the Spanish ambassador out of England.

315. The Parties which favored Elizabeth. — Thus, after Elizabeth had been queen for twenty-five years, her position might seem at first glance to be no more secure than when she had ascended the throne. This, however, was not the case. The generation which had now grown up had known no other religious forms than those of the established church, and their feeling towards it was very different from that of the previous generation. What their fathers had accepted as the best compromise or as a matter of small interest, they had become really attached to. The forms and ceremonies of the church of England as established by law had become dear to many for their own sake. Such persons were earnest supporters of Elizabeth's government on religious grounds.

Others had learned to feel a patriotic respect and affection for the government which had kept England free and independent of other countries and in internal peace for such a long time. These were ready to give it support on political grounds.

316. Industrial Growth. — The English people were moreover coming to have new interests, which did more to increase the general strength of the nation and the popularity of Elizabeth's government than any of the direct efforts of the queen and her ministers to solve the religious and political difficulties of the time. The Merchants Adventurers, who had obtained the recognition of Henry VII, and the other traders who were even then venturing from year to year into new ports, had grown during the sixteenth century from few to many, and their enterprise carried them constantly to new ports. There was a much greater variety of goods to export than before. The troubles of the Reformation had driven from the continent many workmen, who came with their families to England seeking a refuge and bringing with them their skill and their knowledge of manufacturing processes. Several groups of Flemings, Dutch, and Walloons, fleeing from the persecutions of Alva, the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, obtained permission to settle in Sandwich, Norwich, and other towns. There they established and afterwards taught the English

the weaving of new and fine kinds of woolen and linen goods and other industries. Huguenot silk weavers and manufacturers of other fine goods also came from France. Under these influences and in the general activity of the time there was so much weaving of cloth that wool ceased altogether to be exported, being all woven into cloth within England, and great quantities of this were sent abroad in the way of trade.

317. **Commercial Growth.** — English merchants did not merely sell English manufactured goods abroad, but made their way to ports of the world where they could buy goods that could be brought home and sold in England. They traded to the ports of Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Germany. Cargoes were taken to the Mediterranean Sea, and English traders were seen in the ports of Syria and Asia Minor in one direction, and in the towns of the Baltic in another.

But in all these places they had to compete with the other nations who had been before them, and from time to time ports were closed when war or some threat of war interfered. Still bolder merchants and explorers, therefore, sailed away to more distant shores in search of opportunities to buy and sell. As early as the reign of Mary two bold navigators, Willoughby and Chancellor, started on a voyage around the North Cape, hoping by a northeast passage to reach China and the East Indies. Willoughby and all his crew were frozen to death or starved while their vessel was held fast in the ice. Chancellor with the other vessel made his way into the White Sea, went by boat up the Dwina, and finally reached Moscow. With this region a regular trade was soon opened up. An association of merchants known as the Muscovy or Russia Company was formed, and when an ambassador came from Russia to England a few years afterwards there were a hundred and fifty merchants of that company to receive him in state.

To gain greater strength and protection it was customary at that time for merchants trading to any one country to form themselves into a company and obtain a charter from the crown

granting them the monopoly of that trade under certain regulations, on the model of the Merchants Adventurers. Thus the Levant or Turkey Company was formed to trade with the eastern Mediterranean lands, an Eastland or Baltic Company to trade with Poland and Prussia, a Barbary Company to trade with northern and a Guinea Company to trade with western Africa, and just at the end of Elizabeth's reign one which was destined to become far the greatest of them all, — the East India Company. Supported in some cases by these companies, in others by small groups of adventurers, many half-exploring, half-trading expeditions were sent out during the latter half of the reign.

318. Attempted Settlements in America. — These companies and the expeditions they sent out had no idea beyond the opening up of trade with the native races of the various countries that they reached. But some men looked farther ahead and planned settlements which should not only form the bases of trade but should become parts of England beyond the seas. In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a grant from the queen authorizing him to establish settlements in any unoccupied country. In 1583 he established some colonists in Newfoundland, but they perished on land and their leader was lost soon afterwards at sea.

His patent was then regranted to his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. He sought to establish a colony farther south on the American coast, with which he made himself familiar by sending out exploring expeditions. It was by Raleigh's favor with the queen that the name Virginia, after the virgin queen, was given to the part of North America that the English claimed, and he introduced into England from that country the use of tobacco and potatoes. Three successive bodies of colonists were sent out by Raleigh under charge of Sir Richard Grenville and John White, between 1585 and 1587, but they all either returned to England or were destroyed by famine, disease, or the Indians. Raleigh lost his fortune in the attempted settlements and in his explorations, but he never lost his keen interest in discoveries or his belief in

the future of American colonization. In 1602 another attempt at settlement was made by Bartholomew Gosnold, but this also was a failure.

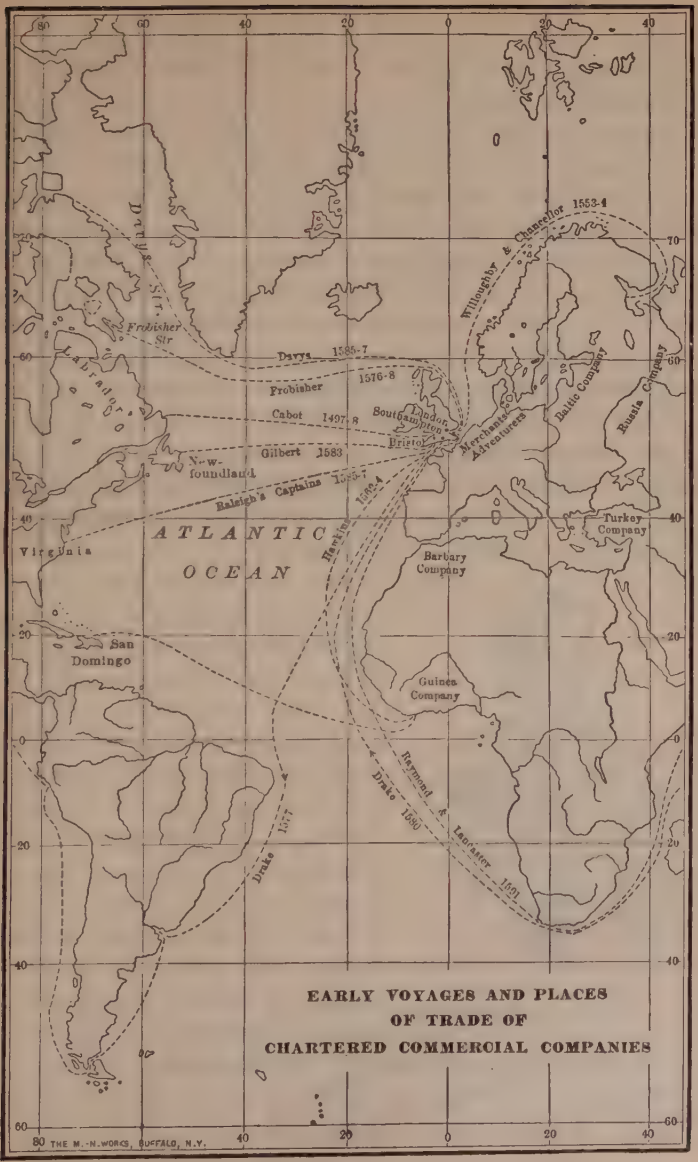
319. **The Search for a Northwest Passage.** — The great object of search in many of the other exploring expeditions of the time was a northern route to India and China. As the Spaniards already held control of the southern parts of America and the West Indies, attention was turned to the possibility of finding a passage westward to India around the northern coast of North America. In 1576 Martin Frobisher organized and led an expedition to America with this object. He discovered and entered the strait and bay which still bear his name, but got no farther west, for this and two later trips in the next two years were wasted in gathering cargoes of a certain black stone from an arctic island, which he and Queen Elizabeth's assayers at first thought was silver ore. A few years afterward, in 1585, John Davis, a bold and skillful navigator, made the first of three trips which carried him up through the strait which is also named after him, but his voyages, for all their heroism, brought back little more than new tales of suffering and privation in the icy north. Hudson and Baffin soon followed, each threading his way a little farther through the maze of land and water to the northwest. The spirit of adventure could not resist the attractions of this search for a northwest passage, filled with danger and unproductive of profit as it proved to be.

320. **Hawkins's Voyages.** — Other restless English traders could not content themselves with such fruitless explorations and unproductive voyages when they had reason to believe that far more profitable ventures might be made in other directions. A source of almost unlimited gain existed in the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish settlements in America and the West Indies. Negro slaves had been early introduced from the west coast of Africa into the Spanish settlements in America. The Spanish government, however, disapproved of slave trading and only allowed negroes to be imported into the American colonies in

small numbers, by favored traders, and on payment of a heavy duty. It was well known that the Spanish colonists in the West Indies, Mexico, and South America were eager to buy slaves whether their home government approved it or not, and that negroes would probably bring a good price and find ready sale if brought there.

In 1562 John Hawkins of Plymouth with another captain fitted out three vessels, sailed away to the coast of Sierra Leone, captured or bought about three hundred negroes, and then made their way to the Spanish colony of St. Domingo, into which they pretended to have been driven by stress of weather. The governor, in spite of orders from home, made but slight resistance to the English adventurer's proposal to sell some of the negroes to obtain money to pay his expenses, and eventually Hawkins disposed of most of his wretched cargo, bought some hides, and returned to England. The Spanish government protested against this action and forbade its repetition. The king of Spain, in addition to his opposition to the trade in negro slaves, wanted no intrusion of English traders into the Spanish colonies. Nevertheless Hawkins was soon again on the coast of Africa and then in the West Indies with some hundreds of negroes, and by threatening the governors and small military guards at various Spanish ports he again disposed of his slaves. So in voyage after voyage, in some of which members of the queen's council and even the queen herself invested money, Hawkins and other English traders pursued their odious trade, — kidnapping African negroes and then forcing their way into the Spanish colonies and finding a profitable market for their wares.

321. Conflicts in the West Indies. — These voyages gave frequent occasion for conflicts with the Spaniards on the water. More than once English traders fought with Spanish men of war, and occasionally captured Spanish trading vessels. When Englishmen were captured and held as prisoners, Spaniards were seized as hostages for them, and Spanish goods were confiscated


Drake 1577
Frobisher Str
Davys 1585-7
Probisher 1576-8
Cabot 1497-8
Gilbert 1583
N.-w-foundland
Raleigh's Captains 1584-7
Virginia
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
San Domingo
Willoughby & Chancellor 1553-4
Muscovy Company
Merchants Adventurers
Baltic Company
Russia Company
Turkey Company
Barbary Company
Guinea Company
Raymond & Lancaster 1601
Drake 1580
Drake 1577
EARLY VOYAGES AND PLACES
OF TRADE OF
CHARTERED COMMERCIAL COMPANIES
THE M.-H. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

in reprisal. English voyages to the West Indies became more and more like piracy.

There was no war between England and Spain, but the Spaniards were Roman Catholics and the English were not, and enough excuse for hostility was found in that fact. Most of the seamen from the English trading towns were Puritans, and in the bitter religious hatred of those days believed that in fighting against Roman Catholics they were attacking the enemies of God. They, on the other hand, looked upon the Protestant English as little better than heathen. Thus trading enterprise, supplemented by religious hatred, was fast drawing Englishmen and Spaniards into war at sea, while their governments continued to be at peace on shore.

322. Francis Drake. — In 1572 Francis Drake, a young sea captain, a relative of Hawkins, and like him a Devonshire man, sailed directly to Spanish America with the unconcealed intention of pillaging the rich Spanish possessions. He ran into the West Indian harbors, captured vessels lying there, seized what he wished, burned towns, and killed those who resisted. He intercepted and plundered the train of mules bringing gold and silver from the mines of Peru across the Isthmus of Panama, and Drake himself saw from the mountains the blue waters of the Pacific. He returned to England loaded with booty, having captured a Spanish treasure ship on the way home. This was piracy pure and simple, but the easy conscience and shrewd diplomacy of Elizabeth approved rather than condemned, and she laughed with the rest of England at the exploit, shared the booty, and put off the Spanish ambassador with fair words.

Sir Francis Drake

In 1577, the year of Frobisher's second trip to seek the northwest passage, Drake organized and led another expedition which was destined to become the most famous of all the voyages made from Elizabethan England. With five vessels and a company of about a hundred and fifty men, well provided with arms and stores, and none except the leader knowing where they were going, they sailed away to the westward. They reached the West Indies, but instead of cruising there sailed southward along the coast of South America till they reached the Straits of Magellan. These had been penetrated only once, by the great Portuguese navigator who had left them his name. Drake and his party made their way safely through, but were beaten about by terrible storms as they emerged into the Pacific. One of the vessels now turned back, three others were lost or destroyed, and mutiny was only crushed by bringing to trial and execution upon the barren shore one of the gentlemen of the expedition who was trying to stir up sedition. But they had reached at last the west coast of South America lined with rich Spanish settlements all unsuspicious of any enemies in those distant waters.

After wintering in the shelter of the coast, Drake's one remaining vessel, the little "Pelican," with less than a hundred men, passed up the coasts of Chile and Peru. Appearing suddenly in port after port, they seized gold, silver, and precious stones, captured and rifled rich galleons, and left their victims dumbfounded while they sailed on northward to the coast of North America. They followed this up as far as the present site of San Francisco, hoping to find a passageway through the continent home again. Finding none and dreading pursuit, they determined to sail on westward. The brave little ship crossed the vast Pacific, threaded its way through the East Indies, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and finally reëntered Plymouth harbor almost three years after Drake and his crew had left it. This was the second voyage around the world. The "Pelican" was loaded with bars of gold, boxes of precious stones, and tons of silver, amounting in value to some

four million dollars. The booty was divided among all those who had shared in the responsibility, the expense, or the labor of the expedition. The queen, ministers, courtiers, London citizens, Drake himself, and his companions all shared in the plunder of the Spaniards.

323. **The Channel Freebooters.** — Those who took part in and profited by such expeditions might excuse them on the ground of religion, and claim that England and Spain were so nearly at war as to justify their subjects in treating one another as enemies. In the English Channel and adjacent waters there were, however, many English freebooters who could not plead even that justification. The religious troubles in England under Edward and Mary had sent many refugees abroad, first Roman Catholics, then Protestants. Many of these instead of going into hopeless exile had fitted out vessels in the southwestern and Irish harbors, had gathered around themselves wild, lawless crews of sailors, and had made use of any opportunities for plunder that the foreign wars and confusions might throw in their way.

The more settled conditions under Elizabeth had brought many of them back into the regular service of the crown; but even yet the landed gentry of the western counties who held lands along the rivers and harbors, merchants of the seaport towns, and restless adventurers held shares in vessels which were sometimes engaged in regular trade but more often occupied in piracy. They seized Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and even French and Dutch vessels that came through the Channel, stripped them of the most valuable parts of their cargoes, and then slipped away to some distant harbor or on a trading or fishing voyage. In this way hundreds of the small vessels of those times, owned by gentry and merchants, under reckless captains and filled with bold and skillful sailors, were little if any better than freebooters or pirates. The queen and her ministers were not able to keep them in order and prevent their depredations. Probably they did not try very hard, for the freebooters were a thorn in the side of the Spaniards, with

whom war was always a possibility, and their trade gave occupation to disorderly men who might have made still more trouble at home if they did not have this as a safety valve.

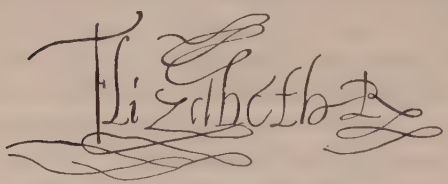
324. The English on the Sea. — So on all the shores of Europe and on the coasts of America, in various forms of activity ranging from legitimate trading to actual piracy, English merchants, explorers, and sailors were planning settlements, gaining footholds for trade, winning a part of the world's commerce, and seizing the valuable freightage of the vessels of others. The interests of such men were largely drawn away from the internal affairs of England. They looked upon questions of religion and politics principally from the point of view of their effect on their own enterprises. They valued the government of Queen Elizabeth because it gave them the opportunities they needed. She herself sympathized heartily with the adventure, the boldness, even the recklessness of those who were carrying England's name and trade so far abroad. English national feeling was becoming stronger and stronger, and all this gathered around the queen. The generation of Englishmen who were growing up were coming to identify Elizabeth with patriotism, and to hold patriotism dearer than ever before in English history. Thus, although Roman Catholic enthusiasm, gathering around Mary Queen of Scots and supported by Spain and France, seemed to be making Elizabeth's position more difficult after the middle years of her reign, other influences far stronger were making her position more secure. She had become popular even with the Puritans and with many of the Roman Catholics.

325. Babington's Plot. — Nevertheless plotting still continued among those who were most strongly attached to Mary and most enthusiastically devoted to Roman Catholicism. In 1586 what is known as "Babington's Plot" was discovered. A Roman Catholic gentleman of that name, along with five others who had been admitted by Elizabeth to service at court, bound themselves by an oath to kill the queen and release Mary. They were in correspondence with many others, including Mary herself, and this

correspondence fell into the hands of the queen's advisers. With great astuteness and the use of rather unscrupulous means Walsingham contrived to let the plotting continue but to have all letters pass through his hands. Finally when the evidence was complete he had the conspirators arrested and executed, together with several of those who knew of their project.

326. Trial and Execution of Mary Queen of Scots. — But this time the matter was carried farther. Mary herself was brought before a commission made up of most of the nobles of England; testimony as to her knowledge and encouragement of this and of other plots for the assassination of the queen was given; and she was declared by the commission to be guilty of the attempted murder of Elizabeth.

Parliament met soon afterwards and petitioned Elizabeth to order Mary's execution, in accordance with the judgment of the commission. Elizabeth hesitated long, authorizing and then recalling and then again half consenting to the carrying out of the warrant of execution, which she had already brought herself to sign. She might well hesitate to put to death her cousin and rival. A woman, a relative, a queen even after nineteen years of imprisonment, a guest, — Mary had personal claims to protection which made the necessity for her execution at best a hard and ungracious one. Yet the execution was a state necessity. Elizabeth at last placed the warrant in the hands of Davison, one of the secretaries of state, but gave him only an ambiguous and partial permission to carry it out. Finally the queen's council took on themselves the responsibility, and in February, 1587, Mary was beheaded in the hall of the castle of Fotheringay.



The Signature of Queen Elizabeth

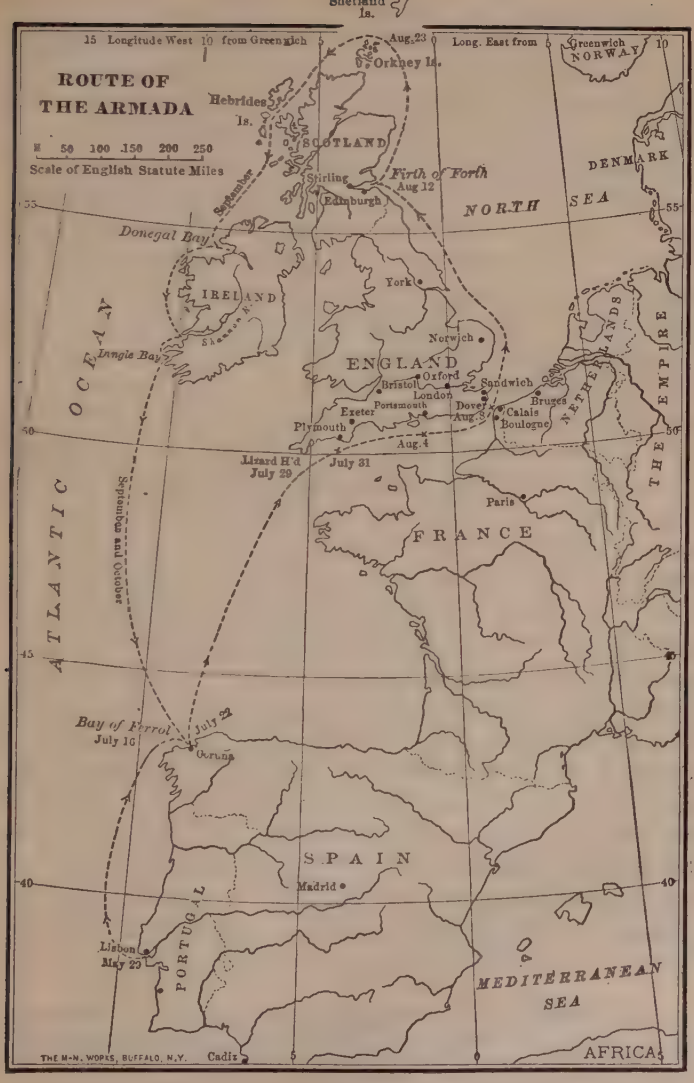
The pathos of Mary's position, the scene in the hall of execution, her dignity on the scaffold, the lifting of the gory head aloft as it fell from the block, with the usual cry, "So perish all enemies of the queen," made a dramatic close to a career whose sadness was extreme, whatever side may be taken in the dispute which has ever since raged around Mary Stuart. When the execution was once accomplished Elizabeth declared loudly that she had never given her sanction to it, and that her councilors had mistaken her intention. To prove this she treated her whole council with extreme severity of speech, dismissed Secretary Davison from her service, and ordered him to be brought to trial. He was fined heavily and ordered into imprisonment. He and his family were ruined to give the queen a convenient reply to make to the protests of France and Scotland.

327. **War with Spain.** — The long imprisonment of the Queen of Scots, while it had brought danger upon Elizabeth by encouraging plots for her release, had been one of the securities against war with other countries by postponing the question of the succession to the English throne. Now the war with Spain, which had been so often threatened and which had been avoided only by the efforts of both governments, finally broke out. It had long been inevitable. The help given by England to the Netherlands rebels, the forcible intrusion of English merchants into the West Indian colonies, the attacks of Drake on the Spanish settlements in America and Spanish treasure vessels at sea, had piled up an account for which the Spaniards must some time demand settlement. The religious duty to depose a ruler excommunicated by the pope, when added to the other incentives, would have been quite enough to lead Philip long before to declare war against England had not the condition of the Spanish treasury, the disputes with France, and the trouble in the Netherlands made war against England so far always inopportune. Now, however, Mary Queen of Scots had bequeathed her claim to the English throne to Philip, and left her dying injunction upon him to carry out

the long-threatened invasion. The vessels and troops which had been collected in the ports of Spain, professedly to send against the Netherlands, were just as available against England, and their true destination was no longer concealed. Drake took time by the forelock by sailing boldly into the harbor of Cadiz, destroying many of the great ships of war, and capturing other Spanish vessels along the coast. He described it as "singeing the king of Spain's beard." Queen Elizabeth had consistently avoided open war, however much she had allowed help to be given to the Netherlanders and given her tacit consent when Drake and other sea rovers used their own and the royal ships to attack the Spaniards. Even yet she tried to keep the peace, which had lasted unbroken for almost thirty years, but war was no longer to be avoided.

328. **The Spanish Armada.** — During the early months of 1588 the great fleet which the Spaniards proudly called the "Invincible Armada" was at last made ready in the Spanish harbors. In July it appeared in the English Channel, bound for the coast of Flanders, where it was to receive on board and convoy a great Spanish army to the coast of England.

Hurried preparations had been made to meet the invasion. The English militia were warned to gather at various places of rendezvous; a camp was formed at Tilbury on the Thames below London, where Elizabeth visited and addressed the troops; beacons were prepared on every hilltop along the southern and eastern coasts; and vessels under the command of Howard, Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, and other famous captains were gathered in various harbors from Plymouth to Dover. In addition to the queen's ships, volunteers came from every port. The freebooters of the Channel now found congenial occupation and half justified the existence so long allowed to them. Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral of England, was put in supreme command of the fleet, and through the country measures were taken to prevent Roman Catholics from giving help to the invaders.


ROUTE OF THE ARMADA
Scale of English Statute Miles
0 50 100 150 200 250
15 Longitude West 10 from Greenwich 5 0 Long. East from 5 Greenwich 10
Shetland Is.
Aug. 23
Orkney Is.
Hebrides Is.
SCOTLAND
Stirling
Edinburgh
Firth of Forth
Aug 12
September
NORTH SEA
NORWAY
DENMARK
Donegal Bay
IRELAND
Shannon R.
Dingle Bay
York
Norwich
ENGLAND
Oxford
Bristol
London
Portsmouth
Exeter
Plymouth
Sandwich
Dover
Aug. 8
Calais
Boulogne
Bruges
NETHERLANDS
THE EMPIRE
Aug. 4
Lizard H'd
July 29
July 31
Paris
FRANCE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
September and October
Bay of Ferrol
July 16
July 22
Coruna
SPAIN
Madrid
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
May 29
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cadiz
AFRICA
THE M-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

July 30, 1588, the great galleons[1] sailed proudly up the Channel in a long line before a southwest wind. The fighting soon began. As they passed one of the Channel ports after another they were attacked in the rear by the English ships issuing from their harbors and taking advantage of their windward position to attack the Spaniards at their leisure,[2] and a running fight was fought in the Channel. The advantages of number, size, and equipment belonged to the Spaniards. The English vessels on the other hand, though smaller, were built on a model that made them swifter and more easily handled than the Spanish galleons. They hung, therefore, around the skirts of the Spanish fleet, attacking it only as they had favorable opportunity, avoiding a general fight, and merely cutting off a few vessels which became separated from the rest. When, however, the Spanish fleet had reached the narrowest part of the Channel, just between Calais and Dover, a more vigorous contest took place, during which a number of the badly handled, heavy Spanish vessels were sunk or driven ashore on the shallow coasts of France and Flanders. The Armada sailed into the roads of Calais; but the wind had risen to a gale and no safe anchorage could be found there, nor could they enter the difficult harbors of Flanders. So in a few days the Spanish fleet, broken, scattered, and deprived of its best commanders and pilots, was on the North Sea and being driven far to the north by the wind behind it. One part of the English fleet returned to the Channel to guard against other attacks, while another part followed the great Armada, now reduced from one hundred and fifty sail which had left Spain to about a hundred and twenty, up the eastern coast of England. In the wild storm these determined to reach Spain again by a desperate voyage around the north of Scotland and Ireland. There were sad wrecks along

[1] The Spanish galleons were large vessels intended primarily for the voyages to America. They were built so as to be available either for war ships, transport vessels for troops, or freight ships.

[2] See Macaulay's poem, *The Armada.*

the Western Islands and the coast of Ireland, and eventually only one third of the fleet and much less than one third of its force of men made their way home again. The running fight in the Channel, the wind which had driven the vessels into the North Sea, and the watchfulness and perseverance of the English sailors had made the attack of the Armada fruitless and saved England from one of the most serious invasions with which she had ever been threatened.

This defense was followed up by a naval attack on the coast of Spain the next year, under the leadership of Drake and Norris, in which some towns and vessels were destroyed. For the next ten years the war with Spain continued. It was mostly at sea and often degenerated into mere privateering on the part of the English. Her sailors were almost invariably successful, and both on sea and land the warlike prestige of Spain was diminished.

329. The Successful Period of Elizabeth's Reign. — The last ten years of Elizabeth's reign were its period of greatest glory and success. After the execution of Mary and the defeat of the Armada the Roman Catholics had no possible prospect or indeed desire of overthrowing the Protestant settlement. Their highest hope was to be allowed to live without disturbance of their religion and under only moderate political disabilities. The danger of invasion from abroad and of an overthrow of Elizabeth's rule was also over. Spain was not strong enough, the parties in France which wished to live at peace with England had become supreme, and, above all, the national patriotic spirit of the English people had finally overcome all other sympathies or ambitions of any class of her population. There was never any time after the crisis of the Armada when the people would willingly let their religious or any other preferences stand in the way of their interests and feelings as Englishmen.

330. The Elizabethan Poor Law. — Even the internal social problems were gradually brought nearer to a settlement. The early poor laws, it is true, did not solve the problem. In the

middle of Elizabeth's reign it was declared that "all the parts of the realm of England and Wales be presently with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered." Vagabonds, wanderers, and those who in modern times are called "tramps," were especially objected to and had been frequently declared punishable by law unless they could show a license from some justice of the peace allowing them to travel and beg. A list of objectionable persons given in one of the laws will give a glimpse of the wandering classes of society in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The wording of the law is slightly changed for purposes of clearness. "All idle persons using subtle, crafty, and unlawful games or plays and some of them feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy and palmistry; all persons being whole and mighty in body and able to labor, yet not using any lawful merchandise, craft, or mistery; all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, and minstrells, unless they belong to the company of some baron of the realm; all jugglers, peddlers, trickers, and petty chapmen; all common laborers able in body loitering and refusing to work for reasonable wages; all scholars of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge that go about begging, not being authorized under the seal of those universities; all shipmen pretending losses by sea; and all prisoners lately released from jail." All such as these were to be punished severely if they continued to rove through the country. According to one law any person declared to be a vagabond shall be "stripped naked from the middle upward and shall be openly whipped until his or her body be bloody." According to another the sturdy beggar was to be "grievously whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about."

Houses of correction were to be built in which those who were strong in body but unwilling or unable to find occupation were to be confined and made to work. Taxes were imposed and voluntary collections made to obtain money to buy materials and put

willing laborers to work. For the poor who could not work almshouses were built in addition to the weekly collections taken up to support them. Finally at the very close of Elizabeth's reign a long act was passed combining all these provisions and establishing overseers of the poor in each parish. These should regularly tax for the support of the poor all people of any means and expend for the poor the amounts collected. This law of 1601 remained the established poor law of England down to 1834.

331. **Increasing Wealth of England.** — If there were still many paupers to be supported, this was not because England as a whole was not prosperous. The long peace at home and abroad, the improvements in agriculture, the increase of manufactures, and the spread of commerce had all combined to raise the general level of prosperity, comfort, and expenditure and to make a much larger class of rich men than had ever existed before in England. Among the lower classes and the farming population this change showed itself principally in the building of cottages and farmhouses in which there were chimneys and glass windows, in the use of plates and spoons of pewter instead of wood, in the use of mattresses and pillows instead of straw pallets and billets of wood, and in a greater variety of food. Among the higher classes there was larger expenditure in all forms of comfortable, refined, and even luxurious living. With the breaking down of old mediæval ways and a greater familiarity with other countries the people took a new and stronger enjoyment in all the pleasures of life.

332. **Dress and Eating.** — Dress was much more showy, expensive, and fanciful than of old. Even the merchant and the merchant's wife wore silk, embroidery, cloth of gold and silver, and jewels in rings, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and sewed on their clothes. Among the nobility and at court this half-barbarous excess of personal ornament was carried to great lengths and brought the English into some ridicule in the eyes of the other nations of Europe. The Elizabethan ruff which is so conspicuous in the portraits of the time, on both men and women, is a good instance

of the showy and excessive fashions. Bombasted trousers for men and skirts spread widely by farthingales for women were characteristic of the time. Queen Elizabeth herself set an extravagant example in dress and personal expenditures, for notwithstanding her miserliness in many directions she was never sparing of money for her own adornment.

The Puritan writers of the time were never weary of condemning these fashionable excesses, and many of the courtiers impoverished themselves and sacrificed their estates in their efforts to equal in dress and show those who were more fortunate in obtaining lucrative offices or royal favors. Men of good family and position begged for the most petty and almost menial offices connected with the court for the sake of the salaries connected with them, small as these often were. Long waiting sometimes brought grants of offices or estates; more often it brought neither. The poet Spenser describes the doubts and sorrows of the courtier as he may well himself have experienced them.

> Full little knowest thou that hast not tride,
> What hell it is in suing long to bide:
> To lose good days, that might be better spent;
> To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
> To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
> To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow;
> To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
> To eate thy heart through comfortlesse dispaires;
> To fawne, to crouche, to waite, to ride, to ronne,
> To spend, to give, to want, to be undonne.

In eating and drinking also there was much luxury among the wealthier classes. Wines of many kinds were imported and came to be used more largely than beer, which was the national beverage. Neither coffee nor tea was yet known in England, but tobacco was introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586 and immediately became popular among fashionable people. More refined manners in eating became customary among persons of all classes. Knives

and plates were used more universally, though the proverbial statement that "fingers were made before forks" still remained true, the use of those implements apparently having come in only some years after Elizabeth's death.

333. **Building.** — The most conspicuous change in the method of living of the upper classes, however, was not in dress nor in food, but in the character of the houses. The protection against violence, which had now been given by the government ever since

Lacock Abbey (a country house constructed from an old monastery)

the time of Henry VII, made it possible for the gentry and nobility to build their dwellings for enjoyment rather than for defense. Moat, wall, and lancet window now gave place to open garden walks, to broad entrances, and windows through which floods of sunshine might light up the house. Many of the nobles and gentry had been enriched by the lands and buildings taken from the monasteries; others held offices which brought them large incomes; still others held shares in the trade that was growing up, or profited by it indirectly through the increasing value of their

property. There was also an enlightened interest in architecture and adornment of houses. Under these circumstances there arose over England a great number of large, beautiful, and tasteful dwellings, many of which still remain but slightly changed from the condition in which they were completed during Queen Elizabeth's reign. Windows in these were as numerous as they had been scarce in the dark mediæval castle, their walls were hung with imported tapestries and paintings, and they were surrounded by artistically laid out gardens and carefully preserved woods and parks. These lordly halls and manor houses were copied in the form of more modest country houses of every size and grade of luxury and comfort down to the mere farmhouses of the substantial farmer or sheep raiser. In no material respect was there a greater break with the past than in the dwellings of England.

334. Royal Progresses. — Into all this luxury of living Queen Elizabeth entered heartily, both in her own palaces and during her "progresses." These "progresses" were series of visits which she made from time to time from one country house to another, or from one town to another, spending sometimes some months in this way. The relief from the living expenses of herself and her court when she was thus enjoying the hospitality of her wealthy subjects appealed to her thrifty instincts; she took sincere pleasure in the festivities that accompanied her visits, and they served a useful purpose in rousing the devotion of the people to herself and giving opportunities for the familiarity and courtesy with which she so well knew how to please those whom she wished to please. In many a house in England the room is still shown where "Good Queen Bess" slept. When the queen visited a nobleman's or gentleman's castle or manor house there were hunting parties, feasting, music, and revels. When she paid a ceremonious visit to some wealthy town there was again feasting, an address from the mayor, a reply from the queen, pageants representing the history of the city or her majesty's victories, processions, and mimic battles. If her visit were to one of the universities the masters and

Elizabeth and her Courtiers: a painting of 1571

fellows of the college greeted her with Latin addresses and poems and the students with Latin plays and allegorical shows, the queen replying and commenting, praising or blaming, in the same classical language in which she was addressed, her Latin and even her Greek being usually ready to be summoned in the amount necessary for the occasion.

335. **The Love for Shows.** — Of all such festivities in manor house, town-hall, college, among the law students, or in the open

The Long Gallery of Haddon Hall, built in the Time of Queen Elizabeth

air, dramatic shows made a large part. Pageants were shown, and masques, interludes, and plays were written to be played before the queen by poets and playwrights of every grade of skill, from the crudest to some of the most perfect in literary form and poetic gift. One of the great marks of the age of Elizabeth was its love of mimicry, pageantry, and dramatic representation in all its forms. The news of any event of national interest, the visit of any foreign prince or ambassador, the anniversary of the queen's birth or

coronation, Christmas, Easter, or Midsummer Day was taken advantage of to hold revels, to arrange tableaux, or to prepare a show or an allegorical play. At the same time plays in which the words were of far more importance than their accompaniments were being written and represented. Before the reign of Elizabeth closed, the drama had reached a perfection and a fertility of production unexampled before or since in English history.

336. Elizabethan Literature. — This dramatic production was, however, only one part of the whole intellectual and literary life of the time. The new learning of the time of Henry VIII had deepened and widened during the time of Elizabeth until it had become a whole new literature. The poetic and prose writing in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign was not only much larger in amount and finer in quality than what had preceded it, but it was different in character. It was all quite personal. Men expressed their own feelings, thoughts, and experiences in their own way. They were no longer bound by conventional expressions and ideas. Each man wrote what was in him; he did not merely describe general moods and experiences. The subjective or personal nature of the literature of this time is well described in the last line of one of Sidney's sonnets.

"Fool," said my muse to me, "look in thy heart and write."

It was a time when there was much study of the classical authors. Elizabeth herself and many of the nobility, gentry, and even merchants were familiar with the best Greek and Latin authors. Writers and readers alike were more or less imbued with this classical learning. But the principal influence which gave form to the literature of the time was the example of Italy. Petrarch and other Italian writers were known and studied, and many Englishmen themselves spent much time in Italy. This was true of Wyatt and Surrey, the earliest poets of this new literary period, who indeed had both died before Elizabeth's accession.

337. Sidney and Spenser. — Sir Philip Sidney, one of the most influential writers of the time, was also a man of classical training, a traveler in Italy, and familiar with its literature. Sidney was the son of one of Elizabeth's most trusted ministers and courtiers, and his mother, wife, and friends were all of the influential nobility that gathered about Elizabeth's court. He volunteered to help the Netherlanders in their rebellion against the Spanish king, and died of wounds received in battle there in 1586, when he was scarcely more than thirty years of age. He was a man of pure, frank, and generous nature, and his amiable character, his romantic life, and the generous help he gave to literary men combined with his own writings in prose and verse to make him one of the best known and best loved men of the sixteenth century.

Edmund Spenser has been looked up to as a model since the publication in 1579 of *The Shepherd's Calendar*, his first poem. He was of good but not noble family, was educated at Cambridge, and afterwards introduced to the literary and political society of such men as Sidney at London. He was sent to Ireland as secretary of the lord lieutenant of that country, and obtained a grant of land there which kept him between England and Ireland till his death in 1599. From time to time as his poems were issued, their grace, their beauty of form, and strength of thought placed him among the very first of English poets. Far the best known of his poems is the long poetic allegory, *The Faerie Queene*. This was published between 1590 and 1596. Besides its beauty of thought, fanciful ingenuity of plan, and delicate poetic charm, it was written in a new and specially musical form of verse, which has always since been known as the "Spenserian stanza." Yet running through the fancies of his poetry was a deep interest in the philosophical and political interests of his time, and he was more than half a Puritan.

338. Prose Writing. — The variety of Elizabethan literature is quite marvelous. It was almost equally great in prose and verse. Hooker wrote a philosophical or theological work reflecting the same moderate religious views as were established by Elizabeth's

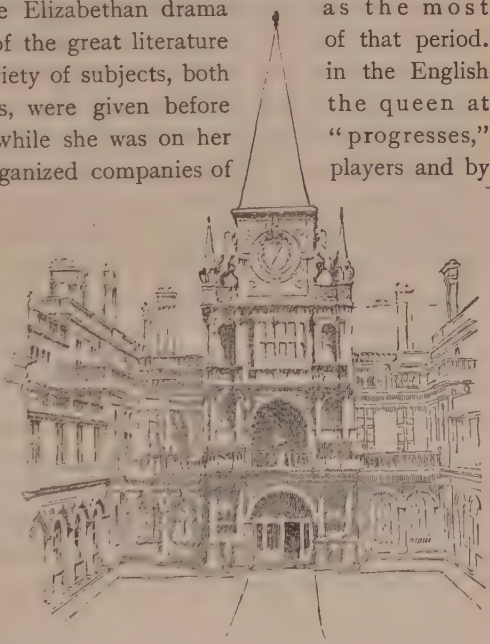
compromise in the church, and expressing his thoughts with a gracefulness and dignity which have given his *Ecclesiastical Polity* a permanent place in literature. Camden, an historian who wrote the annals of his time in both Latin and English, was the best of a number of such learned antiquarian writers. Some chronicles were still more popular, like those of Holinshed, which recounted the history of England, or like Hakluyt's *Voyages*, which described the voyages and discoveries of English seamen. There was an enormous production of pamphlets on all subjects. Pamphlets took the place which newspapers take with us, and all the disputes and discussions of the time were represented in the pamphlet literature. Puritans and churchmen, those who took different sides on questions of politics or of literature, those who had personal controversies, — all set them forth in pamphlets. Many also were written on subjects not controversial, simply to furnish amusement to their readers and some profit to their writers.

Francis Bacon, most of whose life and writing was to fall in the next reign, was already a well-known writer and courtier under Queen Elizabeth. His witty and wise *Essays* were published in 1597. Sir Walter Raleigh has been mentioned among the explorers of the time, and might as properly have been described as statesman, soldier, or writer, for he was equally gifted and active in all these directions. His writing included a *History of the World* and several descriptions of geographical discovery in prose and several fine songs and short pieces in poetry. Years after, there was found in his Bible a poem, written the night before his execution, of which these were the last lines:

Even such is time, that takes in trust,
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us back with age and dust,
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days;
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
My God shall raise me up, I trust.

Among prose writers as well as writers of song and drama, Ben Jonson represented learned, classical, and polished production, and exercised a strong influence over all the other writers of his time.

339. **Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama.** — But Shakespeare was the real crown of the age, and through him we are brought back to the Elizabethan drama as the most characteristic form of the great literature of that period. Plays on a great variety of subjects, both in the English and Latin languages, were given before the queen at her own court and while she was on her "progresses," both by regularly organized companies of players and by amateur bodies of boys, lawyers, gentlemen, or citizens. In the latter part of her reign three theaters were built in London, to play at which stock companies were formed. They also gave plays throughout the country when the plague or other causes had driven polite society away from the capital. During Elizabeth's reign and the succeeding forty years not less than two thousand plays were produced, many of them written by men of education, of some position in society, and familiar with the old dramas of the Greeks and Romans. On the other hand, many were written by men connected with the dramatic companies as players or as regular writers.



Burleigh House

Of the latter class Shakespeare was the great type and the great master. Born in 1564 at Stratford-on-Avon, he came to London in 1585, three years before the defeat of the Armada, and connected himself with one of the theaters there. His plays appeared from time to time during the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign and the first few years of that of her successor. He represented the very best intellectual gifts characteristic of his time, as well as an unapproached genius all his own. His preëminence among the poets of his own time and of all time was recognized then as it has been recognized ever since.

The subjects chosen by writers of plays varied widely. Many were taken from romantic stories which had come from France or Italy; many, on the other hand, were taken from the history of England itself and of its national heroes. These "chronicle plays" reflected the interest which the English people felt in their own past and their pride in their own nationality. Not infrequently plays were written and performed which expressed the contemporary popular feeling of opposition to the Spaniards or the French as the case might be. The foreign adventure and enterprise, the defiance of the pope and of the Catholic powers, and the universal admiration for the queen were all represented on the popular stage. Nowhere in the whole action, legislation, or writing of the time does the national patriotism appear more clearly than in such speeches as that description of England which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of old John of Gaunt, in the play of *Richard II.*

> This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,

> Against the envy of less happier lands,
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

Or where, in *King John*, Faulconbridge cries,

> This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.

The Elizabethan literature survived and continued in most of its characteristics long after the time of the great queen. Shakespeare's best work was done in the years immediately after her death. At least as late as 1640 the influence of Jonson, Shakespeare, and Spenser gave form and character to the drama and other poetry, and their charm and manner still rested strongly upon Milton in the second half of the seventeenth century.

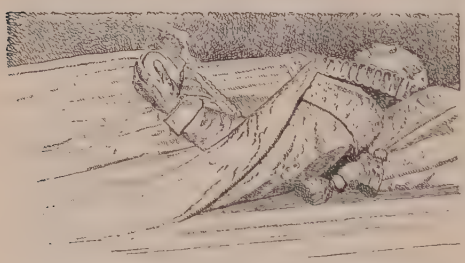
340. The Close of the Reign. — The last few years of Elizabeth's life were to her bitter ones, while England as a whole was great and prosperous. The old ministers and early attendants on the queen died one by one or withdrew from court. On the other hand, at no time was the court more brilliant. Great men of a somewhat younger generation, like Raleigh, Robert Cecil, and Bacon, were there. Elizabeth still loved flattery and played the coquette. She was especially fond of having handsome young men always about her. The principal favorite of the queen in these late days was Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, to whom she intrusted tasks far beyond his abilities. In 1599 he was placed in charge of the troops in Ireland, where another great rebellion of the native chiefs had broken out. Essex mismanaged the campaign, and then, presuming on the favor of the queen, disobeyed orders and came back to England without leave.

Elizabeth seldom allowed her personal feelings to interfere with her public duty, so Essex was deprived of his military command, of all his offices and grants, and was banished from court. In anger he made a foolish attempt to raise a rebellion in London, where he was popular. Although he declared he was acting only against the queen's ministers, not against the queen herself, he was arrested,

tried, and convicted of high treason. It was a great blow to the queen to be compelled by her duty to the state to disregard her fondness for Essex and to sign his death warrant.

Feeling herself unblessed by personal affection, separated by age and suspicion from those immediately around her, the great queen became gloomy, weak, and depressed. Finally in March, 1603, she died, in the seventieth year of her age and in the forty-sixth of her reign.

341. Summary of the Period of Elizabeth. — With all the weaknesses and contradictions of her character, Queen Elizabeth had piloted the ship of England's fortunes through rocks and shoals into comparatively open water. At the beginning of her reign the country was in imminent danger of foreign invasion and of civil war, divided and unsettled in religious system, and dependent on other countries in foreign policy. By the end of her reign there was no longer danger of invasion from abroad or of rebellion at home. England had become distinct in religious organization and held a proud and independent position among the nations of Europe. Her commerce was stretching to all parts of the earth, the foundations of colonial dominion were being laid, the material resources of the people were growing, and a noble body of literature was in process of formation. During all this progress Elizabeth had been the leader and representative of the nation. Much of the material greatness she had nothing to do with; much of the success of the government was in spite of her actions rather than a result of them. Nevertheless her own part in the policy of the government



Effigy of Queen Elizabeth upon her Tomb in Westminster Abbey

had been justified by its success. Even her vacillation and procrastination had in some cases proved to be the best policy, for they had given time for affairs to settle themselves. At any rate through the whole tangled web of the history of almost a half century ran the thread of Elizabeth's strong personality, and the age will always be known by her name. The great dramatist, when he could look back on her reign as a whole, described it, in the play of *Henry VIII*, in the form of a prophecy put into the mouth of Archbishop Cranmer speaking at her christening.

> She shall be loved, and fear'd; her own shall bless her:
> Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
> And hang their heads with sorrow: good grows with her:
> In her days every man shall eat in safety,
> Under his own vine, what he plants; and sing
> The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours;
> God shall be truly known; and those about her
> From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
> And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.

And still later, Lord Brooke, a lifelong courtier of Elizabeth, still spoke of her as "my incomparable queen."

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. vii, sects. 3–8. FROUDE, *History of England*, Vols. VII–XII. This portion of Froude's great work is more moderate and trustworthy than the earlier portion. CREIGHTON, *The Age of Elizabeth* (Epochs of History), and BEESLEY, *Elizabeth* (Twelve English Statesmen), can be well combined to give the personal and the general history of the reign. CREIGHTON, *Queen Elizabeth*, is a handsomely illustrated work, which is also published without the illustrations and at a lower price. Several of the great questions of the time are admirably explained in the Preface to PROTHERO, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents*. Five works by MARTIN A. S. HUME are of much interest, *The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*, *The Year after the Armada*, *Philip II of Spain*, *The Great Lord Burghley*, and *Treason and Plot*. For Scotland at this time the best books are HUME BROWN, *History of Scotland*, Vol. II, and LANG, *Mystery of Mary Stuart*. For the literature of the time the best short works are SAINTSBURY, *Elizabethan Literature*, and SCHELLING, *The English Chronicle Play*. The relations with the Netherlands are explained in Miss PUTNAM, *William the Silent* (Heroes of the Nations).

Contemporary Sources. — The most important constitutional documents are given in PROTHERO, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents.* HARRISON, *Elizabethan England* (Camelot series), is a general description of the country at that time. The contemporary records concerning Mary Queen of Scots are collected in RAIT, *Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1587* (Scottish History by Contemporary Writers). Interesting personal descriptions of Elizabeth are in extracts from the Memoirs of Melville in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 53. No. 56 in the same is a series of letters about the Armada. Speeches of Elizabeth before parliament and the army are given in the same, No. 54, in LEE, *Source-Book*, No. 141, in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 61, and in GALTON, *English Prose* (Camelot series), pp. 26–29. HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations*, is the great collection of narratives of explorers and adventurers. A selection from these is given in more accessible form in PAYNE, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen*, and a series of extracts in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 144–147. Some thirty illustrative documents for the period of Queen Elizabeth are in CHEYNEY, *Readings.*

Poetry and Fiction. — MACAULAY, *The Armada.* SCHILLER, *Maria Stuart.* TENNYSON, *The Revenge: a Ballad of the Fleet.* Many of the dramas of the time, as JONSON, *The Alchemist*, *Every Man in his Humor*, and *Eastward Ho*, throw light on the customs of the time. SCOTT, *Kenilworth.* KINGSLEY, *Westward Ho.* Miss YONGE, *Unknown to History.* FLETCHER, *In the Days of Drake.* BENSON, *Come Rack, Come Rope.* ALFRED NOYES, *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern.*

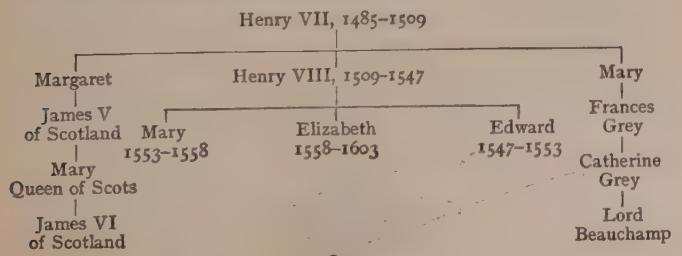
Special Topics. — (1) Death of Mary Queen of Scots, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 58; (2) The Defeat of the Armada, FROUDE, *History of England*, Vol. XII, chap. xxxvi; (3) The Voyage of Drake around the World, PAYNE, *Narrative of Francis Pretty*, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen*, Vol. I, pp. 196–230; (4) Gilbert's Voyage to Newfoundland in 1853, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 1–50; (5) Ireland in the Time of the Tudors, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. III, pp. 293–302, 409–411; (6) Witchcraft and Alchemy, *ibid.*, pp. 325–331; (7) Dress and Manners, *ibid.*, pp. 383–390; (8) Religious Parties, *ibid.*, pp. 424–431; (9) Exploration and Travel, *ibid.*, pp. 477–494; (10) Classes of Society in England, HARRISON, *Elizabethan England*, chap. i (Camelot series); (11) Changes in Houses in Elizabeth's Time, *ibid.*, chap. ix.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PERSONAL MONARCHY OF THE EARLY STUARTS 1603–1640

342. **James I.** — Elizabeth had refused to acknowledge any one as her successor, even after it became evident that she would have no children of her own. If the will of Henry VIII, under which she, as well as Edward and Mary, had inherited the throne, was to be followed, a certain English nobleman, son of the sister of Lady Jane Grey and great-grandson of Mary, the younger sister of Henry VIII, would become king. But James Stuart, son of Mary Queen of Scots and great-grandson of Margaret, the elder sister of Henry VIII, was a far more suitable candidate.[1] He had now been king of Scotland for many years, was equally near to Elizabeth in blood, and seemed to be indicated for the throne both by his position and by the preference of the queen, which she at last expressed a few days before her death. He was accordingly proclaimed king by general agreement immediately after Elizabeth's death. His title had been until this time James VI of Scotland; he became now, in addition, James I of England.

[1] The line of descent was as follows:

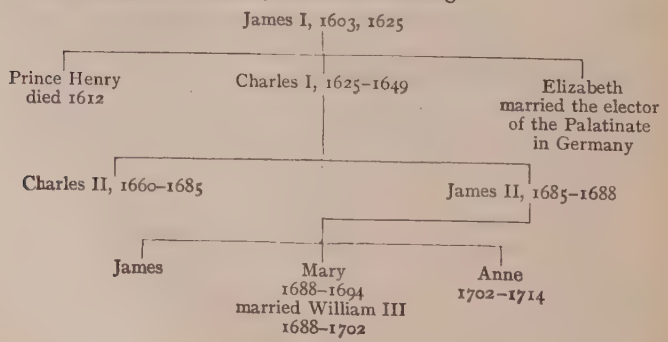


A new line was thus established on the throne of England, — the House of Stuart.[1]

It was a line of kings with well-marked characteristics and filling a very distinct period. They continued the system of strong government of the Tudors and carried it to still greater completeness. In England, as in the other countries of Europe, it was a period of growing despotism, when the kings were determined to have their own way, whatever their subjects might think of it. The Stuart dynasty as a whole, therefore, has left the reputation of being the most autocratic and tyrannical in English history.

343. Character of the New King. — James was well educated, widely read, and in matters that did not concern his own personal interests and feelings broad-minded and good-natured. He disliked the extreme views of the Puritans, and he had already learned in Scotland that their principles would carry the control of church affairs out of his hands entirely. All his sympathies and preferences, therefore, were for the established church as he found it when he came to England. He was even liberally inclined towards the Roman Catholics. On political questions, no king that ever reigned in England had higher views of his powers, authority, and responsibilities than James. He felt that he had been set by God to the work of ruling the country, and that this

[1] The members of this family were the following.



was his business, just as it was the business of a clergyman to give religious teaching, of a lawyer or teacher to fulfill his professional duties, or of a farmer or merchant to carry on his occupation. The physical personality of King James was scarcely fitted to his high conceptions of royalty. He was not naturally dignified or impressive, as Henry VIII and Elizabeth had been. He had a strong Scotch accent, his enunciation was indistinct, and his gait was somewhat shambling. These physical deficiencies were, however, of small importance compared with his mental characteristics. He had none of that instinctive capacity to know and conform to what the great mass of his subjects wanted which had been the most valuable trait of the Tudor sovereigns. He was so sure he was right that he never tried to understand what others meant. He was so vain that he could not recognize or appreciate great ability in others, and therefore selected his ministers unwisely. To the difficult work of solving the pressing political and religious problems that are now to be described, James's abilities were poorly adapted.

James I

344. The Established Church. — The greatest question of the sixteenth century had been as to whether England should be Roman Catholic or not. That had now been settled; and as a nation she had separated herself forever from the Roman Catholic church. But whether England was to be Anglican [1] or Puritan was still an unsettled question.

[1] The established church from the time of Elizabeth onward can be fairly known as "Anglican," and its government and belief as "Anglicanism."

The religious system which had been decided upon by Elizabeth and her ministers and enforced through the whole of her long reign was a moderate, enlightened, and orderly organization of religious worship, and a great part of the people had not only accepted but grown to love its arrangements. Hundreds of thousands of men found in the forms of this official organization of the church room for earnest piety and religious devotion. Although it had been imposed upon the people, not chosen by them, a very large number of Englishmen, perhaps a majority of them, were quite satisfied with it.

345. **Puritanism.** — Nevertheless the Puritans had been growing steadily in numbers. Many of those who held their religious views most strongly were, at the beginning of the reign of James I, entirely dissatisfied with the condition of the established church. They wished simplification of its ceremonies, abolition of its organization under archbishops and bishops, greater strictness of its moral rules, and a change of some of its religious beliefs. The great religious struggle of the seventeenth century was between these two parties. On the one side was Anglicanism, supported by the king and by all the organized powers of church and state, and giving satisfaction to a great many people, especially to the higher classes. On the other side was a great mass of the most deeply religious men of the time, particularly to be found in the ranks of the ordinary clergymen of the parishes and among the middle classes of the people. The contest between Puritanism and Anglicanism took the place in the seventeenth century of the contest between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in the sixteenth.

346. **The Royalist Ideal of Government.** — Along with this religious conflict a great political conflict was arising, — a conflict between the unrestricted power of the king on the one hand and the equal or even superior powers of the people represented by parliament on the other. The form of government which had grown up in the last century and a half had been one in which the

ruler exercised very great powers. The various ministers and officials were the submissive and obedient instruments of the king or queen. Parliament was generally quite willing to allow the sovereign to exercise his or her own judgment in most of the points of government. In foreign affairs, in keeping order in the country, in regulating matters of the church, and in carrying on all the usual duties of executive government, the king, directly or through his council and through the various grades of officials, exercised an almost unrestricted power and authority. This had come to be the accepted official view of the organization and powers of government. Such powers had always been used in greater or less degree by the kings, but the rulers of the Tudor line during the sixteenth century had exercised them in an especially high degree. They were limited in their action only by the old established laws of the country, by the restrictions of the Great Charter, and by such new laws as parliament might induce them to accept.

347. The Resistance of Parliament. — On the other hand, there had long been signs of growing opposition to this plan of government. Over and over again during the reign of Elizabeth parliament had tried to force its views upon her. It had petitioned her to marry and in the meantime to name her successor; it had pressed her to sign the death warrant of Mary Queen of Scots; it had tried to introduce reforms of a Puritan nature into the church; and just at the close of the reign a long debate was held in which the grant of patents or monopolies by the queen was severely criticised. Besides this, parliament had shown an increasing sense of its own importance by claiming the right to freedom of debate, freedom of its members from arrest, and to judge of the election of its own members. Queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding this growing self-assertion of parliament, had been able by a mixture of authority and conciliation to retain her entire control over the government. Her popularity, her age, her sex, the dangers of the time, had all combined to prevent any conflict between her and parliament. Now, however, all these restraints

were removed and two different ideals of government proved to be in antagonism to each other just as clearly as were the two different ideals of the church. The great struggle of the seventeenth century was therefore political as well as religious.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries parliament had exercised much more control over the actions of government than during Tudor times. It was quite possible for its members and the voters who elected them to feel and claim that its old acknowledged powers were really greater than those which had been recently conceded to it. Lawyers who were familiar with the constitutional history of their country, Puritans who were dissatisfied with the established church, lovers of good government who saw the administration being carried on unwisely and unsuccessfully, might readily make up a parliamentary party who would insist on having more to do with government than Henry VIII or Elizabeth had allowed, and they could refer back to ancient precedent for their claims. This was more likely to happen because times were changing and for some reason men's ambitions ran more in political lines than they had done for the last century. Parliament, which under the Tudors had been submissive or easily browbeaten, under the Stuarts was aggressive, fault-finding, and obstinate.

The views of parliament held by James did not allow to it much power. He thought parliament ought to give him information and advice and provide him with funds to carry on the government, but that it ought not to interfere with the way in which he carried it on. He was not responsible, in his opinion, either to parliament or to the people; he was responsible to God alone. This view of government came afterwards to be described as the belief in the "divine right of kings," and, although that term was not yet used, the doctrine was believed in by a great many writers, clergymen, and statesmen, as well as the king. Under these conditions it is no wonder that the reign of James came soon to be marked by much dispute on both religious and political matters.

348. **The Hampton Court Conference.** — The Puritans hoped that a king who had ruled over a country where religion was so strongly Protestant as in Scotland would be willing to introduce some further reforms in the church of England. A great petition for changes in the church was therefore prepared and presented to him. It was planned that it should be signed by a thousand clergymen and was therefore spoken of as the "Millenary Petition." Instead of either granting or refusing its requests, James arranged a debate between some of the leading bishops and others who did not wish any change to be introduced in the established church, and some prominent clergymen of Puritan tendencies. This conference was held before the king himself at his palace of Hampton Court. During parts of several days the discussions on the points in dispute proceeded between the two parties, the king occasionally participating.

At last, when one of the Puritan clergymen proposed that certain disputed points should be referred in each case to the bishop and his "presbyters," or parish clergymen or elders, the king, who had had many conflicts in Scotland with the presbyteries or associations of ministers, fired up and declared to the Puritan leaders that they were aiming "at a Scotch presbytery, which agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and at their pleasure censure me and my Council and all our proceedings. . . . Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that from me, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath; then shall we all of us have work enough and both our hands full. But, Dr. Reynolds, until you find that I grow lazy, let that alone." He then left the room, declaring, "If this be all that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else the worse."

One of the members of the king's council who was present exclaimed, "His Majesty spoke by inspiration of the Spirit of

God," and others expressed their approval of his opposition to the Puritans. In fact, neither James nor his principal advisers had much sympathy with or understanding of the desires of the Puritan clergymen and of those who agreed with them. They thought that these were making much of trifles and acting from the mere love of contention. During the whole of James's reign he was trying, as he said, to "make them conform themselves," and since a very large proportion of the people were Puritans he was in constant conflict with this class of his subjects. The first serious contest came early. In 1604 a new set of canons, or church laws and rules, was drawn up by convocation.[1] These canons required that every Englishman should acknowledge the prayer book as being in accordance in every respect with the word of God. An oath to this effect was ordered to be taken by every clergyman, and those who refused were to be expelled from their positions. Some three hundred who refused to comply were thus deprived of their benefices. In many other ways the king was thus at cross-purposes with the Puritan part of his subjects.

349. The New Version of the Scriptures. — One recommendation of the Puritan clergy made at the Hampton Court Conference commended itself to James and was carried out within the next few years. This was a new translation of the Bible. In the course of that discussion several of the speakers pointed out that the familiar translation did not truly represent the original. James was himself a man of learning and fully appreciated this fact. There were many clergymen learned in Greek and Hebrew in England, and James asked the archbishop of Canterbury to obtain advice from the universities and draw up a list of men competent to make a new translation. Fifty-four were selected and divided into six groups, one portion of the Bible being given to each group to be translated. After three years of labor the results

[1] Convocation was the assembly of the higher clergy and of representatives of the lower clergy in each archbishopric.

were carefully gone over and considered by all together and the new translation thus agreed upon was published in 1611.

The translators applied not only learning but skill and judgment to their task. They changed the earlier translations no more than necessary, and frequently followed the order and form of the original language. Nevertheless they had a complete mastery of the English language and used it in their translation with a simplicity, dignity, and harmony which have never been excelled. Use and time have made the forms of expression used in this translation of the Bible familiar, and they have never ceased to exercise a deep influence on English thought, writing, and speech. The large proportion of words of Anglo-Saxon origin used by the translators is noticeable. The first thirty-five words of the Lord's Prayer are all old English words, and on the average, through the whole Bible, ninety out of every hundred words are Anglo-Saxon; while Shakespeare uses only eighty-five Anglo-Saxon words out of every hundred, and the historian Gibbon only seventy out of every hundred.

James took a great interest in this work and was quite willing to allow the learned Puritan clergy to help in it, even though he did not propose to let them make any changes in the established church.

350. The Gunpowder Plot. — The Roman Catholics, like the Puritans, at first hoped that James would give them greater liberties than Elizabeth had done. His mother had been a Roman Catholic, his wife was secretly a member of the same church, and he was known himself not to favor their continued persecution. They might very fairly anticipate an improvement in their position. As a matter of fact the king did show great leniency in the enforcement of the laws against Roman Catholics. Nevertheless, as the feeling among the people was very bitter against them, soon after his accession James permitted the passage of more severe recusancy laws, and when it suited his policy he allowed these laws to be put in force against them. All Roman

Catholic priests were banished from the country and laymen who would not come to the services of the established church continued to be heavily fined.

As they still continued to suffer under the persecutions, some of the more violent of them, in 1604, formed an atrocious plot according to which the king, ministers, and members of parliament were all to be killed at one time and a Roman Catholic government set up. For this purpose the plotters hired a cellar under the parliament house and stored in this a number of barrels of gunpowder. It was planned to apply a match to this on the day of the opening of parliament and thus cause an explosion which would destroy all those connected with the existing government and give an opportunity for the Roman Catholics to seize power.

One of the thirteen conspirators, a gentleman named Guy Fawkes, was appointed to watch over the powder. Parliament was to meet on the 5th of November. A few days before this date one of the Roman Catholic peers received a mysterious letter warning him not to attend parliament. It had been sent secretly by one of the conspirators, who could not bear to see a relative and fellow Catholic run the risk of being killed in the explosion. This nobleman took the letter of warning to the earl of Salisbury, James's principal minister, who showed it to the king. They were led by some of its expressions to suspect the plan of blowing up the parliament house. They searched the cellars, found the barrels of powder, and captured Guy Fawkes. The whole plot therefore failed, its leaders were captured, and they and several others who were believed to have known of it were executed, or killed in encounters with the sheriff who was sent to capture them.[1] The immediate consequence was the passing of more severe laws against the Roman Catholics. The 5th of November has always since been commemorated in England as "Guy Fawkes

[1] Doubt of the reality of this plot is expressed in a book by Gerard, *What was the Gunpowder Plot?* To this, however, a convincing reply is given in Gardiner's work, *What Gunpowder Plot was.*

Day," one of the most usual incidents of its celebration being the hanging of Guy Fawkes in effigy.

351. The Proposed Union of the Two Kingdoms. — James was unsuccessful in a project in which he was much interested for breaking down the separation of Scotland from England. The English and the Scots had been hereditary enemies. Not only in constant border hostilities, but in frequent wars they had been pitted against each other from time immemorial. Now England and Scotland had the same king, and there seemed no reason for a continuance of such enmity. James was extremely anxious to draw the two countries nearer to each other. He wished to have the same system of law, the same church arrangements, the same property and trading privileges in the two countries. He tried to induce parliament to pass an act of union to bring about these ends. But parliament and the English people generally still felt all the old antagonism and were quite unwilling to go so far as the king proposed. Although commissioners were appointed from the Scotch parliament and from the English parliament, who discussed the plan for some years, very little was accomplished. Such laws in each country as involved actual hostility to the other were repealed, and the judges decided that *post nati*, that is, children born in either kingdom after the king's accession to the throne of England, were to be considered subjects of both kingdoms. Apart from this the two countries still remained separate, with the king as the one bond of union.

Coat of Arms of the Stuart Kings

352. Foreign Affairs. — In foreign affairs James insisted on going his own way. Soon after his accession he brought the long war with Spain to a close by a treaty which involved a partial desertion of England's ally, the Netherlands, and which was unpopular with those leaders, like Raleigh, who still clung to the

policy of Queen Elizabeth. New treaties were also made with France and with the Netherlands. New questions, however, were rising in Europe in which it was very difficult for England to avoid taking sides. Germany was still separated into a number of different states, some of which were Roman Catholic and some Protestant. In 1618 a war broke out between these, the former states being helped from the first by Spain, and the Protestant, somewhat later, by Denmark, Sweden, and France. This is known as the Thirty Years' War. In England there was a strong popular desire to take part in this war on the Protestant side. This seemed the more proper and natural as James's daughter was married to the Elector Palatine, the leader of the Protestants in Germany. Old traditions, national and religious sympathy, and family affection seemed to combine to lead England to join in the war.

James, however, was not willing to do so. In the first place he was, by personal feelings and by principle, opposed to war. Secondly, he had so much confidence in his own influence and powers of persuasion that he thought he could induce the contending parties to accept his arbitration and bring the war to an end of themselves. Lastly, he was so much under the influence of the Spanish ambassador and so unwilling to get on bad terms with Spain that he could not bring his mind to oppose her Roman Catholic allies in Germany. Therefore the Protestants in Germany had to carry on their struggle without English help, except for a few volunteers, so that in this respect also the king's policy was unpopular and opposed to the wishes of the English people.

353. **The Spanish and French Marriage Negotiations.** — The principal reason for the close relations between England and Spain at this time was that the king had set his heart on arranging a marriage between his surviving son Charles, the prince of Wales, and Maria, the infanta or princess of Spain, daughter of Philip III. James's eldest son, Henry, a popular and promising young man, died in 1612, and his brother Charles was created Prince of Wales in 1618, when he was eighteen years of age. As

James's daughter was married to a Protestant prince, the king thought that if his son were married to a Roman Catholic his influence in the affairs of Europe would be greatly increased. One marriage alliance with a Protestant family in Germany, another with the Roman Catholic power of Spain, would give him, as he thought, a position that would enable him to act the part of an umpire in international affairs, and induce the nations of Europe to accept his guidance. A less ambitious but not less attractive advantage in the Spanish match would be that the bride would bring a dowry large enough to pay many of the debts which were always pressing on the king.

There were many difficulties in the way of such a plan. The English and Spaniards had come during the war of Elizabeth's time to look upon each other as natural enemies; the Spanish government would not agree to the marriage unless the princess should be allowed to keep her own religion, and asked that the laws against Roman Catholics in England should be repealed or at least not enforced; and the princess herself was opposed to the match on religious grounds. But the obstinacy of the king after once entering on the plan led him to hold to it; many of his courtiers had been bribed by the Spanish government to encourage it; and the skillful Spanish ambassadors obtained an influence over the king and prolonged the negotiations for their own purposes, even though they themselves neither expected nor wished to see the marriage take place. Thus the negotiations were kept up, with few breaks, for more than eight years. During that time James was in humiliating and unworthy subserviency to the influence of the Spanish ambassador, and was continually making promises and concessions which he had to keep secret even from some of his own most faithful counselors. Finally, in 1623, Charles obtained the king's consent to go himself with his most intimate friend, the marquis of Buckingham, to Spain, there to bring the arrangement to a close and fetch his Spanish bride home with him. When the two young men got to Spain they were surprised to

find the difficulties increased rather than diminished. The Spanish government insisted on still more rigorous conditions when they had the prince practically a hostage among them, and the young lady, who had been brought up in the extreme seclusion customary in Spain and was very strict in her religion, made no response to Charles's wooing.

Worse than the doubtful reception in Spain was the outcry that arose in England. The Spanish marriage itself was bad enough, but for the prince to put himself in the power of Spain, for James to have allowed him to do so, and for the policy of England to be dictated from Madrid, was maddening to English statesmen and the English populace. Charles and Buckingham themselves felt the humiliation of their position. At last their patience was exhausted and they came home, Charles in doubt and vexation, Buckingham in great anger. Within a short time the whole project was given up, and the good relations between England and Spain came to an end. Negotiations were soon afterward entered into with France, and Charles was married in 1624 to Henrietta Maria, sister of the French king. She also was a Roman Catholic and the marriage was not popular; but there was not the hostility to France that there was to Spain, and by comparison it gave at that time some satisfaction to the English people. It proved at a later time to be of malign influence upon the happiness of the royal family and of England. Henrietta Maria was not likely either from her personal character or her bringing up to endear herself to the English people or to develop good qualities, and the family connection with France was likely to be a dangerous one for England. For the present, however, this marriage seemed to the king to seal peace with France, and to the populace to be far the less of two evils.

354. **The King's Favorites; Somerset.**—James was of an affectionate, demonstrative nature, and was intensely attached to those who made up the intimate circle of his family and friends. He could never refuse anything for which they asked, and placed no

restrictions on himself in giving most lavishly of time and affection as well as money and other favors to those for whom he had a personal affection. As the government in James's eyes was as much his personal affair as any part of his private life, he naturally gave government positions and influence to his favorites. Therefore, alongside of those ministers and holders of office who had risen to their positions by virtue of their ability, services, or other influence, there were others who were in power simply because the doting king had become fond of them. Buckingham was the second of two young men who, each in his time, were so favored by the king as to have more influence over the government than all the other ministers together. The first was Robert Carr, a handsome young Scotchman who had attracted James's attention early in his reign. James became attached to him, knighted him, gave him lands, offices, and titles, and finally created him earl of Somerset. He was all-powerful with the king. James talked over everything with him, telling him his most secret plans and thoughts. Every one who wished to obtain anything from the king had first to obtain the favor of Somerset, for no request which he transmitted to the king was ever refused; nothing which he opposed was granted. The greatest noblemen, the most powerful ministers, the richest commercial companies, all had to make presents and pay homage to the king's favorite. This went on for some years, till Somerset became involved, along with his wife, in the charge of killing a man by poison. He was declared guilty in 1616 and, although the king would not allow the death penalty to be inflicted upon him, he was kept in prison for many years and disappeared from court forever.

355. **Buckingham.** — In the meantime a new favorite, George Villiers, had taken his place. He in the same way attracted the king's attention by his good looks and manners, his high spirits and his wit. He was knighted in 1616, and afterward ennobled, being raised finally to the highest rank of the peerage as duke of Buckingham. He exercised all the influence over the king that

Somerset had possessed, and more. He was granted lands and offices which brought him in a princely income, besides receiving a constant flow of presents or bribes from those who had suits to make to the king. He retained his influence through the remainder of James's life and had a similar influence over his successor Charles. The final influence in breaking off the Spanish match and deciding on the marriage with the French princess had been exercised by Buckingham. He was a man not without ability and high spirit, but he was poorly educated, without training in statesmanship, with all the self-confidence of ignorance, and, above all, spoiled by the possession of practically unlimited power.

In fact, at that time royal favorites seem to have arisen naturally in other countries as well as in England. Authority was almost entirely concentrated in royal hands, and the king, especially if he was a weak man, felt isolated. He needed some one in whom he could confide as an intimate friend, and who would relieve him of some of the personal burdens of his position by acting as distributor of the royal favors and as confidant in all the royal plans.

356. **Bacon.** — There were, however, men about the court of greater mold than the king's favorites. Many of the great writers, scholars, and statesmen of the reign of Elizabeth were still living, and this period produced great men of its own. Of the former none was greater than Sir Francis Bacon, or Lord Bacon, as he is usually called. He was more than forty years old when James became king and had already been an official and adviser of the government under Queen Elizabeth, although in no very high position. He was learned as a lawyer and as a student of natural science and of philosophy. He was witty, polished, and eloquent. He was repeatedly a member of parliament and took an active part in all its work. His best powers, however, were shown in political thought and in statesmanlike judgment. He had the clearest ideas of any man of his time as to what was wise policy in most of the matters of government. As James, however, did not feel personally attracted to him, he remained for a long

time in an inferior legal position, and his abilities were largely wasted. Every once in a while, when some difficult question came up, Bacon wrote a report or published a pamphlet or treatise upon it, usually dedicated to the king. His wisdom and skill were unquestionable, and he approved of the possession of great powers by the king, because he thought that the king could thus bring about needed reforms and carry on a wise administration of government. If James had been willing to trust Bacon and take him instead of his ignorant favorites for his principal adviser, he might have carried on an equally autocratic and a much more successful and useful government.

357. The Fall of Bacon. — Slowly, by hard work, by flattering the king, and by paying court to Somerset and Buckingham, Bacon was after middle life gradually promoted through successive offices till he became a member of the king's privy council, was made Viscount St. Albans, and finally became lord chancellor. He had not held this position many years, however, before heavy trouble came upon him. While he was sitting on the woolsack[1] in the House of Lords, and presiding over that body in his capacity of lord chancellor, charges of receiving bribes were brought against him in the House of Commons. On investigation it was found that various persons who had had suits before him as lord chancellor had made presents of money to him, which he had accepted. He does not seem to have looked upon them at the time as bribes, nor was it proved that they influenced the decisions which he gave.

It was quite customary at that time in all countries to give presents of money to all sorts of persons, from mere servants up to the king himself, with a view to obtaining their favorable influence whenever there was opportunity for it. Men who wanted positions under the government made presents to the king's

[1] A throne stands in the House of Lords which the king or queen occupies when present and presiding. At other times the lord chancellor presides and sits on a cushion or sack of wool, emblematic of the importance of wool as an English product.

favorite; a newly appointed minister was expected to make a present of thousands of pounds to the king; foreign ambassadors made presents or gave regular yearly sums to many persons connected with the court. The line between bribery and the giving of presents was a very indistinct one. Nevertheless Bacon had clearly overstepped it and had to suffer accordingly. Two other circumstances transformed his faults into a crime. There was a general and proper feeling that bribery was worse in the holder of the highest judicial position in the country than it would have been in any one else, and, secondly, opinion was changing, so that the offense of bribery was coming under more general condemnation than it had been in the past. Lord Bacon himself when all his offenses were stated said, after explaining some of the charges, "I do again confess that in the points charged against me, although they should be taken as myself have declared them, there is a great deal of corruption and neglect, for which I am heartily and penitently sorry." The trial was by the House of Lords, in the form of an impeachment. They declared him guilty, asked the king to deprive him of his high office, condemned him to a fine of forty thousand pounds, to indefinite imprisonment in the Tower, and to incapacity to hold any office or employment in the government. He himself acknowledged the sentence "just and, for reformation's sake, fit." He was soon released from imprisonment and his fine remitted, but he had to live the rest of his life in retirement, consoling himself by writing.

358. **Raleigh.** — Bacon was probably the greatest and wisest man of his time. But another man of genius of Elizabeth's time had also a period of prosperity and of disgrace within James's reign. This was Sir Walter Raleigh. During Elizabeth's reign he had frequently been employed by the government in various services, as a soldier, as an ambassador, and as a courtier, and he hoped to have still more influence under James. He had a clear mind, a bold heart, an active nature, and much experience, and he could have been of great service to James and to his country.

But he was not favored by the new king or by the most trusted ministers of the king. His old hostility to Spain and the Catholics was incompatible with the policy that James had determined upon. Not only was he not advanced but he was deprived of some of the offices and estates which he had held in the queen's time. He became restless, dissatisfied, and abusive of the ministers, and probably talked rashly and laid himself open to suspicion. He was therefore arrested and tried on the charge of taking part in a conspiracy to dethrone James and place Arabella Stuart, James's cousin, on the throne. After a long trial Raleigh was in 1603 declared guilty of treason and sentenced to death. It has since been generally believed that his conviction was a mistake and that he was not really guilty.

Sir Walter Raleigh

State trials at that time were seldom fair trials. The modern principle that a man is to be considered innocent until he is proved to be guilty had not yet been adopted. On the contrary, if a man was formally accused of a crime he was treated as if he were guilty until he could prove himself innocent. He was not allowed to have counsel, he did not know what he was accused of until he was actually before the jury, and the witnesses against him did not have to testify in his presence. If the charge was one of treason, as in Raleigh's case, the whole feeling of the court was against him. One of the greatest advances made since the seventeenth century has been the increased protection given to a prisoner accused of crime, and the provision of careful means by

which, if innocent, he may have every opportunity of proving himself so. Raleigh was unpopular and was known to be dissatisfied with his position. His guilt was therefore easily accepted. Although he was sentenced to be executed, he was reprieved by the king, and though neither pardoned nor relieved of his sentence, was allowed to live on in the Tower for many years, consoling himself, like Bacon, by writing a history and other works, and by making experiments in chemistry.

359. **Raleigh's Last Expedition and Death.** — After remaining in imprisonment for more than twelve years, Raleigh succeeded in getting the king interested in his plan of sending another exploring expedition in search of El Dorado, and a gold mine on the Orinoco River. He was not pardoned, but he was released, allowed to make preparations for his voyage, and given a commission allowing him to go out in charge of an expedition and to occupy any lands not already possessed by Spain or any other European nation. James hoped to procure gold in abundance from some unknown mine which Raleigh was to discover. Raleigh himself was tempted to take all sorts of risks and make all sorts of promises in order to obtain freedom from the Tower and to exchange the monotony of a prisoner's life for the joy of exploration and the wild freedom of adventure on the sea.

The expedition was more than a failure. The mine was not found, Raleigh's eldest son was killed, and a battle was fought with the Spaniards who were settled on the banks of the Orinoco River. As Raleigh had pledged himself not to go into territory occupied by the Spaniards, the Spanish ambassador demanded his punishment for piracy. James was not willing to be drawn into war with Spain, so after much hesitation it was decided that satisfaction should be given to the Spaniards by executing Raleigh under the old condemnation for treason which still hung over him. This was done in 1618, and one of the truest, boldest, and most gifted of Englishmen was beheaded, nominally for a crime of which he was in all probability not guilty, and really for an offense

which most Englishmen felt was no offense at all. On the scaffold he felt the edge of the executioner's axe and murmured, "This is sharp medicine, but it is a sound cure for all disease." When one of the bystanders begged him, as he kneeled at the block, to lay his head, for religious reasons, with his face toward the east, he replied, "What matter how the head lie, so the heart be right?" He, like Bacon, knew that his heart was right, notwithstanding that in the difficulties of life and perplexities of the times they had both come under the condemnation of the law.

360. **Settlements in America.** — The reign of Elizabeth had been a wonderful period of exploration and adventurous expeditions by sea to various parts of the world. The reign of James was a period of settlement, when Englishmen first began to establish themselves and found colonies on the coast of America, in the West India Islands, and in the East Indies. Several times there had been efforts to make settlements in America during Queen Elizabeth's time, but they were premature.[1] While Raleigh was lying in prison under sentence of death, the plans which had been formed in his busy brain gained acceptance with a number of prominent and influential Englishmen.

In 1606 a group of these men obtained from the king a charter authorizing them to make two settlements on the coast of North America, one in the southern, one in the northern part, and providing a form of government for the prospective colonies. Just at the close of the year 1606 three small vessels with one hundred and five adventurers set sail from London and made their way to the southern coasts of those regions of North America which were claimed by England. Early in 1607 they landed and founded a colony which was named Jamestown after the king, and which became the first permanent English settlement in America.

The northern settlement provided for in the charter of 1606 was established on the coast of Maine, but the colonists suffered so severely that after a few months it was abandoned. The

[1] See p. 354.

greatest difficulty in establishing the early colonies was to find suitable colonists. Criminals, vagabonds, and broken-down spendthrifts gathered up from the streets of English cities were not fit to contend with the hardships of life in a new country. Not till more substantial classes were willing to leave the country could colonization take place. It was only gradually that men and women went over to Virginia who were able to establish a really successful colony.

361. The Pilgrim Fathers. — There was in England, however, another class of men who were so restless and dissatisfied with their position that they were ready to emigrate. These were the extreme Puritans. As the reign of James progressed, the laws requiring conformity to the established church were enforced so vigorously that both Roman Catholics and Puritans found life nearly unbearable. They were forced to attend services which seemed to the Roman Catholic tainted with heresy and to the Puritan to partake of idolatry.

The gown which the clergyman wore, the ceremonies he performed, and many of the doctrines he taught were especially hateful to the conscientious Puritan. If Puritan laymen refused to attend church, or organized congregations, or held services of their own, they were fined and put in prison. Clergymen of Puritan views found their way still harder. They were not allowed to teach the things which they thought were true, and were not allowed to conduct worship as they and their parishioners wished. A group of men of these views, most of them living in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, became "Separatists,"—that is, they separated themselves from the established church altogether, and since they were not allowed to form a separate organization in England, left that country and went to live in Holland, where religious freedom was allowed and where many Englishmen were already living for purposes of trade. They lived for a while in Amsterdam and then settled in Leyden, where they had a congregation of their own under a minister named Robinson. After remaining in Holland

for more than twelve years, many of them became dissatisfied and wished to establish themselves where their course of life should be under their own control. They applied to James for permission to settle in America. He was loath to give any privileges to Separatists, but finally assented, and they borrowed the necessary money from a company in London. In 1620 the "Speedwell" brought the "Pilgrim Fathers," as they have always since been known, from Holland to England, and the "Mayflower" took them from Plymouth in the old England to the new Plymouth in New England, which was to be their future home.

362. The Puritan Emigration. — When, under James's successor, religious persecution in England became still harsher, and when the growth of the Pilgrim colony at Plymouth had proved the success of the experiment, many of the Puritans in England itself, even those who had not separated themselves from the church, began to look towards America as a place of greater religious freedom and of greater prosperity. Land was therefore bought from the successors of the old London Company, and in 1628 Salem, to the north of Plymouth, was founded. The next year more colonists left England, and within succeeding years a great number emigrated and established a group of settlements along the coast of Massachusetts. In the meantime the Bermudas, Barbadoes, and some other islands of the West Indies were colonized, and the fringe of settlements was gradually made more complete along the whole eastern coast of North America. By the close of the reign of James, or soon afterwards, the foundations were well laid for a greater England beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

363. Ireland and the East Indies. — A body of English and Scotch colonists was being established between the years 1610 and 1630 in a region nearer home than America. This was in Ulster, the northernmost of the four provinces of Ireland. After a long series of rebellions of the native Irish in the reign of Elizabeth and the early years of James, the courts declared a large part of the land of Ulster to be forfeited to the crown.

In 1611 the government granted this land out in separate tracts to proprietors who would agree to bring over settlers from England and Scotland. Within the next few years some 20,000 of these colonists came over. They were mostly from the Lowlands of Scotland and deeply attached to Presbyterianism. Most of them were farmers, but several towns were founded and later various industries were established. This colonization of the north of Ireland is usually known as "the Plantation of Ulster." Although many of the former inhabitants remained in the district as laborers and tenants, Ulster came in this way to be quite different from the rest of Ireland in race, religion, occupations, and customs.

In other parts of the world also Englishmen were getting a foothold. The formation of the East India Company three years before the close of Elizabeth's reign has already been mentioned. The plan of the merchants who made up that company was to send vessels around the Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of trading with the ports on the coast of India and with the Molucca Islands, — bringing from them pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and other spices, calico, precious stones, dye woods, and other such products; and selling to the Orientals English cloth and other articles when they could. The company established agencies at various places in the East, but had much difficulty with the natives, with the Portuguese, and above all with the Dutch, who had just preceded them there. Nevertheless, its trade and capital grew and it became the strongest and richest of English commercial companies.

364. **Discord between the King and the Nation.** — While England was spreading her interests thus widely through the world, at home there was deep dissatisfaction. James was so unfortunate as to want just those things which the greater part of his subjects did not want and to disapprove of the things they did want. He wished a close union with Scotland, a marriage treaty with Spain, toleration for Roman Catholics, persecution of Puritans, and peace at any price with all nations. Popular feeling,

on the other hand, was opposed to union with Scotland, to the Spanish marriage, to the toleration of Roman Catholics, to persecution of the Puritans, and favored taking part in the war in Germany on the Protestant side. Besides this, James was constantly in need of money, while the people were reluctant to allow themselves to be further taxed. Above all, James believed he had a right to rule the country himself without criticism or interference on the part of others, and spoke and acted on that belief. There were many who agreed with him, but there was a far larger number who felt that the king was bound to give more consideration to the wishes of his subjects, who were opposed to his ministers, and disapproved of much of the policy that he was carrying out.

365. **Discord between the King and Parliament.** — This opposition naturally showed itself most conspicuously in parliament. There were eight sessions of that body during the twenty-two years of James's reign. A large part of the time of these meetings was occupied with disputes with the king, and more than one session was brought to a sudden close by a dissolution due to the king's losing patience and temper. Discord dated from the very first meeting of James's first parliament in 1604. The House of Commons claimed that the question of deciding a dispute between two men both claiming to have been elected to the same seat should be decided by their house as of old, while the king had ordered all such questions to be referred to the lord chancellor, one of his ministers. In this case, after much debate, the king gave way. James tried to force through the same parliament the union with Scotland, which parliament resisted, while the House of Commons strove to relieve the Puritans from some of the religious restrictions which were most burdensome, — a proposal which was opposed by the king.

366. **The Financial Dispute.** — The sharpest conflict, however, in this and later sessions was on the money question. This contest could not be avoided. Several of the permanent sources of

income of the crown were becoming steadily less profitable. The amount they brought in was, it is true, the same in pounds, shillings, and pence that it had always been. But all prices were rising so much that the same amount of money would pay less of the expenses of the government than it had in former times. A new and more liberal system of taxation was an absolute necessity. Even Queen Elizabeth with her habits of close economy in matters of government had scarcely been able to keep within the regular revenue. James needed more. Even if he had been economical and penurious some new taxes would have been needed, but he was exactly the opposite. He had a large family, which required a more expensive court, and instead of being parsimonious he was extremely lavish. He spent largely on court festivities, jewels, and personal adornments. He entered lightly upon lines of policy that cost a great deal of money. In fact he was a thoroughgoing spendthrift. As yet no distinction was made between expenditure for purposes of the government and that for the personal objects of the king. The result of the diminishing revenues and increasing expenses was that the king was soon in debt, his expenditure was far larger than his income, and the finances of the government remained in bad condition and the government in constant difficulties about money during the whole of the reign.

James was therefore in a position in which Henry VII had never been and the other Tudor sovereigns but rarely. He had to make frequent appeals to parliament for an increase in taxes and grants. This gave parliament an opportunity to ask for a reform of many things connected with the government, to demand changes in the law which the king did not wish to have made, to criticise his wastefulness, and to object to his lavish grants to worthless courtiers. At several periods a long time was allowed to pass without any session of parliament being called. There was no session held during the whole seven years between 1614 and 1621. But the money needs of the king always made it necessary sooner or later to call parliament again. When it met, disputes immediately

arose on the questions of policy in which the desires of the majority of the people and those of the king differed, and on special grievances about which the members of parliament complained.

The different ideas held by the king and parliament as to their respective powers came out clearly in these disputes. James summoned the members of parliament before him and scolded them or praised them as if they were children and he their father. On their side they drew up protests and claims as to their rights, or refused to grant money unless the king gave way to their requests. This conflict of opinion came to a head in the meeting of the year 1621. The House of Commons drew up a long petition to the king, in which they pointed out much that they thought was wrong in the government and dangerous to England at home and abroad, and asked him to give aid to the Protestants in the war on the continent, to make war on the king of Spain, to marry the prince to a Protestant princess, and to enforce the laws against Roman Catholics. Although this petition was expressed in respectful and even humble terms, James was very angry and wrote a sharp letter to the commons, telling them that they had been discussing matters far beyond their reach or capacity, and infringing on his royal prerogative. He forbade them to mention the matter of the prince's marriage, to say anything against the honor of the king of Spain, or in any other manner to meddle with affairs of government or "deep matters of state." As to their privileges of freedom of speech in parliament, he wanted them to understand that he considered himself "very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, as well during their sitting as after." He threatened to use this power "upon any occasion of any man's insolent behavior there."

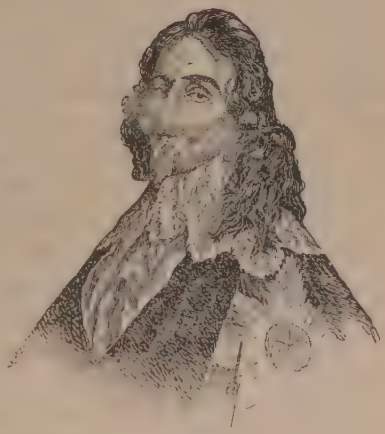
367. The Great Protestation. — The House of Commons was not willing to acknowledge this doctrine, so after a further exchange of letters with the king they drew up and entered on their minute book a formal protest declaring their right of free discussion. Its

most important paragraph was as follows: "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm and of the church of England and the making and maintenance of laws and redress of grievances which daily happen within this realm are proper subjects and matters of counsel and debate in parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the House hath and of right ought to have freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same." James heard of this action and a few days afterwards, during an adjournment of parliament, sent for the journal in which this "Great Protestation" was entered, and in the presence of his council and several of the judges with his own hands tore out the page containing it. Shortly afterwards he dissolved parliament.

368. **Close of the Reign of James.** — The one remaining parliament of James was on better terms with him. By this time his plan for the Spanish marriage and the whole fabric of his foreign policy which was built upon it had fallen, and he did not feel the same self-confidence as of old. His son and the duke of Buckingham were taking the powers of the crown out of his hands, and parliament obtained his consent to measures that he would have resisted in earlier days. Among other things the lord treasurer Middlesex was impeached and driven out of office, another instance of the revival of the old parliamentary power of impeachment. Parliament, on the other hand, granted liberal taxes for the war with Spain which was now imminent. James died in 1625 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

369. **Charles I.** — Since Charles and Buckingham had exerted so great an influence over James during the last two years of his life, there was no great break when Charles took the throne on his father's death. There was little probability that his government would be a wiser one than that of James, or his reign more

successful. He was finer looking than his father and more manly in manner and character, with more personal dignity, self-respect, and conscientiousness. The many portraits that have come down to us, painted for the most part by the court painter of the time, Vandyke, show a handsome face and a graceful person. He was fond of ceremony and formality. On the other hand, he was reserved and silent. He was not nearly so well educated as his father, and he was narrow-minded and slow of apprehension. He could never see two sides of a question, and he had no respect for those who differed from him or for their arguments. He had been brought up to believe in all the high ideas of the authority and independence of the king which his father had held and which were fashionable at his father's court, and he held these views with a tenacity and a conscientious seriousness which made him even less reasonable than his father. Buckingham was more influential than ever. He not only took part in all the discussions of the privy council but was constantly with Charles privately and was consulted by him in everything.



Charles I

370. War with Spain. — When Charles and Buckingham on their visit to Spain had found themselves deluded and outwitted, they had gone to the opposite extreme and determined to make war upon that country. When the new reign opened, therefore, England was being plunged as recklessly into war as she had been inconsiderately pledged to peace at the beginning of James's reign. In order to get help for this war the new king and his

favorite had made a whole series of plans, promises, and treaties. They expected to carry them out themselves, and thought that parliament would furnish the armies, ships, and money without asking any questions. But one of their plans after another failed. An army which was sent to the Netherlands accomplished nothing and was almost destroyed by disease; a fleet which was lent to the king of France was used by him not to fight against Spain but to put down the Huguenots, much to the disgust of the English Protestants. A third fleet and army was organized in 1625 and sent as in the old days of Drake to capture Cadiz and there wait for and capture the Spanish fleet which was due from America, laden with gold and silver from the mines. But nobody's heart was in the expedition. The volunteer navies of Drake's time were a thing of the past. The ships were now mostly merchant vessels, forced to take part in the expedition, and their captains wanted only to keep out of danger and get safely home again. The soldiers who were taken along were for the most part men pressed into the service. Everything was mismanaged; they failed to capture Cadiz, and the treasure ships slipped safely into port while they were looking for them somewhere else.

371. **War with France.** — Soon England drifted into war with France also. Another fleet and army under Buckingham himself were sent in 1627 to the Isle of Rhé in the west of France to help the Huguenots of Rochelle and to strike a blow at the French government. This likewise was a complete failure. The fact is that these expeditions were looked upon as private ventures of the king and his favorite only. They were not authorized nor approved by parliament, there was no national interest taken in them, and no proper equipment, support, or leadership provided for them. The English have never fought successfully unless their hearts have been in the contest, and at this time their interest in the matters about which they were fighting was very slight indeed. Thus in foreign affairs Charles and his minister had nothing but a record of blunders and failures to show to parliament when it met.

372. Charles and Parliament. — This naturally did not make it easier for Charles to get along with his parliaments. He asked his first parliament in 1625 to make a large appropriation of money, but did not explain how it was to be used or why there had been such failure already. Parliament declined to grant the money if Buckingham was to have the direction of the spending of it. They had no confidence in his ability or in his character, and believed that the money might be used for something of which they did not approve, or if devoted to war purposes would almost certainly be wasted and bring but another harvest of failures. Back of this lack of confidence was their opposition to the very position and powers of Buckingham and their wish to use the opportunity to put pressure on the king to remove him from his offices and influence. Charles, on the other hand, resented this as an effort on the part of parliament to prevent him from choosing his own ministers and to get practical control of the government. He therefore dissolved parliament, even though it had voted him only a small sum of money and had done almost nothing in the way of legislation.

Duke of Buckingham

The next year a new parliament was summoned which took still stronger ground against Buckingham. The House of Commons now impeached him before the House of Lords, and charged him with some crimes and many lesser offenses, few of which could ever have been proved. Charles did not wait to let the proof be shown, but in great anger dissolved parliament before it had time to carry the trial farther or in fact to do anything else.

New subjects of discontent now sprang up. In the active preparations for war made by the king and his ministers there

had been much disregard of the people. Soldiers were billeted[1] on householders without their consent. When disputes broke out on this account private citizens were punished or had their cases settled by the decisions of the military commanders. Although parliament had refused to authorize taxes to carry on the war, the king ordered a forced loan. That is to say, the sheriffs and other officials of the king throughout the country were required to summon before them all the persons of any property in their districts and put all the pressure they could, by persuasion, threat of the king's displeasure, and otherwise, upon them to induce them to lend money to the king. It was well understood that the loan was not likely to be repaid, and it was generally felt to be simply an unauthorized tax. When some men refused to pay the forced loan, they were imprisoned for a time on the mere order of the king and the privy council without any special charge being made against them and without being brought to trial.

373. **The Petition of Right.** — When Charles's third parliament met, in 1628, these recent grievances were taken up even before anything was said about Buckingham or older subjects of dispute. Several leaders now became prominent in the debates in parliament. Among these the most conspicuous were Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir John Eliot, and John Pym. Wentworth was a country gentleman from Yorkshire. He was a born reformer, clear-headed, vigorous, and determined. He was disgusted with the incompetence of Buckingham and the inefficiency of the government. He had no great faith in parliament, but he thought it could bring enough pressure to bear on the king to induce him to choose wiser ministers and to follow a more reasonable policy. Eliot was a gentle, high-minded patriot, who believed thoroughly in the wisdom and devotion of parliament, and glorified the old laws and personal rights of Englishmen. He was willing to

[1] Billeting is placing soldiers to board in private families, the rate of payment not being one voluntarily agreed upon but set by the government or military authorities.

perform any labor and make any sacrifice for the sake of what he considered the preservation of the rights and liberties of the nation. Both Wentworth and Eliot were vigorous and influential speakers and exercised much influence over the House of Commons. Pym was still more persuasive and skillful in expressing the feelings of the members and carrying measures through parliament. He was by nature a party leader. These men and other patriots combined to proclaim the illegality of the actions spoken of above and to try to get a measure passed declaring them so. When the king resisted, Wentworth withdrew from the struggle. The other leaders, however, drew up what was called the "Petition of Right." This was a law declaring that enforced billeting of soldiers, trial by martial law, loans or taxes not imposed by parliament, and imprisonment without a specific charge were all illegal and should not be practiced in the future. This was passed through the two houses and Charles was asked to sign it. He resisted for a long time, and tried to evade its acceptance or rejection by giving an answer in general terms. But parliament was insistent and the king's need of money great. He therefore gave way, agreed to the Petition, and it became part of the law of the land. This was in 1628.

The Petition of Right has often been compared with the Great Charter signed four hundred years before, and although it is much shorter there are in fact several points of similarity. They both have to do with practical questions which had recently been in dispute rather than with general principles. They have both since been referred to as statements of fundamental principles of the English constitution. The really important point, however, is that they were both wrung by representatives of the people from an unwilling king. They showed that the king had not unrestricted power in England but was bound to acknowledge certain rights of his subjects. In 1628 more than one hundred and fifty years had passed since parliament had forced any measure upon an unwilling ruler. During this long period the kings had been

nearly absolute rulers and parliament had been willing to have it so. The signing of the Petition of Right by Charles I, therefore, represents the beginning of a new period of assertion of the rights of the people. With these questions out of the way the House of Commons again began an attack upon Buckingham, but the king immediately prorogued[1] parliament for six months. During this prorogation Buckingham was murdered by a man who had a private grudge against him, and had besides been stirred to action by the hard things said in parliament against the unpopular minister.

374. Religious Disputes. — Neither the Petition of Right nor the death of Buckingham settled all the questions in dispute between Charles and his parliament. The religious question was still an unsolved problem, as it was long to remain. King and parliament, as usual, were on different sides. As the bitterness of the first contests of the Reformation passed away, a reaction occurred in the minds of many men. They were less hostile towards the Roman Catholics, they saw more to be admired and imitated in the old forms and ceremonies of the middle ages, and their theological opinions were different from those of the more extreme Protestants. Such persons, however, were in a minority. They had the sympathy and support of the king, and they were strong among the clergy, but the majority of the members of parliament and the great body of the people had no such tendencies. Puritanism, on the contrary, was becoming stronger every day, and the House of Commons represented the Puritanism of the time. Parliament therefore tried to punish those clergymen who introduced "popish" ceremonies or wrote books of non-Calvinistic theology. The king, on the other hand, protected them and

[1] Prorogation of parliament means the postponement of its sittings for a certain time at the command of the king. Adjournment means a similar postponement by parliament's own action. Dissolution is a closing of its sessions altogether, so that new members will have to be elected when it is to meet again. The king alone can dissolve parliament, and he alone can order the election of a new one.

forbade parliament to mention the matter. The fate of the Stuart kings to be in opposition to the majority of their subjects thus led Charles into a struggle with parliament on the religious question.

375. **Tonnage and Poundage.** — During the same weeks another dispute was in progress in a field seemingly far away from religion but bringing up the same conflict of powers between king and parliament. Tonnage and poundage was an old and lucrative import and export duty of so much on each tun or cask of wine imported, and so much on each bale of wool and a few other articles exported. It had for more than two centuries been granted to each new king for his lifetime by parliament at the first session after his accession. The first parliament of Charles had in a spirit of defiance granted it to him for a year only, intending to make it permanent when their grievances had been attended to. The sudden dissolution of this parliament had prevented its grant in a permanent form and it was left as a temporary tax. Charles naturally felt that parliament was trying to deprive him of old established royal rights, and after the year ran out ordered his revenue officers to continue the levy and collection of tonnage and poundage, even without the assent of parliament. In 1629 parliament took the matter up again and a bill was brought in to grant tonnage and poundage for one year more. The king sent word that he would not approve the grant in this form and continued to collect it on his own authority. When parliament appealed to the Petition of Right the king replied that it was only taxes that were included in the Petition, and that he never understood it to cover tonnage and poundage, which was a customs duty, not a tax. The point was a more important one than it might seem, because England was fast becoming a great commercial country, and duties upon exports and imports formed a large part of the income of the government. Tonnage and poundage itself produced one fourth of the revenue of the crown. If the king could collect these commercial duties without any law allowing it by parliament, he would be to that extent freed from his dependence on parliament.

These quarrels came to a climax when parliament reassembled in the autumn of 1629. Some of the clergymen who had revived the old ceremonial forms were summoned before it, and revenue officers who had seized the goods of persons refusing to pay tonnage and poundage were likewise ordered to appear before parliament. The king, however, refused to allow his custom officers to appear at the bar of parliament. Things had reached a deadlock. The sittings were prorogued for a few weeks and when they met an order was announced from the king for another prorogation. One of the wildest scenes that ever occurred in parliament ensued. As the speaker of the House of Commons arose to announce the king's message two members rushed forward, pushed him down into his chair, and held him there while Eliot read a series of resolutions declaring that whoever brought in new and unauthorized opinions in religion and whoever paid or advised the payment of tonnage and poundage without grant of parliament was an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties. Some members rushed to free the speaker, others locked the doors and held the former back. For a moment it seemed that the members would draw their swords and fight. But amidst the uproar the resolutions were put and carried triumphantly. Then the speaker was freed, the doors were unlocked, and the members poured out. The king was very angry at this defiance of his authority. A proclamation was immediately issued announcing that parliament was dissolved.

376. **Personal Government of Charles.** — This occurred in 1629. It was the last parliament called in England for eleven years. If Charles could have had his way, parliament would not have been called again. The problem had arisen as to whether the king or parliament was, in the last resort, the supreme ruler of the country, and the king was determined to solve it in his own way. The years that followed were taken up with this effort to rule without parliament, and are commonly called the period of the personal government of Charles I.

In making up his mind to rule without parliament, Charles was doing just what kings in most other countries were doing at about the same time. In France, in Spain, in Germany, and in other countries the bodies of representatives of the people which corresponded to the English parliament were either being abolished altogether or reduced to a very inferior position. It was the natural culmination of a strong centralized monarchy as a form of government. The Tudor sovereigns only called parliament when they chose, but they never tried to abolish the custom of consulting parliament. Under James I the matter had hung in the balance. Now it seemed that under Charles the scale of absolute government had shown itself the heavier.

For some years this personal government of Charles bade fair to be a success. He had much better ministers than during the early part of his reign. His privy council was made up now mostly of men who had risen through their abilities, who did their work well, and who were quite willing to accept the claim of the king to absolute power. Lord Weston was lord treasurer and carried on the financial business skillfully. The king had already received one great recruit from his parliamentary opponents. Wentworth, who had previously opposed him in parliament, took office under the king, became a member of the privy council, and was made first a baron, then a viscount, and finally earl of Strafford. Wentworth, or Strafford, as he should now be called, ought not to be considered a turncoat. He had never objected to the possession of high powers by the king, and had opposed him only for the purpose of inducing him to choose wiser ministers. He had never believed that parliament ought to have a higher position in the government than the king. He was not a Puritan and did not sympathize with the religious intolerance of parliament. When he entered the service of Charles, therefore, he probably did so conscientiously and without any feeling of dishonor, though even in his own time he was hated by his older associates as a deserter.

Charles's principal adviser in all matters concerning the church was William Laud, bishop of London, who was later promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury. Without being a man of genius, like Strafford, Laud was conscientious, laborious, and determined. There were no triflers in Charles's council, and the king himself took an active interest in the work of government.

Archbishop Laud

377. A Policy of Peace and Order. — The wars with Spain and France had never had any very real reason for existence, and peace was now made with both countries. Good order at home was somewhat more difficult to obtain. The three members of the House of Commons who had made themselves most conspicuous in the disorder at the close of the last session were arrested and tried on a charge of riot. They refused to plead, claiming that the judges could not take notice of things which had been done in parliament. They were nevertheless declared guilty, fined, and imprisoned. Towards Sir John Eliot, the most prominent of them, the king was more bitter than towards any one else during his whole career. Eliot was an old antagonist of the king in the earlier parliaments and had been the principal mover against Buckingham. He was now suffering from consumption and begged the king to be allowed to go to his country house to recover his health. Charles refused and Eliot died in the Tower of London. Even then the king refused to allow his children to take his body to be buried with those of his ancestors in his old home. He was buried with other state criminals in Tower Yard. The persecution of Eliot was a striking instance of Charles's poor judgment of character. He believed Eliot to be a wicked man, actuated only

by faction and interested motives. Yet there have been few purer patriots, few more unselfish and beautiful characters, than Sir John Eliot. He believed in the supremacy of parliament in a contest with the king, but only because he believed that parliament was the true representative of the liberties and virtue of England.

The two great difficulties of the time continued to be religion and the finances. Puritanism and the "high church" reaction were both growing stronger. The former was strong in numbers, zeal, and union with the cause of parliament and popular liberties. The latter was strong in the support of the king, the authority of the bishops, the influence of the universities, and the approval of many persons of moderate tendencies. Both parties included men of great learning and leaders who were thoroughly in earnest. But the party which possessed power was not likely to refrain from using it against its opponents, or to appreciate their excellences of character.

378. Punishment by Star Chamber and High Commission. — Many of the more violent Puritans were therefore prosecuted and punished for their writings or actions. This was done by Laud or some other person in authority bringing them to trial either before the Star Chamber or the Court of High Commission.

It will be remembered that the Star Chamber was a special court for the trial of irregular cases and the punishment of those who could not be reached by the ordinary courts. It had become stronger since the time of Henry VII. At this time it consisted of all the members of the king's privy council with the addition of two judges. It was therefore merely an instrument in the hands of the king and his ministry to carry out their will under the form of judicial action. The Court of High Commission was a body of bishops and other clergymen who were empowered to carry out the ecclesiastical laws of the country. This body was almost equally under the power of the king's council, or at least of Archbishop Laud, who was the most influential member of both bodies. To be brought to trial before either of these courts was therefore

practically the same as to be condemned by them, for the same persons both prosecuted and judged.

In 1630 a Scotch pamphlet writer named Leighton was flogged and had his ears cut off by order of the Star Chamber for writing bitterly against the bishops. A short time later another man was heavily fined for breaking a church window enriched with pictures of saints, which seemed to him superstitious. One of the heaviest punishments ever inflicted was upon a learned lawyer named William Prynne. He was an extreme Puritan and wrote various books against drinking healths, against the fashion of men wearing their hair long, and other customs of the day, which seemed to him, as to many other Puritans, wicked. Later he attacked the prevailing theatrical representations in a long, learned, and dull book called *Histriomastix*, that is to say, "The Scourge of Stage Players." It was a series of charges of sinfulness against the drama and against the habit of attending the theater, in which his arguments were fortified by numberless examples drawn from antiquity and all history. His statement that all the Roman emperors who had encouraged the drama came to a bad end was considered to be directed against Charles, who was a great patron of the theater; and his charge in the index that all women who took part in plays were women of bad character was supposed by some readers to be a reflection on the queen, who had recently acted in a court play. He was prosecuted for these libels before the Star Chamber, and as a mark of their loyalty the ministers who made up the court condemned him to stand in the pillory, to have his ears cut off, to be fined five thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned till the king should release him.

This was in 1633. Four years later Prynne with two others was prosecuted again before the Star Chamber on the charge of libeling the archbishop. They were all sentenced to the pillory with loss of the ears of those who had not already been mutilated, to pay fines of five thousand pounds each, and to be imprisoned for life. These sentences seemed the worse in that they were

inflicted on men of the legal profession, of private means and of high character. Crowds came around to express their pity for them at the pillory, flowers were strewn in their path as they walked thither, and the sympathy of thousands followed them to the various prisons to which they were taken. There were not many such prosecutions, but they made a great impression on the country. As a matter of fact Laud was obstinately determined to force everybody to conform to his and the king's ideas in religious practice, and this was gradually arousing as determined an opposition.

379. **The Metropolitical Visitation.** — Laud was a good man; learned, conscientious, and hard-working. There were, however, three reasons for his failure to rule the church and advise the king wisely. He did not understand or sympathize with the enthusiastic personal religious feelings of the Puritans, who included a large number of the best men in England; he had the exaggerated belief prevalent among the officials of his time of the duty of submission to authority in all things; and he was harsh, overbearing, and unwilling to try to persuade men if he thought he had the law on his side. In his effort to force all clergymen and laymen to use the same forms of religious service he carried out between 1634 and 1637 a "metropolitical visitation"[1] in each of the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. He either went himself or sent an official to each parish to question the clergyman there as to his practices. Unless the rector or vicar was in the habit of using the exact forms of the prayer book, unless he was willing to bow whenever the name of Jesus was mentioned in the service, and to have the communion table always placed at the east end of the church, he was referred to the archbishop for discipline, and in extreme cases brought before the Court of High Commission and removed from his office as minister. Laud claimed that he was only enforcing the law as it stood, but as a matter of fact the meaning given to

[1] Metropolitan is another name for an archbishop. A metropolitical visitation is an inquiry made by the archbishop or metropolitan into the condition of the church in his province.

the words of the law had with the growth of Puritanism changed very much in the last seventy-five years, and Laud was really trying to drive the whole church of England back into ways and beliefs that it had left behind it. He not only became very much hated for trying to enforce a law which men did not believe to be right or just, but it was widely, though of course mistakenly, believed that he was gradually preparing the way to reintroduce the old Roman Catholic religion, and that he would soon propose the restoration of the pope's authority.

380. **The Declaration of Sports.** — Laud opposed the Puritans in still other ways. They were usually very rigid in their observance of Sunday. Laud's party, according to the old mediæval custom, allowed much more freedom of action and amusement on that day. The magistrates throughout the country were very generally Puritan in their feelings, and they as well as the Puritan clergy imposed punishments on the people for what they considered breaches of proper Sabbath observances. At Laud's advice, therefore, Charles reissued the "Declaration of Sports," a proclamation originally put forth by James, authorizing with some restrictions the playing of ball, dancing on the green, and other amusements on Sunday afternoons, and forbidding judges or ministers to punish people for them. The king ordered that this declaration should be read in all the churches on a certain Sunday. This order aroused great resistance, for to many of the clergy it seemed a wicked, ungodly permission to do evil. Thus the outward uniformity and order of the church were being secured and enforced by Laud, but at the price of an amount of suppressed antagonism that was bound to show itself sooner or later.

381. **Distraint of Knighthood, Monopolies, and the Forests.** — In financial matters the lord treasurer had introduced many reforms increasing income and decreasing outlay. The close of the wars with Spain and France had also reduced expenditure. The old tonnage and poundage and other customs and duties were still collected without authority of parliament, and, fortunately for the

king, the income from these was increasing. Still the problem of how to get along without the constant grant of new appropriations by parliament was a difficult one. After all, additional revenue must be found somewhere, and Charles's ministers put their wits to work to devise plans. The result was a series of irregular expedients similar to the forced loan already described. All men who held land worth forty pounds a year in rent ought by an old law to become knights and hold their lands by feudal tenure. Although a great many had been knighted at coronations and other festive occasions, yet the old requirement had not been enforced for centuries, and the value of money had changed so much in the meantime that even small landholders would be subject to it if it were enforced. The king's officers, however, proceeded to collect fines from all persons who had neglected to take up knighthood under this law. The courts supported them, though the persons who paid the fines all felt that they were being unjustly treated.

Monopolies given to individual men for the sale or manufacture of certain articles had been lately forbidden by law, but nothing had been said in the statute about incorporated companies or groups of persons. Advantage was taken of this to create corporations and to give them the sole right to carry on certain industries in return for substantial payments made to the government.

Much of the land of England lay within the old tracts that were known as royal forests. Men who held these lands were not allowed to inclose them with hedges or fences and were limited in other ways in their use of them. These limitations, however, had not been enforced and had been very generally forgotten and frequently violated. Fines were now collected from landowners who were responsible for these encroachments.

382. Ship Money. — In these ways income was obtained, but at the same time one class of the people after another was being made to feel that their rights were being sacrificed in order that the king might have his way. Another scheme was now tried which was a still more general attack on men's property and liberties.

The income which the king received could be made to meet ordinary running expenses, but was certainly not sufficient to provide for any new emergencies. Yet the navy badly needed funds. The Dutch and the French navies were growing rapidly, while the English was declining. It had been an ancient custom in England that the seaport towns should contribute the vessels necessary for the national defense, or the money necessary to build them. In 1634, therefore, the king issued what were called "writs of ship money" to all seaport towns. The plan was quite successful. The seaport towns could not provide vessels of the size now usual in warfare, but they gave the money by which the government built and manned them. In fact the plan succeeded so well that the next year and the next, ship money was collected from all the counties of the kingdom as well as from the seaports. Moreover, as there was no restriction upon the use to which the king and his ministers should put money when once it was gotten into the treasury, ship money bade fair to be a permanent and lucrative source of income independent of parliamentary grants.

Hampden

The king and ministers claimed that ship money was not properly a tax but a payment made in lieu of military and naval service. It was generally felt, however, that it was an extortion, and if allowed to become a custom would free the king from the necessity of ever consulting parliament on money matters. A well-to-do landowner in Buckinghamshire, Sir John Hampden, felt this so strongly that he refused to pay the twenty shillings levied on his property. This brought the matter into the Court of Exchequer to be tested. A long and famous trial was held. The lawyers representing Hampden set forth the popular views of

the restricted powers of the king and the fundamental rights of his subjects. This was a welcome opportunity, for when parliament was not in session there was scarcely any means for such opinions to be publicly expressed. There were no newspapers, and no books could be legally published without having the approval of the government. No mass meetings were held, and there were few places where men got together to talk over public affairs, except at court, where liberal views were not in fashion.

On the other hand, the lawyers for the king defended his high powers, and there was of course strong pressure brought to bear on the judges to decide in his favor. When the decision came to be given, as it was in 1638, seven of the judges decided for the crown, five for Hampden. The king therefore had the victory, and ship money was declared to be legal. The decision was, however, given by such a narrow margin that it was little better than a defeat for the king and his ministers, and accordingly there was much rejoicing in the country.

Strafford

383. The Earl of Strafford Principal Minister. — As time passed on Wentworth, earl of Strafford, became more and more influential in the king's council. In many ways he was the ablest man in England at that time, and he was devoted heart and soul to a successful administration of the king's personal government. For a time he acted as president of the Council of the North, a court which took charge of all royal interests in the northern counties of England. It had been formed after the overthrow of the Pilgrimage of Grace, in the reign of Henry VIII, instead of a parliament which Henry had promised to call for the settlement of the grievances of the northern counties. In 1632 Wentworth was made lord deputy of Ireland. Here he carried on an administration vigorous and

enlightened to a degree almost unknown before in the history of that unfortunate country. During this time he was in correspondence with the king, and his counsel was occasionally asked and given on political questions. Finally in 1639 he was summoned to court by Charles and became his principal and constant adviser. Strafford's motto was "Thorough," by which he meant a thorough-going administration and a thorough devotion of every one to the interests of the king and of the country. In the north of England, in Ireland, and now at court he was determined that no opposition, whether of self-interest, of old tradition, or of a claim of parliamentary rights and privileges, should stand in the way of good and effective administration of the government. This was a high ideal, but it was the ideal of a despot, and it was likely to intensify, not to lessen, the growing spirit of resistance.

How long this form of government could have been kept up if nothing unforeseen or unusual had happened it is hard to say. Peace and order were undoubtedly being kept at home and abroad, and in one way or another money was being found to pay the regular expenses of government. At the same time there was a growing feeling of dissatisfaction and anger throughout the country, which could hardly be prevented from soon bursting forth in one form or another.

384. Summary of the Period from 1603 to 1640. — James I and Charles I had had to bear the brunt of the rising spirit of independence characteristic of England in the seventeenth century. A degree of absolutism in government against which the parliaments of Henry VIII or Elizabeth would have raised no murmur awakened the active and heated resistance of the parliaments of James and Charles. This growing desire for independence and for sharing in the control of government was closely connected with the growth of Puritanism. An independent, individual form of religion was apt to develop an assertive spirit in political matters. An unavoidable crisis in taxation also happened in the time of the first two Stuarts. The rise of prices due to the influx of silver

and gold into Europe from the mines of Mexico and Peru necessitated a larger money income for the government. This was staved off somewhat by the increasing productiveness of the import and export duties, but the pressure was constant and the Stuart rulers were in a position of absolute dependence on the grants of parliament, a disadvantage from which the Tudors scarcely suffered. They were also put before their subjects in the unenviable light of making demands for money far beyond those of the preceding rulers.

To meet these difficult conditions James and Charles were especially lacking in good judgment as to men and measures, and were dominated by a haughty sense of their own powers and rights which kept them from anything like conciliation or compromise. The result was that the successive meetings of parliament were occasions for endless disputes, and when parliament was not in session the king was carrying on a policy which was fast making the breach between him and his subjects too wide to be spanned by any agreement. The last test of this policy was in the period of personal government of Charles, from 1629 to 1640, and it was a failure, as will be seen from the next chapter.

General Reading. — The best general history of this period is GARDINER, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War*, 10 vols. It is full, scholarly, and fair to all parties, but is of course very long. *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution* (Epochs of History) is a little book by the same author and with many of the same excellences. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. viii, sects. 1–5. MACAULAY, *Bacon* and *Hampden*. Two brilliant and suggestive essays, of especially great value to young readers for the strong impression of personality they convey. HUME, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, is one of the best of many biographies of that favorite character. HUTTON, *William Laud*, is good though extremely favorable. HALLAM, *Constitutional History of England*, is a standard work. MONTAGUE, *English Constitutional History*, and MEDLEY, *English Constitutional History*, are very good shorter works. TREVELYAN, *England under the Stuarts*, is an extremely interesting history of the period of this and the next three chapters.

Contemporary Sources. — The constitutional documents of the period are given in great fullness and with valuable introductions in PROTHERO, *Select Documents of the Time of Elizabeth and James I*, and GARDINER, *Select Documents of the Puritan Revolution*. The first writ of ship money and other documents are given in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, Nos. 181–193. Documents concerning the Puritans are gathered in *Arber Reprints*. Some more varied papers are in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 68–75, and COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 68–70. This period lends itself especially well to illustration by contemporary writings. A number of extracts from these are in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 244–279.

Poetry and Fiction. — SCOTT, *The Fortunes of Nigel;* JAMES, *Arabella Stuart;* AINSWORTH, *The Spanish Match*, *Guy Fawkes*, and *The Star Chamber;* and MARRYAT, *The Children of the New Forest*, refer to this period. WORDSWORTH, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, is a fine sonnet; and on the same subject is Mrs. HEMANS, *The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers*.

Special Topics. — (1) The Puritans, MACAULAY, *Essay on Milton;* (2) The Gunpowder Plot, GARDINER, *History of England*, Vol. I, chap. vi; (3) The Thirty Years' War, ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, chap. xxix; (4) The Ideas of Laud, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. IV, pp. 26–33; (5) Voyages and Travels under James and Charles, *ibid.*, pp. 51–57; (6) The East India Company, *ibid.*, pp. 130–138; (7) Disputes between King and Parliament, PROTHERO, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, pp. 310–317; (8) Riot in the House of Commons, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 72; (9) The Voyage of the "Mayflower," COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 70; (10) An Ideal Commonwealth, BACON, *New Atlantis* (in Morley's Universal Library).

CHAPTER XV

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH 1640-1660

385. **The Scottish Rebellion.** — The actual breaking up of Charles's plan of government without parliament came from outside of England. He was king, it will be remembered, of Scotland as well as of England. There were difficulties there which were still greater than those in England, though of a somewhat different kind. They were principally in regard to religion. In Scotland the mass of the people had carried the Reformation much farther than even the English Puritans would have advocated. Among other changes a set form of service was given up, episcopacy was abolished, and the presbyterian system introduced.[1] But the king had never been satisfied with this extreme simplicity of church government, and most of the Scotch nobles sided with him. Little by little, therefore, James had secured the reappointment of bishops, and then a restoration to them of at least a part of their old powers. Charles took still more active steps to make the Scotch church like the established church in England. In 1637 some of the Scotch bishops at the command of the king and with the help of Laud drew up a prayer book much like that of England, though even less

[1] Episcopacy means the government of the church by bishops, each having charge of his own large diocese. Presbyterianism means the government of the church by presbyteries instead of by bishops, a presbytery being a body made up of the pastors and certain laymen or elders from all the parishes within a certain district. The separatist, independent, or congregational system was the plan of allowing each congregation to govern itself.

satisfactory to the Scotch Presbyterians than it was to the English Puritans. The clergy, the people, and even the nobles were against this set form of service, both on religious grounds, because it was too much like the Roman Catholic form, and on political grounds, because it seemed like forcing English customs upon them. The new service was read for the first time in St. Giles's church in Edinburgh in July, 1637. A riot immediately broke out. A woman stood up and threw her stool at the head of the minister, and others thronged out of the church. There was much excitement throughout the country, and within the next year a pledge called the "National Covenant" was signed widely through all Scotland. Every one who signed it promised to try by all lawful means to restore the purity and liberty of the gospel as it had been before the recent changes.

Charles, in order to regain the good will of his Scotch subjects, withdrew the prayer book and promised to limit the powers of the bishops. In the fall of 1638, however, a great Scotch church assembly, consisting partly of clergymen, partly of laymen, gathered at Edinburgh and claimed the power to regulate all religious matters for the country. The commissioner representing the king refused to allow them to exercise such independent functions, and finally in the name of the king dissolved the assembly. They refused to be dissolved and proceeded with their work, abolished episcopacy, and reintroduced presbyterianism.

This refusal to obey the king's representative, and the subsequent interference in the organization of the church without royal authorization, amounted practically to rebellion. Charles felt it necessary to go up to Scotland with an army to reduce the assembly to obedience. He gathered forces as best he could and marched northward. When he got to the Scotch border he found that the assembly had itself raised an army stronger than his own. He was very short of funds and found it almost impossible to keep together even the troops he had. He therefore entered into a treaty with the Scots, agreeing that all the points in dispute

should be settled in a parliament and church assembly to be held in Edinburgh. Even after both bodies had met and approved of the abolition of episcopacy, Charles refused to give way, ordered assembly and parliament dissolved, and prepared for war against his subjects in Scotland. These two contests of 1639 and 1640 are often called the "Bishops' Wars," because they were fought for the sake of the Scotch bishops.

386. **The Short Parliament.**— Charles had to have more money if he was to raise an efficient army. Money could be found for the ordinary expenses of government, but the only way to meet any extraordinary expenditure, such as that for the formation and payment of an army, was to get the English parliament to authorize additional taxes. At Strafford's advice, therefore, in April, 1640, Charles called parliament for the first time for eleven years, hoping that it would grant the necessary funds and not stir up any other questions. The moment the representatives of the English people met after their long intermission, Pym laid before the House of Commons a statement of the popular grievances. They discussed these at the same time they were discussing the grant of money, and they also prepared to advise Charles to give up the war against the Scotch altogether. Rather than allow them to do this he dissolved parliament after it had been sitting only three weeks and before it had completed any one action. It is usually known as the "Short Parliament."

The king was now well-nigh desperate. The rebellious Scotch army was threatening the English border and the treasury was empty. Charles had men pressed into military service from all over England, bought the cargoes of pepper just brought from India on the East India Company's ships, promising to pay for it later, but selling it immediately at less than cost price so as to get ready money. With an army thus obtained he marched northward and met the Scotch army on the English side of the border in Yorkshire. But the English army did not want to beat the Scots, and it was evidently impossible to make them fight

against those with whose principles they sympathized. Negotiations therefore were opened with them. The Scotch army was allowed to remain in the two northern counties until a final settlement should be made of the questions in dispute, and were promised £850 a day for their expenses if they would not march any farther.

The king then tried the plan of summoning a Great Council to meet at York, to consist of noblemen only. But, as his money was entirely exhausted, the nobles had no advice to offer him except that he should summon a full parliament. Charles was now at the end of his rope. He had no money to buy off the Scotch army. He could not allow them to march as they would through England. He could not safely let himself fall into their hands. There was nothing to do except to take the advice given him, — to call parliament and to hope for the best from it when it met.

387. The Long Parliament. — At the king's summons, therefore, the body which was to be known as the "Long Parliament" met November 3, 1640. All those who had opposed the king in the recent Short Parliament and most of the surviving men of prominence from the earlier parliaments were elected, and it was made up, therefore, almost entirely of men opposed to the king's policy. Pym, a veteran opponent, was its most influential leader. John Hampden was a member, as was also another country gentleman, — then unknown but destined to future greatness, — Oliver Cromwell. The circumstances under which parliament now met were very different from those under which its predecessors had been called. Even the Short Parliament which had met in the spring was felt to be only an experiment to be dissolved immediately if it did not show itself obedient to the king, as actually happened. Now every one felt that the king had had his turn, and that parliament was at last to have its opportunity. Personal government had been tried and found wanting, and limited monarchy was to be reintroduced. From the moment of its first

meeting parliament took things into its own hands, and acted with the vigor, assertiveness, and unanimity of a body which feels that it has for the first time the real power and responsibility of government.

Its tone towards the king was respectful but no longer submissive. It did not hesitate for a moment to carry out any of its wishes because of the known objections of the king. Its meeting began a new period in English history. For the next twenty years, from 1640 to 1660, with some interruptions, parliament either actually or in the background controlled the course of English affairs, just as Charles had been in control of them for the preceding fifteen years. Nor has it ever since fallen to the insignificance of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

388. Execution of Strafford. — Strafford, Laud, and some of the other ministers were immediately ordered by parliament to be arrested with a view to impeachment. The first two were imprisoned in the Tower, the others escaped to the continent. Strafford was then impeached by the House of Commons on the charge of high treason. He had been dictatorial and had advised the king to do many despotic acts. Yet it was hard to show that he had done anything treasonable. He was very generally believed to have advised the king to bring an army from Ireland to force his will on the English people, but of this there was no certain evidence. Yet the parliamentary leaders felt that Strafford was the soul of royal absolutism, and that he must be removed if there was to be any real change in the king's system of government. For fear of acquittal the impeachment was therefore changed into a bill of attainder,[1] which the House of Lords would probably be

[1] In an impeachment the proceedings are in the nature of a judicial trial, the House of Commons being the prosecutors, and the House of Lords the judges or jury. A bill of attainder is a legislative act consisting of a bill carried through the two houses successively, and only requiring general argument, not specific proof of specific charges. The danger of injustice from it has led to its prohibition by the Constitution of the United States.

willing to pass. This plan was successful, and the bill of attainder was passed and brought to the king to be signed.

Charles was in a very difficult position. He had promised Strafford when parliament met that not a hair of his head should be touched, not a penny of his property seized. Nevertheless it was almost impossible for him to refuse anything which parliament demanded, for if he did parliament would not grant money to pay for the support of the Scotch army, and if the Scotch army was not paid it would continue its march southward. There were still more personal reasons why the king must yield. The queen had formed a plan to bring a foreign army and foreign money over to coerce parliament, and when this did not succeed she tried to get the English army which had lately been in the north to come down and put its power at the disposal of the king. When this became known she was threatened by a mob that gathered around the palace of Whitehall. Charles, worn out and fearing for the queen's life, gave way and signed an order empowering commissioners to give his approval to the bill of attainder against Strafford. Charles had already made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Tower to release him by force, and now begged parliament fruitlessly to substitute imprisonment for life for his execution. "Put not your trust in princes," was the comment of the great minister, although he had himself written to Charles that he would willingly forgive him his death if it would lead to better times. He was beheaded on May 12, 1641. Laud was kept in imprisonment in the Tower for four years, until, at a time when feeling had become still more embittered, he also was condemned and executed under a bill of attainder.

389. **Constitutional Reform.** — Parliament now protected its position by passing a bill providing that it should not be dissolved without its own consent. This the king reluctantly signed, and thus divested himself in this case of the power which he and all his predecessors had possessed of bringing a session of parliament

to an end when they wished. A bill, known as the "Triennial Act," was passed providing that parliament should meet every three years, even if the king should not call it.

Next a series of acts was passed introducing constitutional reforms which had been suggested by recent experiences. The Court of Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, the Council of the North, and a somewhat similar body, the Court of the Marches of Wales, were abolished altogether. The collection of ship money was declared to be illegal, and acts were passed prohibiting the levy of tonnage and poundage or of other customs duties without the consent of parliament. Fines for not taking up knighthood and for encroachments on the forests were also prohibited. All these measures were passed in the years 1640 and 1641. To all of them Charles affixed his signature officially and formally if reluctantly. They became therefore the law of the land and in most cases have ever since remained so. It was worth parliament's while to be suspended for eleven years to obtain such a complete victory for its principles at the end of the period. The whole system of personal and despotic government by the king seemed to be destroyed. Indeed parliament had gone one step farther and introduced into the government a degree of parliamentary control which was much more of an innovation than anything which the king had done. It is hard to see how any king could now carry on the government without frequently calling parliament and without taking its advice in all the main lines of his administration. So much having been accomplished, the necessary appropriations and negotiations were carried through for satisfying the Scotch army and inducing it to leave England, and for dissolving the temporary army which the king had collected in the north. The original occasion for the calling of parliament and the most pressing grievances had alike been attended to.

390. The Grand Remonstrance. — Unfortunately matters could not stop just there. New difficulties were looming up in the

midst of all these victories of parliament. One was the fear that Charles would in some way get control of an army and forcibly dissolve parliament and reverse all its actions. The other was the fact that the burning religious questions had not yet been taken up, and as soon as they were it was practically certain that parliament itself would divide into parties instead of acting unanimously as it had done on constitutional questions. In view of the first possibility, a forcible dissolution, the leaders of parliament drew up a long document known as the "Grand Remonstrance," which they planned should be their justification in the eyes of the nation for their past actions and future plans. They hoped that by appealing to the opinion of the country they could disarm any attempts of the king to take revenge for their action in the future. The Remonstrance stated one by one with a great deal of boldness, but with a great deal of exaggeration, all the crimes and wrongdoings which could be charged to Charles since the beginning of his reign, proposed radical reforms to prevent their recurrence, and ordered the document printed and circulated among the people. It was carried only after sharp debates and even then with but a small majority.

391. **The Religious Question.** — In the debates connected with the Remonstrance and on many other occasions the religious question came up. The claims of the established church had been as much a source of dissatisfaction during the personal government of Charles, when acting under the advice of Laud, as any of the other matters now disposed of had been. Some corresponding action must therefore be taken upon the laws governing religion. A party composed of moderate men, who wanted only religious liberty, proposed simply that the powers of the bishops should be limited and a few reforms introduced. They were perfectly willing still to leave the general oversight of the church to the king and did not wish any fundamental changes. The strongly Puritan party, however, who had been clamoring for changes ever since Elizabeth's time, wanted episcopacy abolished

entirely and all religious questions referred for settlement to an assembly of clergymen to be appointed by parliament. It was easy to see what such an assembly would do. It would surely adopt presbyterianism, abolish the prayer book, and make the whole church of England rigidly Puritan. In the meantime, before any settled plan was adopted, attacks were made upon the bishops. The House of Commons passed an act providing for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords, but the latter defeated this on the ground that each house should be left to decide on its own membership. Then the Commons impeached as traitors and placed in custody twelve of the bishops who had questioned the legality of actions taken by the House of Lords while they were absent. A petition signed by fifteen thousand citizens of London was read in parliament, asking for the abolition of episcopacy "root and branch." On the basis of this petition a bill was introduced, called the "Root and Branch Bill," providing for the entire abolition of the episcopal system, but it received much opposition and was soon withdrawn. In the country at large there was a rain of pamphlets for and against changes in the church.

392. **The Irish Rebellion.** — While religious questions were thus dividing parties in parliament, news suddenly came that a great rebellion had broken out in Ireland October 23, 1641. The native Irish had risen against the English and Scotch settlers in Ulster, and in fact against the whole English government of Ireland. The most terrible barbarities occurred. One story after another reached England of the slaughter of the English colonists, men, women, and children, and of their unspeakable sufferings. It was commonly believed that twenty or thirty thousand had been killed, though of course this was a greatly exaggerated estimate. A cry of vengeance for their fellow countrymen in Ireland went up from all England. This introduced a new difficulty. Parliament was no more willing than the king to see Ireland slip from the control of England, and wanted besides to punish the

Irish as Roman Catholics. An army must be raised and sent to Ireland. It would of course be in the hands of the king and would remain in his hands after the rebellion was crushed. What would prevent him from using it to dissolve parliament, after which he could withdraw the reforms which had lately been granted?

The king, anxious for revenge for the execution of Strafford, resenting the appeal to the people in the Grand Remonstrance, recognizing that parliament was not so unanimous as it had been at first, and looking forward to having an army soon at his back, began to feel that he might resist parliament and immediately took a higher tone in his intercourse with it. Thoughtful men realized that no real agreement between king and parliament had yet been reached. Although Charles had given way in the main points, disputes had been continual and bitter, and a reaction was always possible.

Charles had, moreover, obtained a weapon which he thought he could use against the leaders in parliament. He thought he had found evidence indicating that the Scotch army, when it invaded England in 1640, had actually been invited to come by Pym, Hampden, and some others who were now prominent members of parliament. This, if true, would make them guilty of treason, and he therefore took the unusual procedure of ordering the attorney-general to impeach them as traitors.

393. **Attempted Seizure of the Five Members.** — But the king was not willing to let the case take its ordinary course. In January, 1642, he took some five hundred armed men with him, went to the parliament house, stationed the soldiers outside, and then himself strode into the House of Commons and declared that he had come to arrest five traitors. Not seeing them he called upon the speaker to point out to him the men whose names he mentioned. No one of the privileges of parliament was more dear to its heart than its freedom from the intrusion of the king. When the king wished to address the House of Commons it was the invariable custom that he should sit on his throne in the House of Lords and

have the Commons summoned before him there. In origin this was of course a form of respect. But in the course of time the custom had served to protect the Commons from intrusion and to guarantee their independence of action.

By coming in their midst in this rough and informal way the king was therefore acting most offensively and imprudently. In answer to the king's question as to where the desired members were, the speaker, Lenthall, though he knelt before the king, boldly replied, "May it please your majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as this house is pleased to direct me." As a matter of fact the five members had learned of their probable arrest and had taken refuge in the city of London, four miles from where parliament was sitting at Westminster. Failing to find them the king remarked, "The birds have flown," and in some embarrassment hastened out of the house.

The dispute between king and parliament now became more bitter. The House of Commons moved for a few days to London, professing fear that the king was going to attack them through their leaders. Although the city now extends over such a great area that Westminster is only one part of it, they were then separate cities, four miles apart, with the village of Charing Cross halfway between them. The Thames, however, made a convenient highway on which barges were continually going to and fro. The citizens of London welcomed, supported, and encouraged parliament, and the militia of the city turned out for its protection. A few days afterwards the king also left Westminster and went northward to Yorkshire, carrying on his negotiations with parliament by letter. The queen went to France, taking with her the crown jewels, which she planned to sell in case there should be an opportunity to obtain an army by the expenditure of money.

394. **The Militia.** — Both king and parliament felt that the stage of peaceful debate, and even of embittered dispute, was fast passing away, and that unless one or the other gave way entirely fighting would soon follow. As neither king nor parliament was

now likely to yield, there was nothing left but for each party to prepare for war.

There was no standing army in England. The king had a few guards, there were some hundreds of soldiers kept in garrison at four or five castles, and there was a small amount of war material stored here and there in the royal castles. But the only organized body of soldiery was the militia, or trained bands. These were much like the present militia of England or the United States. They comprised certain men who came out for awhile every year for drill and then returned to their ordinary occupations. Both houses of parliament united in passing a bill, which they could hardly have expected the king to sign, putting the control of the trained bands when called out in the hands of a general appointed by parliament. To this the king promptly and harshly refused to agree. Then the House of Lords united with the House of Commons in ordering on their own responsibility that the country should be put in a state of defense, and appointed a lord lieutenant of each county to take charge of this defense. Charles, on the other hand, with a group of armed followers rode to Hull in Yorkshire, where the arms and ammunition which had been provided for the Scottish war were stored, and demanded possession of them. The commander, Sir John Hotham, who had been placed in charge of that castle by parliament, refused to admit the king, drew up the drawbridge, and shut the gates.

Charles declared Hotham a traitor, rode southward to Nottingham, and there on August 22, 1642, in the castle yard, set up the royal standard and called on all loyal Englishmen to gather to its defense against a rebellious parliament. Parliament appointed one of the members of the House of Lords, the earl of Essex, general of its forces and proceeded to organize an army and get control of the navy.

395. The Civil War. — This was the beginning of civil war. Generally speaking the northern and western parts of the country took the side of the king, the southern and eastern the side

DIVISION OF ENGLAND
into Parties
at opening of Civil War
Scale of Miles
Longitude West
from Greenwich
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Firth of Forth
Firth of Clyde
North Channel
Solway Firth
Berwick
Newcastle
Carlisle
Durham
Scarborough
Isle of Man
Lancaster
Marston Moor
York
Beverley
Hull
Shipton
Preston
Bradford
Wakefield
Liverpool
Manchester
Gainsborough
Lincoln
Isle of Anglesey
Chester
Nantwich
Derby
Nottingham
Newark
Boston
Stafford
Grantham
Stamford
Shrewsbury
Lichfield
Leicester
Norwich
Birmingham
Ludlow
Naseby
Northampton
Cambridge
Worcester
Warwick
Hereford
Edgehill
Bedford
Colchester
Stow
Gloucester
Oxford
Chalgrove
London
Bristol
Reading
Windsor
Westminster
Canterbury
Dover
Barnstaple
Taunton
Wardour Castle
Winchester
Arundel
Strait of Dover
Stratton
Launceston
Exeter
Weymouth
Southampton
Portsmouth
Isle of Wight
Carisbrooke Castle
CORNWALL
Plymouth
Truro
Bristol Channel
St. George's Channel
Channel
FRANCE
THE M-N. WORKS

of parliament. If a line were drawn roughly from the mouth of the Humber River southwestward to the mouth of the Severn, most of the country to the northwest of this would be royalist, that to the southeast parliamentarian. Most of the nobles, wealthier gentry, and higher churchmen were royalist, the middle classes were parliamentarian. The more thinly settled districts, a few of the large residence towns, and most of the smaller country towns were in favor of the king, while London and other manufacturing and commercial towns were strongly in favor of parliament. There were of course many exceptions to these divisions. In general it may be said that the more advanced, thoughtful, and active-minded classes and localities were parliamentarian, the more conservative royalist.

Something more than a majority of members of the House of Lords and a considerable number of the Commons went to join the king at Nottingham. Those who took the king's side were called "Cavaliers"; the parliamentary army were known as "Roundheads." These party names had arisen during the period of dispute while the king was still at Whitehall palace in Westminster. The courtiers in his service there were called "cavaliers," or soldiers, a term of reproach suggesting recklessness of life and manners. They in turn called the Puritan tradesmen and apprentices who made up the mobs which gathered around the parliament house "roundheads," because they wore their hair cut short instead of allowing it to fall in long curls on the neck, as was the fashion of the time among the upper classes.

The details of the war cannot of course be given here. There were many skirmishes and sieges in various parts of the country. At first the king tried to push right to London to end the war at a blow, but the hard-fought battle of Edgehill[1] and the solid front

[1] Soon after this battle Hampden was killed in a skirmish, and the same year Pym died. Falkland, one of the early reformers who had, though with much reluctance, taken the king's side, was killed at the battle of Newbury, also in the same year, 1643.

shown by the trained bands of London as they marched out from the city forced him to withdraw to Oxford and lose the best opportunity of the war.

The fighting, however, for some time went pretty steadily in favor of the king. He organized three armies, one in the north, one in the west, and one with Oxford as its headquarters. His plan was for the first two of these to advance southward and eastward to the Thames below London, cutting off its commerce, while he should with the third dash again upon the capital from the northwest. There was, however, so much besieging of parliamentary towns, fighting of parliamentary armies, and cutting through of districts held by parliamentary troops that this policy could never be thoroughly carried out, even though the royal army was usually successful in the engagements.

396. The Solemn League and Covenant. — Parliament soon entered into a treaty with the Scots, who were already on the verge of renewed rebellion. The treaty was known as the "Solemn League and Covenant," and was an agreement entered into by the Scottish and English parliaments and ordered to be sworn to by all Scotchmen and Englishmen. All those who signed it agreed to bring the religion of England, Scotland, and Ireland to the same form, which should be "according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches." Money was sent by the English parliament to Scotland, and a Scotch army was soon organized and marched southward to help the parliamentary army against the king. A "Committee of both Kingdoms" was also appointed by the two parliaments to take charge of the war.

397. Oliver Cromwell. — The result of this alliance was seen soon afterwards. In the battle of Marston Moor, fought July 2, 1644, the royalists were badly defeated by the united English and Scotch armies. The parliamentary officer who was in command of the cavalry, and who really did most to win this battle, was a man who from this time onward began to come into greater prominence, — Oliver Cromwell. He was a member of the House

of Commons, representing the town of Cambridge. He had taken an active though scarcely a leading part in all the actions by which the king had been forced to grant reforms. He had early volunteered for military duty and had organized a cavalry troop, known as the "Ironsides," which became famous for its discipline, fighting ability, and constant success. Cromwell had next been made second in command of a portion of the parliamentary army formed by a group of the eastern counties, known as the "Eastern Association." He was an earnest Puritan and drew men into his regiment who were equally religious and earnest. He believed the only way to meet the spirit and courage of the gentry in the king's army was to awaken religious enthusiasm and extend religious discipline among the men fighting on the parliament's side. At Marston Moor, after defeating with his cavalry those immediately opposed to him, he wheeled around and attacked the remaining part of the king's forces on the flank, threw them into confusion, and won the first important parliamentary victory.

398. Presbyterianism. — By the summer of 1644, although the tide of war seemed to be turning in favor of parliament, the majority of that body and many of the leaders of its army were beginning to lose their interest in the struggle and to look forward to some kind of a compromise with the king. This was due to the course of religious change. Parliament had carried out its plan of calling an assembly of Puritan clergymen to meet at Westminster whose duty it should be to draw up regulations for the form of government, ceremonies, and doctrines of the English church. During its deliberations the Solemn League and Covenant was entered into with Scotland and went far to pledge the English parliament to introduce presbyterianism. The Westminster Assembly declared against episcopacy, and soon an ordinance[1]

[1] As the king would not now sign any bills passed by parliament, they could not properly be called laws. The term "ordinances" was therefore applied to resolutions carried through both houses of parliament and put into force by their authority alone, without the king's signature.

was passed by the two houses of parliament making the English church presbyterian in its organization.

There were no longer any bishops. Each minister had much power over his own congregation, though a still higher power rested in the presbytery or organization of the ministers and elders of each district, and all were alike subject to the General Assembly of the church. The doctrines of the church were drawn up in the form of the Westminster Confession, still the rule of faith in Presbyterian churches. The services and ceremonies were made much simpler than they had been. The use of the book of common prayer was forbidden and a book of general directions for church worship issued. Altars and communion rails were removed from the churches, images and crucifixes destroyed, and such of the stained glass and other mediæval religious monuments as had not already been destroyed by the religious fanatics of the early Reformation were now sacrificed almost without exception.

399. **The Independents.** — But in all this there was no religious freedom or toleration. It simply established the Presbyterian organization and doctrine in place of the regulations of the old established church as Laud had enforced them. Presbyteries took the place of the bishops; the Assembly took the place of the king and High Commission. One party of the Puritans and of parliament had imposed their system upon all others, whether the latter agreed with them or not.

Those who did not agree with them were scarcely in a minority, for it was a time when men were coming to have many different beliefs in religious matters. This was the period when the foundations of the later religious sects — Baptists, Quakers, Unitarians, and others — were being laid. The belief was growing that religion was not a matter on which men's minds should be forced. "Brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason," said Cromwell. Milton pleaded for toleration in religious belief. Many men claimed the right to be bound to no religious belief at all. As one soldier said, "If I

should worship the sun or moon, like the Persians, or the pewter pot on the table, nobody has anything to do with it."

There was no more hope for such liberty of conscience under presbyterianism than under episcopacy or under the papacy. Those who wished this liberty saw no way of attaining it except to allow each congregation to organize itself as it saw fit. They were therefore called "Independents." To independency were attracted not only those men whose broad views were repelled by the idea of religious compulsion, but many of the officers of the army, who, like Cromwell, wished to use and promote a good soldier no matter what his religious beliefs might be.

400. **The New Model Army.** — The two branches of the Puritans, Presbyterians and Independents, were therefore as much in opposition to each other as churchmen and Puritans had formerly been. Moreover, the Presbyterians had obtained all the political and religious reforms they wanted, and they thought the king might be induced to acknowledge the system which had now been introduced. They dreaded, besides, the growing power and claims of the Independents. They had become a conservative party, and they were anxious to bring the war to an end and to come to terms with the king. Several of the higher officers of the army belonged to this party and did not want to push the king too hard or to subject him to any further defeat. The Presbyterians were therefore a peace party.

The Independents, on the other hand, were a war party. They were not content to rest under Presbyterian domination in church matters and felt that in political matters the work was only half done, — that no terms could be safely made with Charles so long as he had an army in the field. They wished to continue the war until the king was completely defeated. To this party Cromwell belonged, and he complained bitterly of the inactivity of the older parliamentary generals. There were enough men of the same opinion in parliament to carry out a change. By their efforts a new army was constructed, called the "New Model," to take

the place of the existing parliamentary army. It was somewhat smaller than the old army, but was more completely under the control of parliament, more regularly paid, and better equipped. A change of officers was brought about by the passage of the "Self-denying Ordinance," by which every member of either house must within forty days lay down any military command which he held. The old officers resigned and were thanked by parliament for their services. Sir Thomas Fairfax became commander in chief, and within a short time, notwithstanding his membership in parliament, Cromwell was made second in command with the title "Lieutenant General."

Wooden Figure of an Officer of Infantry of the New Model Army

401. Defeat of the King at Naseby. — Independents were more numerous in the New Model army and it was filled with a new vigor and enterprise. It soon showed what it could do. After a number of minor engagements a great battle was fought at Naseby, June 14, 1645. The king's army was scattered and the king himself driven into flight accompanied only by a small body of horsemen. Cromwell again had the principal part in the victory. Almost as injurious to the king as the loss of the battle was the capture by the parliamentary army of his private cabinet containing copies of the letters he had recently written to the queen. These showed that while negotiating with parliament he was planning to bring a foreign army into England, and that no promises which he had made could be depended upon. The war went on for some months longer, but it all went one way now. In almost every battle the New Model army was victorious; one after another they captured the castles, forts, and fortified country houses held for the king, till there was no organized royalist army in the field, and Charles

at his headquarters in Oxford had no choice but to surrender in some form. He chose to give himself up to the Scotch army, and rode into their lines in May, 1646. Soon afterwards the Scots handed the king over to commissioners representing the English parliament, by whose order he was held in honorable imprisonment at Holmby House, Northamptonshire. The Scotch army had its expenses paid by the English parliament and marched back to Scotland.

402. Negotiations with the King. — From the time of Charles's surrender a continuous series of negotiations was carried on between the king and parliament. Plan after plan was proposed by one side or the other, according to which the king should be restored to the throne and guarantees be given for the Presbyterian organization of the church and the liberties of parliament. But one after another the plans were refused either by the king or parliament. As a matter of fact Charles was always hoping that something would turn up to prevent the necessity for his giving way. He entered into various secret negotiations with the Scots, the Irish, the French, and others, and at the very time he professed to be negotiating with parliament as to a plan for reëstablishing the government he was arranging to bring in a foreign army to overthrow it.

Charles had never been a man on whose public faith any reliance could be placed. At the very outset of his reign he had broken the promises of his marriage treaty with the French. When he signed the Petition of Right he had not intended to keep it. When he signed the bill providing that parliament should not be dissolved except by its own consent he intended to dissolve it by force as soon as he got an army. The duplicity of his nature was made more evident by the disclosures of the cabinet captured at Naseby. The full untrustworthiness of his character came out still more strongly in these negotiations, and it seemed impossible to bind him by any conditions which he would be likely to keep.

403. The Second Civil War. — During these discussions the hostility between the Presbyterians and the Independents was approaching a culmination. The former had a majority in parliament, the latter in the army. The Presbyterian majority in parliament were willing to agree to almost any terms with the king in order to preserve the settlement which they thought they had reached. They dreaded the Independents more than they did the king. The Independents in parliament and in the army, on the other hand, had not yet gained the liberty of conscience which they wanted, and were not willing to see the king put back into power with so little restriction. Many of them also were men who had risen lately from lower positions and had ideas of more democratic government than the more aristocratic Presbyterians who made up the majority in parliament. The officers of the army met in a council and discussed all these questions, and even the common soldiers elected representatives from each company, known as "agitators" or agents, who met and consulted on things of interest to the army. Parliament and the army were therefore in fatal opposition.

The war being over, parliament tried to disband the army, but would not pay the soldiers the arrears of their wages and refused to pass an act of indemnity freeing them from prosecution for acts done in war time. The army therefore, June 4, 1647, refused to be disbanded, and issued a declaration of its intention to hold together until a permanent peace and satisfactory settlement of the government should be reached. Cromwell during this time occupied a midway position. He was a member of parliament and at the same time the idolized general of the army. He tried his best to arrange terms which would satisfy king, parliament, and army, but in vain. The army became so suspicious of parliament that a detachment of troops was sent to take Charles from the possession of the parliamentary commissioners and retain him in the custody of the army. He was kept successively at Newmarket, Hampton Court, Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight, and other

places. The army then sent to parliament a complaint against eleven of its most prominent members on the Presbyterian side, and at the same time dispatched a body of troops to Westminster and London, nominally to keep order. The accused members fled to the continent. In June and July, 1648, feeling became so intense that risings in favor of the king took place in Kent, Essex, Surrey, Wales, and Scotland, and Cromwell and his generals had, after two years of peace, a second civil war on their hands. A series of short campaigns by the veteran army, however, soon put down these risings.

404. **Pride's Purge.** — When parliament still continued to negotiate with the king, and actually passed a resolution of reconciliation with him, the army finally lost all patience. General Cromwell and the other leading officers who were in the vicinity rode into London, December 6, 1648, and a body of soldiers under a colonel named Pride was stationed at the door and kept out all members of the House of Commons who were known to be favorable to the king. This act, by which one hundred and forty-three Presbyterian members were excluded, is usually described as "Pride's Purge," and of course resulted in the Independents having a majority in the House of Commons. The lords had long ceased to exert any great influence on proceedings. This remnant of the Long Parliament, known as the "Rump," [1] was no more humble because of its reduced numbers and dependence on the army. Within a month its Independent majority declared themselves to be the supreme power in England, since they had been elected by and represented the people.

405. **The Trial and Execution of the King.** — They proceeded to appoint a "High Court of Justice," consisting of one hundred and thirty-five men, to try the king for high treason to the nation. Many of these refused to serve, but some sixty attended in Westminster Hall and the king was there brought to trial. He refused to plead, on the ground that no court could try the

[1] Because it was the "sitting part" of parliament.

king. Nevertheless, after some days of formal testimony and discussion he was declared guilty of being a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation," and ordered to be executed. On January 30, 1649, he was led through a window of his palace of Whitehall to the scaffold and there in the sight of the people beheaded. The House of Commons and the High Court of Justice, in their condemnation and execution of the king, clung to the forms of law wherever they were able, and strove to give to the whole occurrence the appearance of legality; but their action was in reality a part of the war. The forms which they followed so scrupulously were never intended to be used for any such purpose, and what the leaders were doing was justifiable not because the king was guilty of treason but because the period was one of revolution and his removal was one of the necessary and unavoidable steps of the revolution.

Westminster Hall, where Charles I was tried

406. Feeling in Favor of Charles. — To many, probably to most persons in England, however, the beheading of the king by warrant of the House of Commons seemed mere murder. Through all these later days Charles had behaved with dignity and courage. As his fortunes went down his personal demeanor rose. The good points of his character — his courage, his self-control, his religious faith, his purity of life, his devotion to his family and intimate friends — now showed themselves more clearly,

while the weak points of his nature — his ignorance and obstinacy, his duplicity and untrustworthiness — were no longer prominent. A contemporary poet wrote of the death of Charles :

> He nothing common did or mean
> Upon that memorable scene,
> But bowed his comely head
> Down as upon a bed.

Shortly after the execution there appeared a book called *Eikon Basilike*,[1] which professed to contain the pious soliloquies of the king during his last few days. The tone of resignation and confidence in the justice of his cause shown in this book likewise tended to raise the king in the people's estimation. Scarcely, therefore, had Charles been put to death before a revulsion of feeling set in, and a vast number of people who in the king's lifetime had made but languid efforts for his support now mourned for him, regretted his defeat and death, and dreaded the punishment of God for their national sin in allowing his execution. A glorified ideal of Charles grew up, now that he was gone, which was very different from the unwise, untrustworthy, and unloved king who had really lived and reigned. He had a party following after his death far more numerous and devoted than he had ever had during his lifetime. His eldest son Prince Charles, who was then a fugitive, was acknowledged by many in their hearts as the rightful holder of the crown, and hailed by his personal companions as Charles II. Long afterwards, when the Restoration gave him actual possession of the throne, his reign was officially dated as beginning on the day of his father's execution.

407. The Commonwealth. — Whatever might be the feeling of the majority of the nation, there was no weakening among the men who had led in the war against the king and the moderate party. The sixty members of the House of Commons who still held their seats considered themselves the sole representatives of

[1] Greek for *The King's Image.*

the people of England, since they alone had been chosen in regular elections, and continued to call themselves the parliament. They acted usually without consulting the House of Lords, and quietly ignored even the wishes of the army expressed in a document laid before them by the council of officers. This proposal, called the "Agreement of the People," had been drawn up by the more radical officers and the common soldiers, and provided for a reorganization of the government and the army on a completely democratic basis. The more practical men of the army, like Cromwell, only partially approved of this scheme, and relying on their support the Rump Parliament followed its own plans without either accepting or rejecting the Agreement of the People.

It appointed a council of state, consisting of forty-one persons, to exercise executive functions. Then the Commons abolished the office of king and the House of Lords, declaring the latter to be "useless and dangerous." England was thus made a republic, and on May 19, 1649, parliament declared "the people of England to be a Commonwealth and Free State, by the supreme authority of this nation."[1] Back of the council of state and parliament in this new government was the army, now a veteran and ever-victorious body, under its general Fairfax and its lieutenant general Cromwell. The army still took great interest and part in political affairs through the organization of its officers and the representatives of the privates, and for the present at least was tolerably well satisfied with the Commonwealth as a form of government. Fairfax and Cromwell were made members of the council of state and served as a bond between parliament and army.

[1] The events here described can perhaps be made more clear by dividing them into the following periods:

1629–1640, Personal Government of Charles I.
1640–1642, Reforming Period of the Long Parliament.
1642–1649, the Civil War.
1649–1653, the Commonwealth.
1653–1660, the Protectorate.

408. Conquest of Ireland and Scotland. — The Commonwealth proved to be a vigorous and warlike government. On the execution of the king Ireland declared for Charles II, and Catholics and royalist Protestants combined to drive out the representatives of parliament. An army was sent over in August, 1649, and Ireland was soon more thoroughly conquered than it had ever been before. Cromwell, and after his return to England in 1650, his son-in-law, Ireton, who succeeded to the command, carried their troops through every part of the island, captured cities, battered

Seal of the Commonwealth, 1651, showing England and Ireland, and Parliament

down castles, and confiscated the lands of rebels, Catholics, and native Irish. By 1652 Ireland was completely in the power of the Commonwealth.

In 1650 Scotland also acknowledged Prince Charles when he came there and agreed to accept the presbyterian system. Parliament ordered the main part of the army to Scotland, and when Fairfax refused to go, on the ground that the Scots had a right to take Charles for their king if they wanted to, displaced him and made Cromwell general of the whole army. In September, 1650, he defeated one Scottish army at Dunbar and captured Edinburgh. A year later another Scotch army was formed, with which Charles pushed into England, hoping for a royalist rising. Cromwell

hastened after them, and September 3, 1651, the anniversary of Dunbar, overtook and crushed them at Worcester. The military power of the Commonwealth was now complete. No armed resistance within the British Isles was any longer possible.

409. The Navigation Acts and the Dutch War. — Outside of England, however, a warlike struggle was drawing on and could no longer be avoided. England and Holland were both rising commercial nations. English merchants since the time of Elizabeth had been pushing their commerce into every part of the world, but everywhere they went they found the Dutch just ahead of them. The enterprise and capital of the Dutch merchants, the skill of Dutch shipbuilders and sailors, the support given to commercial ventures by the government of the Netherlands since they had won their independence from Spain had made them the most successful traders of Europe. On the continent, in the East Indies, in America, and even in England itself, English merchants had to meet the competition of the Dutch, and as a result disputes between the merchants and between the two governments were constant. These included political as well as trade disputes. The council of state, for instance, tried to force the Dutch government to expel Prince Charles, who was living in Holland in exile, but they were repulsed and protection was still extended to the prince.

In 1651 the English government determined to drive the Dutch merchants from that one field of commerce over which it had entire control. This was the carrying trade [1] between England and

[1] The carrying trade is the business of taking cargoes from one foreign port to another for hire. Dutch vessels, for instance, took goods from the East or West Indies or from German, French, and Italian ports to England, and then took English goods to these or other countries, just as a modern "tramp steamer" seeks a cargo wherever it can be obtained and takes it to whatever port it may be consigned to. Vessels engaged in exporting the products of their own country and importing goods into their own country from abroad are not spoken of as in the carrying trade, but as in the export and import trade.

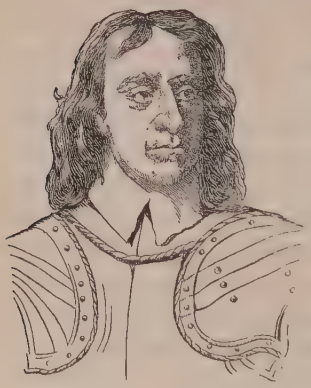
other countries. Parliament therefore passed in that year a law which has since been known as the first of the "Navigation Acts."

According to this law, goods from Asia, Africa, or America could be brought into England and its possessions only in vessels owned and manned by Englishmen. Goods from the continent of Europe could be brought into England only in vessels belonging to the country in which the goods were produced. This left to the Dutch, so far as England was concerned, only the trade in the few products of their own country which were in demand in England or her colonies, depriving them of the profitable business of bringing goods from distant parts of the world or from other European countries to England. The Dutch government protested against this law, and the old disputes became at the same time so much more bitter that in 1652 war was declared between the two nations. A naval struggle followed in which successive battles were waged in the Channel and the North Sea, resulting mainly in favor of the English. In this naval war Blake, one of the old parliamentary generals, though he had probably never been at sea till after he was fifty years old, proved himself an even abler naval than a military commander. After two years of war a treaty was signed in 1654 by which Holland agreed to recognize the Navigation Act and to show proper marks of respect to English vessels when they were met near the English coasts.

410. Expulsion of the Long Parliament by Cromwell. — Notwithstanding the military and naval successes of the Commonwealth, parliament was exceedingly unpopular. In 1653 the Long Parliament had been sitting for thirteen years without reëlection, and there was a widespread feeling that it should now dissolve itself and allow new elections to take place. This desire was especially strong in the army, and Cromwell and other officers frequently urged parliament to give way to new men. Its members were, however, unwilling to dissolve. They believed, and rightly, that a freely elected parliament would immediately call in Charles II and that the work of the last ten years would be undone.

If the republic was to be maintained, some control must be exercised over the choice of new members. No satisfactory plan was settled upon, and in the course of the discussions there were frequent disputes between parliament and the officers of the army almost as bitter as in the old days when there was a Presbyterian majority in parliament hostile to the army.

By this time Oliver Cromwell had become far the most prominent and influential man in England. His progress from an unnoticed member of parliament and a mere colonel of a cavalry regiment up to the leadership in the army and in the council of state has been described. His character and abilities were such as inevitably to transform this leadership into actual rule. Cromwell was tall and impressive in demeanor, with a countenance rugged but of great dignity. He was fond of hunting and other vigorous exercises, but no less fond of music, art, and learning. His religious nature was deep and sincere. He had an overwhelming sense of personal responsibility and of God's part in all the events of daily life. Each step that he took he believed he was taking because he was required to do so by religious duty. His gifts of mind were great. In military matters he showed real genius and seldom made a mistake. In statesmanship he was somewhat slow and unimaginative but clear-sighted and determined. He was liberal-minded, inclined to toleration, and on the whole kindly. He had all the powers of mind which the Stuart sovereigns lacked, and if he had been born a king, instead of being drawn step by step into the position of a revolutionary despot, he might have guided England happily through the crisis of the seventeenth century.



Oliver Cromwell

Instead of this it was his unfortunate destiny to destroy the last trace of legality in the existing government. Cromwell's mind was above all practical. He had come to the conclusion that the remaining members of the Long Parliament were incompetent and obstinately determined to retain their position and power. When, therefore, he was informed one morning that they were about to pass a bill for the perpetuation of their own membership in the next parliament he lost patience, and, taking some troops with him as far as the lobby of the parliament house, went into the session. After listening for some time to the debate, he rose, made some remarks on the subject, then began to complain of the members, and with rising excitement stamped on the floor, called in the soldiers, and drove the members out. He ordered the mace to be removed by one of the soldiers, saying, "What shall we do with this bauble? There, take it away." He then ordered the door to be locked, put the key into his pocket, and went back to the palace of Whitehall, which as general of the army he was now occupying. The council of state was declared by Cromwell to be dissolved.

411. **The Little Parliament.** — There was very little left now in the nature of government. King, House of Lords, House of Commons had all been destroyed. There was no authority left but that of the army, represented by its officers and especially by Cromwell, who was in supreme command of all the military forces. Cromwell did not wish to be a dictator. He only wished that government should be carried on wisely and efficiently. With a provisional council of state, therefore, appointed by himself, he undertook to draw up a list of men who should fill the place of parliament. Nominations were asked for from the Independent ministers throughout the country, and one hundred and twenty-nine men, known for their religious activity and their prominence in the contest with the king and the moderate party, were selected and given commissions signed by Cromwell. They met a few weeks after the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

This assembly is often called the "Little Parliament," or the "Nominated Parliament." The fanciful name of one of the members from London led to its being called at the time "Praise-God Barebone's Parliament." The experiment was not a success. Cromwell and the officers tried to keep in the background and leave government to the new assembly. But its inexperienced and unpractical members introduced radical reforms and changes in all directions when the great need of the hour was some degree of stability and cessation of change. They aroused discontent and distrust everywhere. Among their number and in the army and community were all kinds of fanatics and extremists who urged them on. The general break-up of old ways had given origin to a great number and variety of religious sects, some moderate and reasonable, others of the most extravagant character. The beginnings of such societies as the Baptists, Quakers, and Unitarians were in this period; but there were also "Fifth Monarchy Men," who believed that the biblical prophecy of the reign of the saints was about to be fulfilled and that they were the saints; "Levellers," who wished to institute a system of absolute equality in property and political position; "Muggletonians," "Familists," and other curious sects. Jews also were now readmitted.

The actual reforms of the Nominated Parliament were not extreme, but there was a constant dread of their becoming so. A large part of their own number became convinced that they could not carry on the government. These men at an early morning session on December 11, 1653, carried a resolution dissolving their assembly and putting their authority in the hands of the lord general, Oliver Cromwell, whom they looked upon as the representative of power, order, and practical moderation.

412. The Protectorate. — Again there was no government in England but that of the general with the army at his back. The higher officers with his agreement now drew up a written constitution for England, known as the "Instrument of Government." It gave the principal power to a lord protector, who was of course

to be Cromwell himself. He was to be aided and at the same time restrained by a council, and a parliament was to meet once in every three years. All adherents of the late king were to be excluded from voting and from membership in parliament. In December, 1653, there was a ceremony in which Cromwell was placed in a chair of state and invited to take the office of "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Oaths were taken and given, and from this time forward much the same ceremony was observed towards him as had been shown toward the king. He called himself "Oliver" in all state papers and was king in all but name.[1] Two years later he was asked by parliament to take the title of king but he refused. In fact his real powers were more than those of a king. He was a dictator with a powerful and devoted army at his disposal. However much he may have wanted to restore the power of parliament and of the people, he could not do so in the confused circumstances of the time without withdrawing from affairs altogether. This he would have felt to be a mere abandonment of duty, since he believed in all sincerity that he was called and chosen by God for the work in which he was engaged. For the remaining five years of his life he was the real ruler of England. No government of England was possible just then but

Seal of the Protectorate, 1653, showing Arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and Oliver Cromwell

1 "Noll" and "Old Noll" were nicknames commonly applied to Oliver by the royalists. "Crummel" was the popular pronunciation of his name, as in the line,

Oh for an hour of Crummel and the Lord.

the government of some one man. The struggle of the Long Parliament with the king had developed into a great military conflict in which power necessarily came into the hands of the strongest party. This party was the army, and Oliver was the soul and representative of the army.

413. Policy of the Protectorate. — In foreign affairs the ensuing years formed a period of greatness and brilliant success for England. Cromwell made treaties with the Dutch and the French, gaining advantages which neither James nor Charles had been able to secure. He forced the French government to spare the Protestants in Savoy, and secured protection and indemnity for English merchants in the Mediterranean. The English fleet became as famous and as successful as the army. He made war on Spain and the army gained some victories in Europe, while the fleet captured the silver vessels from America, destroyed a Spanish fleet, and seized Jamaica in the West Indies.

In England itself, however, there was constant trouble. The Protector had frequent quarrels with his parliaments. There was much opposition to him both from those who favored the king and the old church and from those who wished to introduce a more democratic government and still further religious changes. More than one plot to murder him was discovered. There was also difficulty in raising enough money for the expenses of the government now that the country was at war again. To meet these difficulties the Protector divided England into eleven military districts, at the head of each of which was placed a major general with almost arbitrary powers. In the intervals of the sitting of parliament, taxation was imposed by the mere will of the Protector and council, and collected by the major generals. Thus the country was under what was practically a military government, which has always been the most hated of all forms of government. Notwithstanding the liberal sentiments of Cromwell, the party which had brought him into power was a rigidly Puritan party, which insisted on ascetic religious customs that bore hardly on

the great number of the people. Earnest, therefore, as were the efforts and desires of Cromwell and his supporters to give England a good and acceptable government, the hearts of the people turned more and more back to the old ways, and it became clearer and clearer that the task undertaken by them was a hopeless one.

In the summer of 1658 Oliver sickened and died. He was saddened by the apparent failure of his work, by the troubles hanging over his country, and by losses in his own family circle. His strong religious nature showed itself on his deathbed as at all other periods of his life. In one of his last prayers he implored favor for the people in these words: "Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Pardon such a desire to trample on the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen."

Cromwell was a sincere and devoted laborer for the good of the people. His high position and great powers were forced upon him by the necessities of the time. He was one of the greatest men in English history and one of the greatest military commanders in all history. His funeral took place with great pomp and all the ceremonies usually reserved for royalty. He was buried in Westminster Abbey in the presence of the highest nobles and the representatives of foreign governments.

414. **End of the Protectorate.** — If Oliver Cromwell could with difficulty fill the office of Protector, it was hardly likely that any one else would be more successful. Certainly his son Richard, who by his appointment succeeded him, was not able to do so. He was neither a Puritan nor a soldier, and after less than a year, which was constantly filled with disputes with the army, he found his position untenable and abdicated. The Protectorate now

practically came to an end and the officers of the army invited the survivors of the Long Parliament to come together again.

There were a few months more of confusion till parliament, under pressure from General Monk, head of one division of the army, at last agreed to dissolve itself and to leave the destinies of England to a new parliament to be freely elected in its place.

415. Summary of the Period 1640–1660. — Thus the Long Parliament — which had been called by Charles in 1640, had declared war against him in 1642, put him to death in 1649, been itself ejected by Cromwell in 1653, and again restored by the army in 1659 — came at last in 1660 to an end, according to the act passed in its first year, by its own consent. It had begun as a reforming body and within the first year and a half of its existence had changed the system of absolute government of the Tudors and Stuarts to a strictly limited monarchy. But this period of reform had been followed by civil war, by the formation of a republic, and finally by its own overthrow and the military rule of Cromwell and the army. Now every one knew that the new parliament would call back the king. The period of the Commonwealth had been a time of great deeds, high ideals, and strong feelings, but they had led to no permanent and satisfactory settlement of the form of government. The nation was tired and sick of military rule and of political change. The people wanted to be ruled by civil authority and they wanted a settled government. They longed to return to the old established ways and institutions that had existed before the feverish excitement and rapid changes of the civil war and the Commonwealth.

General Reading. — Most of this period is covered in full by GARDINER, *History of England from 1603 to 1642*, vols. 9 and 10; *History of the Great Civil War*, 4 vols.; and *History of the Commonwealth*, 3 vols. His volume *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution* (Epochs of History) is the best short work on the period. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. viii, sects. 6–10. Three admirable histories of the civil war and the Commonwealth, MORLEY, *Cromwell;* ROOSEVELT, *Cromwell;* and FIRTH, *Cromwell* (Heroes

of the Nations), are given in the form of biographies. FIRTH, *Cromwell's Army*, is a very interesting book. CARLYLE, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, is a standard work of great importance. MACAULAY, *Milton*. GARDINER, *Cromwell's Place in History*.

Contemporary Sources. — The documents are very fully given in GARDINER, *Select Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1640–1660;* and almost equally so in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, Nos. 195–220. KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 76–89, includes a number of interesting extracts from contemporary writers. *Evelyn's Diary* is a valuable record of a contemporary royalist. The following numbers of the *Old South Leaflets* are valuable illustrations for this period: No. 24, *The Grand Remonstrance;* No. 26, *The Agreement of the People;* No. 27, *The Instrument of Government;* No. 61, *Pym's Speech against Strafford;* Nos. 28 and 62, *Two Speeches by Cromwell;* No. 63, MILTON, *A Free Commonwealth*. HENDERSON, *Sidelights on English History*, contains much that is useful here, but is large and expensive. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 280–307.

Poetry and Fiction. — SCOTT, *Legend of Montrose* and *Woodstock;* SHORTHOUSE, *John Inglesant;* Mrs. CHARLES, *The Draytons and Davenants;* AYTOUN, *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers;* and BROWNING, *Strafford*, are fair illustrations of the times.

Special Topics. — (1) The Trial of Charles, LEE, *Source-Book of English History*, Nos. 160–163; (2) the Character of Strafford, ROBERT BROWNING, *Strafford;* (3) Cavalier and Puritan Poetry, Miss BAKER and Miss COWAN, *English History told by English Poets*, pp. 317–340; (4) the Trial and Execution of Strafford, GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chap. viii, sect. 6; (5) the Early Career of Cromwell, *ibid.*, sect. 7; (6) the Expulsion of the Long Parliament by Cromwell, *ibid.*, sect. 8; (7) the Two Parties in the Civil War, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. IV, pp. 218–226; (8) the Military Equipment for the Civil War, *ibid.*, pp. 226–239; (9) Women in the Civil War, *ibid.*, pp. 315–320; (10) the New Sects of the Commonwealth Period, GOOCH, *Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1688
1660–1689

416. The Declaration of Breda. — Five days after the new parliament met it received a message from Charles, commonly called the "Declaration of Breda," because he had signed it at Breda in Holland, where he was in exile. In this declaration Charles offered a general pardon to all those who had taken part in the rebellion, except such as should be specially exempted from pardon by parliament. He also agreed not to disturb the owners of estates confiscated from royalists, to approve the payment of the arrears of wages owed to the soldiers, and to consent to any bill which parliament was willing to pass in favor of liberty of conscience. By his voluntary acknowledgment of parliamentary powers Charles showed that he had given up his father's claim to rule without parliament.

The declaration was received with universal gratification, and a resolution was passed the same day, May 1, 1660, declaring that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons." If this were so, the sooner the king came back to take part in the government the better. Three weeks afterwards Charles II landed at Dover and hastened to London amidst general expressions of welcome. He took up his residence at Whitehall palace, swore to observe the Great Charter, the Petition of Right, and other important statutes, and gave legal sanction to the existing parliament,[1] which had been elected on the summons only of the preceding parliament, not of the king.

[1] Such a parliament is called a "convention."

The new king was just thirty years of age. He was active, handsome, and witty. He was quicker and more farseeing than his father. On the other hand, he was indolent, pleasure-loving, and selfish. He had not his father's sense of duty or his willingness to make sacrifices for what he thought right. Therefore, although he might try to outwit or deceive or neglect parliament, if a contest should arise he would be pretty sure to give way where his father would have fought to the bitter end. Charles is reported to have said that whatever happened he would not go on his travels again, which could only mean that in a trial of strength with parliament he would always give way rather than carry things to their last extremity. There were better reasons for the moderation of Charles II than mere indolence. Although the Commonwealth had fallen, yet no one could ever afterwards forget that a king had been resisted, conquered, deposed, and executed. Experience had proved that, in a final test of strength, power was in the hands of parliament.

Charles II

417. The Action of Parliament. — The Declaration of Breda had mentioned four points, — confiscated estates, the army, amnesty, and religion. Parliament settled the first three of these promptly. Estates which had been actually confiscated from the king and the church were returned, but the lands which royalists had been forced to sell by the harsh laws of the Commonwealth were confirmed to their new purchasers. Many of those who had stood by the king through all his ill fortune were bitterly disappointed at not regaining their land now that Charles had returned to his own.

Money was appropriated for the payment of the wages of the soldiers, and the army was then disbanded. The return of these soldiers of the New Model quietly to their homes, after fifteen

years of victory and power, shows of what stuff it was made. This was an age when armies were often merely licensed plunderers, and to disband an army meant to let loose on the land thousands of desperate men. Yet Oliver's soldiers were soon absorbed again into the community and known only as good tradesmen, artisans, or farmers.

An act of indemnity or pardon for recent occurrences was passed, but with a long list of exceptions. Many men not included in the general pardon were forced to go into exile for the rest of their lives. Others were fined and imprisoned, and thirteen "regicides," as those were called who had sat upon the High Court of Justice and voted for the death of Charles, were hanged, drawn, and quartered with all the old barbarous accompaniments of death for treason. The same punishment was also inflicted upon Sir Harry Vane, who was not a regicide but had been an influential member of the Long Parliament through its whole career. An unworthy revenge followed upon even those great men of the Commonwealth who were already dead at the time of the Restoration. The bodies of the great Protector, Ireton, his second in command in the army, and Bradshaw, the president of the High Court of Justice, all of whom had been buried in Westminster Abbey, were dug up, hung in their shrouds, and then thrown into a pit outside the abbey. The bodies of Pym, the great orator, Blake, the great naval commander, and others were likewise removed from the abbey and thrown into the same pit.

Some of the old subjects of quarrel between king and parliament were now settled by abolishing all feudal payments owed to the king. To make up for this royal loss of revenue a new tax was laid on malt and some other articles of common use, which with tonnage and poundage gave a sufficient income to the king for all the usual needs of government. The abolition of feudal tenures was to the special advantage of the large landowners who were represented in parliament. They freed themselves in this way from old and vexatious payments to the crown, while the

new tax was paid not especially by them but by all classes of the people.

The religious question was a more difficult one, and, notwithstanding the king's offer of toleration, was brought no nearer settlement than it had been before. The Convention Parliament represented those who had suffered from the heavy hand of the Puritan parliament and the Puritan army. Therefore although many of them, perhaps a majority, were Presbyterians, yet they were so anxious to prevent a return to the excesses of the Commonwealth that they were afraid to stand out for religious reforms. At first they advocated a plan by which there should be bishops with powers much limited by the clergy of the diocese. When the Anglicans opposed this they gave way, followed the guidance of the Cavaliers, and allowed them to bring back episcopacy and the prayer book.

The next parliament, known as the "Cavalier Parliament," which met in 1661, having been elected during the excitement of the Restoration, was even more opposed to everything like Puritanism or toleration of different sects in the church.

Various efforts were made outside of parliament to reach a settlement of the church which would satisfy both Puritans and high churchmen. A conference between certain bishops and some of the Presbyterian ministers was held at the Savoy palace, similar to that held before James at Hampton Court. Compromises were discussed but no agreement could be reached. The king, who felt attached to the Roman Catholic church and later became secretly a member of it, was in favor of general toleration for all alike, whether Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or members of the new sects. This proposal, because it included the sects, was hateful to Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and because it included Roman Catholics was hateful to all except the few members of that body. All plans failed one after another, the majority in parliament was given its way, and the church was reëstablished in its old form.

418. The Dissenters. — In 1661 appointments were made to all the old bishoprics, and in 1662 an act of uniformity was passed, requiring every clergyman and every schoolmaster to express immediately his full consent to everything contained in the prayer book. About two thousand ministers resigned their positions rather than agree to this requirement. These were mostly Presbyterians. They and the congregations who wished to worship with them were thus placed in a position practically the same as the Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and other new sects. They all came, therefore, to be known alike as "Dissenters," that is to say, such as dissented from the established church. The Dissenters would have been satisfied if they had been allowed to form congregations and carry on worship in their own way, even if they did not have the use of the parish churches or receive tithes for the support of their clergy. But even this was not allowed. Parliament was afraid to allow the formation of new congregations for fear the Dissenters, influenced by their ministers, might try to reintroduce the Commonwealth. In 1664, therefore, the "Conventicle Act" was passed, which punished any one attending a conventicle[1] with penalties increasing with each repetition of the offense, till in case of a fourth repetition the offender was transported to endure seven years' servitude in the West Indies. The next year, 1665, still another step was taken in the same direction by the passage of the "Five-Mile Act." This prohibited the ministers who had lately been turned out of the parish churches from coming within five miles of any place where they had formerly preached, or of any large town, unless they would take an oath declaring that it was not lawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king, and would renounce the Solemn League and Covenant.

[1] A conventicle was a gathering for religious worship not in conformity with the law. According to this statute it was a gathering where more than four persons outside of a household were present, and where some other form of service than that of the prayer book was used.

Another act passed in 1661 led to the repression of the Dissenters by more indirect means. This was what was called the "Corporation Act."[1] According to its provisions all who held office in any city or town were obliged to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant taken in 1643; to swear that it was unlawful to bear arms against the king; and to attend the sacrament of communion as it was given with the rites of the established church of England. This put the government of all the towns in the hands of church of England men. Since in many of the towns the corporation elected the representatives of the town in the House of Commons, this also served the purpose of excluding Dissenters from future parliaments.[2]

The church of England in its old form was now rapidly regaining its former power. It was powerful not because it was upheld by the king and his ecclesiastical advisers, as under Elizabeth, James, and Charles, but because it stood midway between the Dissenters on the one hand and the Roman Catholics on the other. The first of these groups, the Dissenters of various sects, were so numerous and had been so closely connected with the rebellion that they were dreaded by moderate men as revolutionists and extremists. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, were so few that the widespread fear lest they should get back into power and make England again a Catholic country as we look back upon it now seems to have been childish and unreasonable. No one could have believed it probable that the great mass of the English people would ever again become Roman Catholics.

[1] The word *corporation* as used in England means the government of a town or city; the body of regularly organized members of a council; aldermen, or whatever other name they are known by in each particular case.

[2] The four laws which have been here described, sometimes called the "Clarendon Code," namely, the Corporation Act of 1661, the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the Conventicle Act of 1664, and the Five-Mile Act of 1665, deprived Presbyterians, Independents, and several other religious bodies of their hard-won privileges and brought them all again under the control of the established church.

There were, however, two reasons why the people might fear the restoration of "popery," as Roman Catholicism was then usually called in England. One of these was the attitude of the king, who certainly favored the Roman Catholics; the other was the danger from the great Roman Catholic governments on the continent, which might at any time send their armies to the help of their English co-religionists.

419. The Declarations of Indulgence. — Early in his reign Charles had issued a declaration stating that the laws forbidding any other worship than that of the established church would not be enforced and that for the time no one would be disturbed in his worship if it was peaceable and without public scandal; but parliament had petitioned him to put the laws in force. Nevertheless Charles, in secrecy and among a small group of his most intimate friends, in the year 1669, declared himself a Roman Catholic, while his brother James, the heir to the throne, publicly acknowledged his conversion to that faith.

The king was now even more anxious to favor his fellow-religionists. In 1672 he issued by virtue of his dispensing power[1] a second and more formal "Declaration of Indulgence." This proclamation suspended the enforcement of all laws punishing Roman Catholics or Dissenters for their failure to conform to the ecclesiastical laws.

[1] The dispensing power or power of dispensation was a right claimed by the king to free persons from the necessity of obeying some law. Just as the right of pardon allows the king to free a person from punishment for some breach of law which he has already committed, so the right of dispensing would allow him to permit men beforehand to do something which was forbidden by the law. Even without the exercise of the dispensing power it was possible for the king to do much to shelter the Dissenters and mitigate the rigor of the law. Magistrates, sheriffs, jailers, and other law officers were servants of the king, and they could not act against his wishes. Therefore the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics were not severely persecuted in Charles' time, except when, in order to obtain favor with parliament, the king found it desirable to conform to its wishes and enforce the laws strictly.

In itself this was a just, liberal, and wise measure ; but in the eyes of the country it was an effort on the king's part to restore the Roman Catholics to power, and it was certainly against the law. Parliament, therefore, protested strongly against the declaration, claiming that by it forty laws on the statute book were rendered of no effect and that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament." As the king was extremely anxious just at this time to keep on good terms with parliament he gave way again and reluctantly withdrew the Declaration of Indulgence.

Parliament was not satisfied with this concession but took more positive action. In 1673 it passed the "Test Act," a law requiring that no one should hold any office under the government who would not first declare his disbelief in the doctrine of transubstantiation and receive the sacrament of communion according to the rites of the church of England. No Roman Catholic could now share in the government of the nation, just as neither Roman Catholics nor Dissenters according to the Corporation Act could share in the local government. The supremacy of the established church was now complete. The entire control of ecclesiastical, educational, and charitable organizations was in its hands ; it had a strong majority in both houses of parliament ; a vast proportion of all offices in the country was occupied by its adherents ; and it was strengthened and supported in its position by the foolish but almost universal dread of the Roman Catholics.

420. Titus Oates and the Popish Plot. — This fear was intensified by the growing military power and victorious wars of the French king. So long as England had a king suspected of being a Roman Catholic, and an heir apparent who was known to be of that faith, French regiments might be brought in at any time to put her religion and her liberties under the yoke. In 1678 fear was raised to a panic by the revelations made by a certain Titus Oates concerning a supposed "Popish Plot." This man

took his oath before a London magistrate that he knew of a great plot according to which Charles was to be murdered, his brother James immediately placed on the throne, a French army landed to support him, and the Protestant religion in all its forms absolutely suppressed. It was an absurd story and Oates was afterwards proved to be a liar born and bred, with a long career of deception and dishonesty behind him, but no one at that time took the trouble to look up his record.

His story was generally believed and a chance occurrence that followed spread it far more widely. The dead body of the magistrate who had listened to his story and taken his deposition was found the next morning lying in the street. This was probably the work of robbers, but many jumped to the conclusion that he had been murdered by the "Papists" for his interference with their plot. London was in a fever of apprehension, many believing that the city was about to be burned and the Protestants massacred. A little flail with a lead tip which could be carried in the pocket and used to defend one's self against attack was invented and named the "Protestant flail." So many were bought that the inventor made his fortune. Various persons who were suspected of favoring Roman Catholic plans or taking part in conspiracies were tried and executed, and some of the Roman Catholic noblemen were imprisoned in the Tower. A whole class of base informers arose who gave perjured testimony to support the prevailing panic.

421. The Exclusion Bills. — The new parliament which met in 1679 shared in the general excitement and fierce opposition to the Roman Catholics. This opposition took the form of a vigorous effort to exclude James from the succession to the throne. The House of Commons believed that if a devotedly Roman Catholic king came to rule over England he would certainly attack the Protestantism of his subjects. Charles, however, was loyal to his brother. He had no legitimate children of his own, and had, with a devotion to principle quite unusual to him, determined to

support his brother's right of inheritance at all hazards. He announced that he was willing to sign a bill placing restrictions upon the exercise of many royal powers when the king was a Roman Catholic. But parliament was not satisfied with such a compromise and in 1679 prepared to pass an Exclusion Bill which would have prevented James from inheriting the crown at all. Charles dissolved parliament rather than allow the bill to pass.

Again the next year a new House of Commons passed a similar Exclusion Bill, and, although it was temporarily defeated in the House of Lords, Charles thought it safer to dissolve parliament again. Still a third parliament attempted to pass the same bill and was also dissolved by the king.

422. The Succession to the Crown. — The person whom the leaders of parliament had in mind as successor to the throne, if they could have carried the Exclusion Bill, was the oldest illegitimate son of Charles, the duke of Monmouth. He was known to be a Protestant and was commonly spoken of as the "Protestant Duke." He had neither high ambitions nor great abilities and did not show much suitability for the throne. His illegitimate birth was a bar to any unanimous acceptance of him by the English nation. To overcome this obstacle a report was spread abroad and very generally believed that his mother had really been married to Charles and that the king would acknowledge the marriage in good time. A large party of the Protestants were willing to favor Monmouth and they were headed by skillful leaders in parliament.

Many, on the other hand, were willing to let matters take their natural course. James would be a Roman Catholic king, but he would not be likely to outlive his brother very long. He had two daughters, Mary and Anne, who had been brought up as Protestants, the elder of whom, Mary, would naturally succeed him. She was married to a Protestant prince, William, prince of Orange. It seemed altogether probable, therefore, that England would have a Protestant ruler again within a comparatively short

time. The only cloud on the horizon, as far as this expectation went, was that James later in life married a second time and chose a Roman Catholic princess. If he should have a son, this prince would undoubtedly be brought up as a Roman Catholic, and would inherit the crown in preference to his elder sisters.

423. Dread of Civil War. — The advocates of the Exclusion Bill for a while kept up their agitation even more violently. In 1681 parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford instead of at Westminster, which had long been its regular meeting place. The reason for this was that the London mob had showed so much favor to the exclusionists that the king and his ministers feared it might break in on parliament and influence its decisions. The leading parliamentary agitators, on the other hand, professed to believe that the king wanted to force them by arms to do as he wished. They urged the members therefore to bring with them bands of servants armed for self-defense. This was mistaken advice. The sight of gentlemen gathering with bands of followers and with arms in their hands awakened among the people dread of a new civil war. The remembrance of the late conflict and of the rule of the army was still too fresh and hateful for men to look with equanimity upon the possibility of its return. Most Englishmen dreaded Roman Catholics, but they hated the rule of soldiers still more.

Very soon, therefore, the violent agitation against the "Papists" and against the succession of James came to an end, and the tide of popular feeling began to flow the other way. Several of those who had been most active in prosecuting Roman Catholics were now themselves prosecuted, and the inventor of the Protestant flail and others were convicted and executed for having borne arms and planned to attack parliament and the king. Representatives of the strongly royalist party were elected in the city governments and the king became much more popular.

This general reaction in the country was favored by the discovery in 1683 of a plot to attack and seize the king and his

brother as they passed, on their return from a hunting trip, a building called "Rye House," not far from London. The plan failed, as the king came back some days earlier than he was expected. This conspiracy, which is known as the "Rye House Plot," had been formed by a few old soldiers of the Commonwealth who were keeping up the agitation against James and the Roman Catholics. The conspirators were discovered and most of them executed, but the whole exclusionist party had to bear the blame of their violence.

424. Execution of Russell and Sidney. — At about the same time the existence of another association for political objects was discovered. It was composed of noblemen and gentlemen of liberal views who wanted to force the king to withdraw his support from the Catholics and to yield to the demands of parliament. At another time this union of high-minded and prominent men would probably have been considered innocent enough. But just now, when there was a general feeling that those who were opposing the king had gone too far and were threatening to bring on civil war, it was construed as treason and the members of the combination were arrested and accused. Lord Russell, one of the noblest and best of men, was subjected to a long trial. More fortunate than Raleigh, his wife was allowed to sit at his side taking notes of the proceedings and assisting him to remember what had been said and done. He was nevertheless declared guilty of treason and executed. Algernon Sidney, a man of the same stamp, a student, thinker, and eloquent writer, a theoretical republican, but without any intention or desire to bring about a change in the government, was executed at the same time for conspiracy against the king. The duke of Monmouth, who had been connected with the organization, was pardoned by his father but sent to Holland as an exile. The earl of Essex committed suicide in prison. The popularity of Charles lasted out the remainder of his life and served to insure the peaceful accession of James in 1685.

425. Relations of England with Holland and France. — The two foreign countries with which England now had most to do were Holland and France. At the beginning of Charles's reign England was hostile to Holland and on tolerably good terms with France. The clashing of English and Dutch commercial interests has already been described. The two countries were still engaged in building up trade and colonies in the East Indies, the West Indies, and America. They both had fishing fleets in the North Sea and trading settlements on the west coast of Africa. English and Dutch vessels were still competing for the carrying trade[1] of Europe.

An English War Vessel: the "Royal Charles," the Vessel on which Charles II returned to England in 1660

The Dutch were such skillful sailors and had such good vessels that they had generally proved themselves able to underbid the English, even in trade with England herself. The English government, on the other hand, had long tried to encourage its own seagoing merchants in order to give them occupation and also that there might be an abundance of vessels and sailors in case they were needed for a maritime war. To keep the carrying trade of England for its own merchants the Navigation Act had been passed in 1651. In 1660 this law was reënacted and other still stricter Navigation Acts afterwards passed. The old disputes about the Spice Islands in the East, the fisheries in the North Sea, and other questions still went on. Feeling became

[1] See p. 456.

more bitter till in 1664 war broke out again and raged on the coast of America and Africa and in the English Channel.

A series of destructive sea fights took place, but decided nothing. After one series of victories the Dutch admiral sailed up and down the Channel with a broom at his masthead to show that he had swept the English from the sea. But soon afterwards the English fleet ravaged the coast of Holland, and then in turn a Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames and captured ships almost in the harbor of London. The two countries were too evenly matched upon the sea to reach a decisive result by war, and peace was agreed upon in 1667. By this treaty the Dutch ceded New Amsterdam to the English, and England yielded the Spice Islands to the Dutch, confining her eastern trade to the mainland of India. New Amsterdam was renamed New York after the king's brother James, duke of York. The Dutch forts on the coast of Africa were also surrendered to the English, and the first English "guineas" were coined from gold imported from the Guinea coast. They were intended to be worth a pound, but were soon taken and have always since been estimated at twenty-one shillings.

426. **The Triple Alliance.** — The war with Holland sprang from temporary commercial conditions. When English trade supremacy had once been secured in England, America, and India, and when the Dutch had established their own independent fields of activity, the old bonds of race and religion again asserted themselves and drew the two nations more closely together. This was the more inevitable because of their common danger from the rising power and aggressiveness of France. France under Louis XIV had a strong government, a full treasury, and a well organized and equipped army. Most important of all, the national power and the foreign and internal policy of France were under the sole control of the king. No parliament or other body existed in France which could restrict the action which he and his ministers wished to take. Louis had an ambitious desire to extend

his territories and to make France supreme over all the surrounding countries of the continent. England, although an island, was not without interest in his policy. She, like other countries, was in danger from his interference in her internal concerns, if he should at any time find it to his interest so to interfere.

The danger of Holland was of course still greater, as nothing but the Spanish Netherlands separated her frontiers from those of France, and there were frequent causes of dispute. The need of common resistance to France gradually convinced thoughtful statesmen in England that their interest lay in peace with the Dutch, and that the two countries should be allies, not enemies. This conviction led to the formation in 1668 of the Triple Alliance, an agreement between England, Holland, and Sweden to force Louis to agree to reasonable concessions and to bring his wars to an end. From this time forward the popular English hostility to the Dutch died out, while there was a growing antagonism to France.

427. Subserviency of Charles II to France. — This was not, however, either the feeling or the private interest of Charles. There were many reasons why he should feel friendly to France. His mother was Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII, and he had been well treated in France during the time of his exile. His Roman Catholic religious proclivities drew him in the same direction, and, probably stronger than all, Louis had a full treasury which might be drawn on should Charles need money that he could not conveniently get from his own subjects. His policy, therefore, during his whole reign was one of subserviency to France. He acted in the interest of France whenever he could do so secretly or without bringing about a serious conflict with his own parliament. An early and especially unpopular instance of this was his cession to Louis XIV, for the sum of £200,000, of the city of Dunkirk, which had been captured by Cromwell's army and was commonly looked upon as in a sense an equivalent for Calais.

The Triple Alliance was distasteful to Charles both because his commercial ambitions for England still made him suspicious of the Dutch and because it placed him on bad terms with the French king. He entered upon it unwillingly, partly at the urgency of his ambassador, the gifted Sir William Temple, partly with the idea that Louis would offer him good terms to withdraw from it. It had not been two years in existence, therefore, before Charles made a treaty with the king of France which was kept secret from his most trusted ministers, being negotiated through one of Charles's sisters. It is commonly known as the "Treaty of Dover." There was good reason for keeping it secret, for by it Charles agreed to desert Holland, to assist Louis in obtaining certain territory from Spain, and even to allow a large force of English soldiers to serve in the French army when war between France and Holland should break out. In return for these concessions Louis agreed to give Charles a large sum of money immediately, and a still larger annual sum when the time should come for England to give help to the French against the Dutch. At the close of the war England was to receive some territory from Holland and Spain, and six thousand French troops were to be sent into England to aid Charles if he should decide openly to declare himself a Roman Catholic.

428. **The Third War with the Dutch.** — The full terms of this treaty did not come out for years, but that part of it which brought England into another war with Holland was made the basis of an open treaty some time afterwards. The king's will and the remaining commercial disputes were sufficient to precipitate it, though it had neither general approval nor enthusiastic support. This war began in 1672. The struggle against the French and English in alliance was desperately hard for the Dutch. On the sea the usual destructive but indecisive battles were fought between the Dutch and the English fleets. On land the Dutch territories were rapidly overrun by the enormous armies of Louis. Finally as a last resort the Hollanders cut the dikes which kept

the seas and rivers from their fields, allowed the waters to rush in, and at this heavy price put an impassable girdle around their cities and forced the French to retire. The hearts of the English people and of the best of English statesmen turned more and more against the war with the Dutch and it was brought to an end in 1674.

Charles and Louis now both recognized that it would be impossible to draw the English again into an active war against the Dutch. The most the two allied sovereigns could hope for was to keep England neutral. For the purpose of securing this object Louis took Charles regularly into his pay, granting him £100,000 a year so that he might not be forced to ask parliament for money and as a result be induced to consent to a war against France. Louis also gave him £1,600,000 to prorogue his restless parliament, and gave him special sums at other times. Charles was in the main faithful to his paymaster, postponed the calling of a parliament as long as he could, and prorogued it when it threatened to put pressure upon him to join the contest against Louis. This remained the condition of English foreign affairs during the last ten years of Charles's reign. The English king, in the humiliating position of being in the pay of France, was keeping England out of a combination with Holland, which otherwise would have been her natural policy, and keeping her in close alliance with France, her natural rival.

429. **Charles and his Ministers; Clarendon.** — Charles, as has been seen, never trusted implicitly in his ministers, never identified his fortune with them, and never had a "court favorite," as his father and grandfather had had. In the early years of his reign his principal minister had been Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, who occupied the office of lord chancellor. This statesman had been one of the opponents of Charles I at the beginning of the Long Parliament, but before the outbreak of the civil war had taken the side of the king. He was a laborious, devoted, and moderate minister and gave Charles good

advice; but he was a strong Anglican and opposed the favor which Charles showed to the Roman Catholics. He protested also against the king's immoral life and his lavishness and subserviency to his mistresses.

In 1667 parliament tried to increase its control over taxation. According to law the king could collect no taxes except by grant of parliament; but when once collected there was no further control over the way in which they should be spent. It was pretty certain that of the money which had been granted by parliament on the claim that it was needed for war, the navy, and other public uses, Charles had spent a great part lavishly on worthless women and other personal and unworthy objects. The House of Commons now demanded an inquiry into the way money which they had granted had been expended. Clarendon resisted the demand most vigorously on the ground that it would limit the proper freedom of action of the king and his ministers. Parliament as a result attacked him bitterly. Since the king himself was weary of Clarendon's remonstrances against his personal life, he dismissed him from office. He was soon afterwards impeached by the House of Commons on various charges. As the king made no attempt to defend him, he fled to France, where he remained in exile the remainder of his life. He spent his time writing a most valuable and interesting history of the "Great Rebellion," as he called the series of events from the meeting of the Long Parliament to the Restoration.

Earl of Clarendon

430. **The Cabal.** — No one minister afterwards took the leading part which Clarendon had played. Five of the ministers were of

almost equal influence in the government and equally received the apparent confidence of the king. They were all noblemen of high rank, more lenient to the profligacy of the king than Clarendon had been, and more willing to support his policy of religious toleration. Some one noticed that the initials of the names of the five ministers, Lords Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, formed the word *cabal*, which meant a committee or group of conspirators. They were therefore frequently spoken of as the "Cabal," and that word has come to have a new and more odious meaning from its connection with this group of rather selfish and unprincipled ministers.

Charles, however, gave his confidence to them but partially. Two who were Catholics knew of the Treaty of Dover, the others were kept in profound ignorance of it. In fact Buckingham and Ashley were allowed to take part seriously in the formation of a pretended treaty with France which was to hide the real but secret agreement. These ministers as yet had no meetings, combined on no general policy, and did not acknowledge the duty of supporting one another. It was not, therefore, a ministry in the modern sense of the word.

The members of the Cabal one after another resigned or were dismissed and others took their places. Ashley, who had been made earl of Shaftesbury and lord chancellor, and who was the ablest of the group, was dismissed by the king for supporting the Test Act. He then became the bitterest opponent of the king and of James, and was for years the leader in the agitation for the Exclusion Bill. He was also the leader in parliament of a small but growing party which favored granting toleration to the Dissenters though not to Roman Catholics. He was a gifted but reckless man, and in later years did much to organize that lawless opposition to the government which made men fear civil war again and at last brought about a reaction in favor of the king. In 1682 he was in such danger of prosecution for treason that he fled to Holland, where he died the next year.

The most influential minister during Charles's later years, the earl of Danby, was impeached by the House of Commons under the belief that he had taken bribes from France not to stand in the way of her war with the Dutch. The king, who was the real recipient of French bribes, after protecting Danby for some time, fearing that he would betray the royal secrets, dismissed him from office and imprisoned him in the Tower. The House of Commons then dropped the impeachment proceedings.

431. Recognition of the Power of Parliament. — It may be noticed that Charles II dismissed his ministers as soon as they became clearly unpopular with parliament. Clarendon and Danby went into exile or imprisonment not because they had lost the confidence of the king, but because they had lost the confidence and approval of the majority in parliament. The king would not have acknowledged, any more than Elizabeth, James, or Charles I, that parliament had a right to control him in choosing his ministers. Nevertheless, as a practical matter, he recognized that to get along with parliament he must be represented by men who were tolerably satisfactory to its majority. It was fast coming to be a settled rule that a minister must satisfy parliament as well as the king.

Nor did Charles openly and for any length of time oppose the wishes of parliament in his main lines of policy. With the one exception of his manly and determined support of his brother's claims to the crown he either yielded to the wishes of parliament or took refuge in secret and underhand attempts to oppose them. Although he favored toleration he signed the various persecuting and restrictive statutes which parliament passed and sent to him. Although he was favorable to France and opposed to Holland, he at one time allowed the Triple Alliance to be formed, and at another ceased to give the support to France which he wished and for which he had been so well paid. These actions indicate that the power of parliament was growing. No conditions had been imposed on the king at the Restoration, but the changed circumstances made parliament a more influential body than it had

been before, and the personal indolence, good humor, and good judgment of Charles prevented him from opposing this growth.

432. Growth of Political Parties. — This was the period in which permanent political parties came into existence. In earlier times there had been no settled parties, though of course members of parliament divided into those who favored and those who opposed particular measures. During the sixteenth century the share taken by parliament in the work of government was too small and parliament met too infrequently for parties to be formed. In the Long Parliament party divisions had shown themselves, but the first parties soon transformed themselves into the opposing forces of a civil war, and the later divisions were suppressed by the army. After the Restoration, however, things were different. Parliament met frequently, and the growing power which has just been spoken of made it worth while for parties to form themselves, adopt principles, and assert their influence.

The division into parties that took place was a natural one, based on the attitude of different men toward the government. One class of men both in and outside of parliament felt very strongly that the government ought to be upheld through everything. The things that struck them as most important were the good order, peace, and quiet that came to the country from a strong government. As the government of England was monarchical, all their feelings led such men to loyalty and devotion to the king. The same men naturally supported the established church of England, as it also was part of the old well-ordered system of the government of the country.

Other men, without being exactly opposed to this set of views, were more impressed with the need of protecting men from the oppression of government. Their inclination was to restrict the royal power and to give greater liberty to individual men. They were opposed to much control by government. Such men naturally adopted a policy of toleration in religious matters, since this also was a form of individual liberty.

These differences of views came out frequently in the Convention Parliament of 1660, and still more clearly in the Cavalier Parliament, which sat in successive sessions during the next seventeen years of Charles's reign. Ministers recognized these differences and appealed to them. The earl of Danby strove regularly for the support of men of the former class, the earl of Shaftesbury for the support of those of the latter.

433. Petitioners and Abhorrers; Whigs and Tories. — The first occasion when any distinct party names were used or organization effected was in 1680. Parliament had been dissolved in 1679 to prevent its passing the Exclusion Bill. Within a few months numerous petitions were sent to the king, evidently by a preconcerted arrangement, urging him to call parliament together again, so that the Exclusion Bill could be passed. Great numbers of counter addresses were then sent to the king declaring the abhorrence felt by the writers at the efforts being made to force the king to call parliament until in his own good judgment he should think best. Those who sent the first set of petitions were commonly called "Petitioners," those who sent the others "Abhorrers."

In parliament, when it met, the same division was kept up. Petitioners and Abhorrers were soon superseded by "Whigs" and "Tories." These terms were in the first place words of abuse or ridicule. "Whigs" was an abbreviation of "Whigamores," the name applied to the fanatical Scotch Dissenters who were then in rebellion in the western counties of Scotland. Tories were Irish outlaws or highwaymen. Terms which were at first applied in ridicule, as so often happens, were later accepted seriously and became the well-established names for the two great political parties. After this time those who belonged to the same party generally held together on public questions, and in parliament one or other of the parties usually had a distinct majority. Having once come into existence, the parties adopted certain points of policy which had very little to do with

their origin. In order to win adherents in parliament the miserable system of bribery sprang up, and the leaders of both parties frequently won members for their side by payment in money, offices, or other considerations.

The formation of parties had a most important effect on the growth of the powers of parliament. A body of men with distinct principles, a party organization, and acknowledged leaders was so powerful that when it proved itself to be in the majority on any question the king and his ministers practically had to conform to its wishes. On the other hand, in earlier times, when just as many adherents of one view had existed, but without party organization or name, neither they nor the king had known their strength. The division into two well-marked parties has been the foundation of English parliamentary power.

434. The Whig Nobles and Merchants and Tory Gentry and Clergy. — The classes of the people which belonged to the Whig and the Tory parties respectively were well defined. The men of most of the great noble families were Whigs. The heads of these families were members of the House of Lords, they had much power in the counties where their estates lay, and many members from the smaller boroughs were elected to the House of Commons by their influence. The merchants of the large commercial towns were also almost always Whigs, that party usually favoring trade and freedom of enterprise and of thought.

The great mass of the country gentry and clergy, on the other hand, were Tories in their political principles. The country squire with his lands and manor house and the country clergyman with his parsonage and parish church formed the great backbone of loyalty to the king and to the church. The country gentleman found occupation in looking after his lands, and acting as justice of the peace, and, in occasional instances, in literary and scientific pursuits. His amusements were hunting and such social intercourse as he could carry on with other families of the same region. The country clergyman performed more or less faithfully the church

services, attended to the duties of his parish, and ate, drank, and played cards with the families of the neighboring gentry. Neither squire nor clergyman knew much of the world beyond his immediate neighborhood, and both were correspondingly narrow-minded, prejudiced, and loyal.

435. **The Attack on the Charters.** — The Whig principles of the merchants were exercised in steady opposition to the autocratic tendencies of Charles. Their influence over the commercial cities was clearly shown in the elections to the later parliaments of his reign, and in the agitations led by Shaftesbury, which were so nearly successful in forcing the Exclusion Bill upon him. To overcome this opposition the king and his ministers devised a plan to put the control of the towns into the hands of men of more royalist tendencies. It will be remembered that each town had a charter or series of charters giving it a right to carry on its own government, but at the same time requiring those who directed its affairs to fulfill certain conditions. In 1682 a prosecution against the city of London was brought into the courts by a writ called "Quo Warranto," claiming that the city had failed to conform to the requirements of its charter and asking that the charter should therefore be forfeited.[1] After a long trial the judges, who were much influenced by the crown, gave a decision against the city, its charter was forfeited, and for a while the king appointed the city officers in entire disregard of its old rights of self-government.

This procedure having proved successful in the case of London, similar suits were brought against a number of other towns. The cities in each case were compelled to surrender their charters, and, although new ones were granted to them, the members of the new

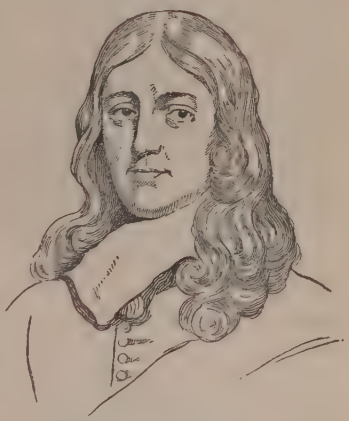
[1] The words *quo warranto* were the first two words of the order of the court requiring the city authorities to appear in court and tell "by what warrant" they still exercised their powers when they had failed to conform to the conditions of their charter. It would then be their duty to prove, if they could, that they had done all that their charter required of them.

government or corporation, who were named by the king in the charter itself, were in almost all cases Tories. The result was that those town governments which elected members to parliament now chose Tories where Whigs had before been sent. But natural tendencies were stronger than royal schemes, and little by little the governments of the larger towns gradually came again into the hands of the Whigs.

436. **Creation of the Standing Army.** — In still another way more influence was gained by the king. In earlier times the English government had kept no troops except in time of war. One of the provisions of the Declaration of Breda had been that the Commonwealth army should be paid off and dissolved. Most governments on the continent of Europe, however, now kept up standing armies, and Charles II had several reasons for wanting to retain soldiers permanently in his service. Instead of disbanding the whole army, therefore, he retained three regiments, one of cavalry and one of foot in England, and one at that time in garrison at Dunkirk. Charles's wife was a Portuguese princess, who brought with her as part of her dowry the possession of Tangier in Africa and Bombay in India, so that there was an excuse for keeping up these regiments for garrison purposes even after Dunkirk was ceded to France. The standing army therefore continued to exist, though for a long time it amounted only to about five thousand men.

437. **Milton.** — Most of the literature of the period of Charles II reflected the character of the court, — brilliant, witty, reckless, with no very high vein of imagination. Dryden is almost the only great name in poetry which really belongs to this period. There were two other men, however, whose writings fall largely within the period of the Restoration and yet whose life and character reflect rather the great Puritan period which had just passed. One of these was John Milton. A brilliant student at Cambridge, while Laud and Wentworth were supporting Charles I in his personal government he was producing poetry imbued with the

spirit of the old Greeks and Romans and some of it written in the ancient languages. The civil war and the Commonwealth, however, appealed strongly to his Puritanism and his love of liberty, and he produced a number of prose works on questions of the day. His *Areopagitica* was an appeal for freedom of reason and of the press against the restrictions imposed by the Westminster Presbyterian Assembly. His *Eikonoklastes*,[1] issued just after the execution of Charles I, was an answer to the *Eikon Basilike* and an attack upon the king and his system of absolute monarchy. Along with these and other essays he wrote from time to time sonnets and other shorter poetic pieces called forth by the great events in the struggle then in progress.



John Milton

He held also an official position, serving as corresponding secretary to the council of state and later to the government of the Protector. His duties were principally to translate into Latin and sometimes to draw up letters or treaties with foreign governments. He had no actual responsibility under the Commonwealth and was therefore allowed at the Restoration to go into an undisturbed retirement. At this time he became totally blind, and all his later productions were preserved by dictation. Composed in this way, he published in 1667 *Paradise Lost*, his greatest poem and one of the greatest in the English language. Its biblical subject, its sense of reality of divine things, its high tone of earnestness, and the sonorous eloquence of the blank verse in which it is written are all characteristic of the best of Puritanism and represent in literature

[1] Greek for *Image Breaker*.

much the same spirit as Cromwell expressed in the practical tasks of government.

438. **Bunyan.** — John Bunyan was a wandering tinker who became a soldier in the parliamentary army and was later an earnest Baptist preacher. After the Restoration he attempted to continue his preaching, notwithstanding the laws against Dissenters, and as a result was imprisoned for a long time in Bedford jail. From his prison he sent out a series of religious tracts and other works. In 1678 appeared his *Pilgrim's Progress*, the most popular allegorical work ever written.

Looked upon simply as a story, the reality of its characters, the simplicity and clearness of the narrative, the quaintness of the observations have delighted millions of readers. It has been translated into all the languages of Europe and has been published in every form of which the printing press is capable. It has also given religious teaching to many hundreds of thousands. It represents the feelings of the Dissenters of that time. They believed that they were living in the midst of a wicked world from which but one here and there would be saved, and that only by fleeing from the occupations, the amusements, and the interests of their time.

439. **The Habeas Corpus Act.** — There are three important events which belong to the reign of Charles II which have not yet been mentioned, — the passage of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Plague, and the Great Fire of London. The writ of *habeas corpus*[1] was an order granted by a judge upon any man who was holding another in confinement, requiring the captor to bring his prisoner before the judge to tell why he was confining him. Then, if a good reason for keeping the prisoner in custody was given, the judge appointed a time for his trial, if not he ordered his release. This writ had been used for centuries in England,

[1] *Habeas corpus* means "You are to have the body," and with the words which follow in the writ require the jailer to have the body of such a person, not merely a message from him, at such a time before the court.

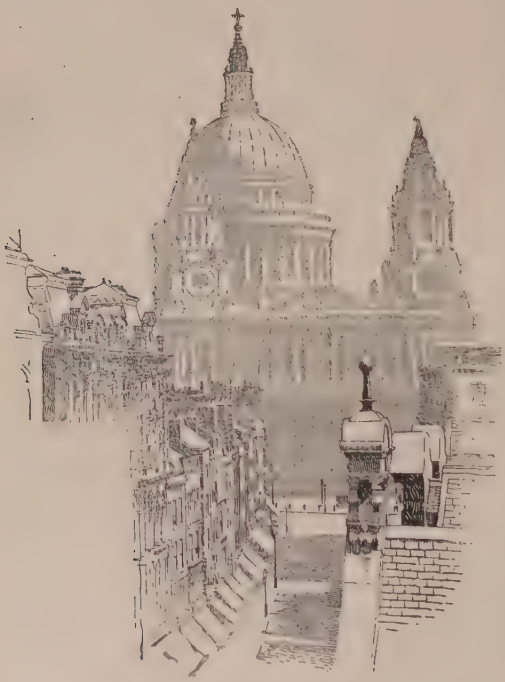
Village of Elstow, Bedfordshire, where Bunyan was born

but there were many ways in which jailers and judges eluded its requirements. This was done especially when the king or ministers wished a man to be imprisoned and held without being able or willing to make any formal charge against him. In 1679, under the influence of Shaftesbury, an act was passed which put an end to all these interferences with the free and effective use of the writ of habeas corpus. Comparatively little interest was taken in the passage of the act at the time, but afterwards it came to be more and more highly valued. It was long a special mark of the freedom enjoyed by the English people, as it gave them a protection possessed by subjects of no other European government.

440. **The Plague.** — In the summer of 1665 there was a visitation of pestilence in London, probably almost as destructive as the Black Death of 1349, and possibly a recurrence of the same disease. Epidemics of pestilence were a frequent occurrence in those days of close building, narrow, dirty, and badly repaired streets, and lack of medical knowledge, but this attack was of such destructiveness as to stand out from all others and to be known especially as the "Plague." It spread into other parts of the country, but was not so severe, and it died away when winter came. During its ravages deaths became so numerous that the ordinary arrangements for funerals were no longer practicable, and wagons were sent by the city authorities through the streets at night, the driver ringing a bell and calling out, "Bring out your dead." The Plague has been made familiar through the well-known description contained in Dryden's poem *Annus Mirabilis*, and in the account written afterwards by Defoe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*.

441. **The Great Fire.** — One of the other events which led Dryden to speak of 1665–1666 as the "wonderful year" was the terrible fire which raged for three days over the most closely built parts of London. Almost the whole of the ancient city was swept away. St. Paul's Cathedral and most of the other buildings

which had made up the London of the middle ages, of Queen Elizabeth, and of the early Stuart period were destroyed. London, therefore, has fewer mediæval remains than any other old city of Europe. The fire caused terrible loss and privation, but there were some compensations. In the first place the germs of the Plague were effectually destroyed, and in the second place the streets were made wider and the houses more healthful as the city was rebuilt.



St. Paul's Cathedral

442. Architecture and Painting. — Plans were made for a restoration of the city on one great system, and, although these were not carried out, yet an admirable opportunity was given for the erection of new buildings. It was a time of much interest in architecture and there were in England several architects of ability and originality. Of these Sir Christopher Wren was the most famous. He had been trained in Italy and was imbued with admiration for the work of the Italian Renaissance. The works on architecture also which had the greatest reputation at this time were written by Italians. Most of the

building of the later seventeenth century, therefore, both in the country and in the burned city, was of this style. St. Paul's Cathedral as we see it now was designed and built by Wren. He is buried within it in a tomb which bears the inscription

Si monumentum requiris, circumspice,

"If you seek his monument, look around you."

In architecture the designs came from abroad, but the architects were usually Englishmen. In painting the artists themselves were still foreigners. The German Holbein and his pupils had painted the portraits of the men of Henry VIII's day; Dutch, Italian, and Spanish painters, those of Queen Elizabeth and James I and their courtiers. In the time of Charles I, Vandyke, a gifted Flemish artist, settled in England as court painter and left numerous and charming portraits of the king, his family, and other prominent men and women of the time. Sir Peter Lely, a Dutchman, was the court and popular painter through much of the period of the Restoration, but he had not the grace of Vandyke, and the court beauties and noblemen of the time of Charles II were either not so handsome in themselves or not so fortunate in their painter as were those of the time of Charles I, or even of the Commonwealth. There were only a few native artists, such as Samuel Cooper, who has left a fine portrait of Cromwell.

443. Science. — The English accomplished more in the investigation of nature than in the production of works of art. In the early years of the seventeenth century, when Sir Francis Bacon was making experiments in natural science and striving to base a philosophy entirely upon such investigation, he had found but few to take an interest in his work. But since then men had more and more turned their attention and their learning to the study of matter, force, the appearances of the outer world, the laws of mathematics, and the variety of vegetable and animal nature. A group of men interested in such matters began to hold weekly

meetings in London and Oxford in the midst of the civil war, and in 1662 a number of them obtained a charter under the name of the "Royal Society." They began in 1665 the publication of the series of transactions which has been kept up ever since. Many discoveries were made and recorded by the scientists of this time, especially by the greatest of them, Sir Isaac Newton.

444. **Chocolate, Coffee, and Tea.** — A change of great interest and importance in the habits of life came about during this period in the growing custom of drinking chocolate, coffee, and tea. Native beer and ale and imported wine had been the common beverages of England. During the middle years of the seventeenth century the use of chocolate made its way into England from Spain and Italy, whither it had been brought from Mexico and the West Indies, where the cocoa tree is indigenous and the habit of making a drink from the nuts a native one. At first it was recommended and used as a medicine, but soon it became customary to take it as a pleasant drink instead of wine or beer. The increasing connection with eastern countries made many new products more familiar during the Commonwealth and the reign of Charles II. Among these coffee was introduced from Arabia and some other parts of Asia where it had long been familiar. Tea began to be used about the same time but grew more slowly into popularity.

One of the results of the common use of these beverages was the opening of rooms known as "coffee-houses" where they were provided and sold. The first of these was opened by a Greek in London in 1652. They became the customary meeting places, in London and the larger cities, of men of leisure who took an interest in public affairs. Here current events were talked over and opinions expressed and compared. The actions of the government as well as books and the fashions were subjected to discussion and criticism. A body of common public opinion, small but influential, was thus created. As far as it related to politics coffee-house opinion was like the opinions of the readers

of a modern daily newspaper; in matters of literature it was more like the common judgment on books obtained by the readers of some literary review.

445. **Newspapers.** — At the coffee-houses the current newspapers could be found and read. Newspapers had been first printed in the reign of James, probably the earliest known dated paper being *The Courant* or *Weekly News*, begun in the year 1621. Notwithstanding the name neither this nor other such publications came out very regularly. They might be described as small pamphlets dealing with the occurrences of the time and appearing about once a week, often with a new title for each number.

When the civil war broke out there was so much of interest going on that a number of newspapers appeared more regularly, once a week being the usual time. Then came a period when the government tried to suppress all of them but one or two, which were authorized to print public news. After the Restoration this effort to put an end to most of the newspapers was kept up. A severe licensing act was passed in 1662 forbidding all publications except those which had passed the government censorship. A regular officer was appointed to hunt out and prosecute all writers and printers of unauthorized papers. This officer was himself allowed to print a newspaper with the authority of government. After many changes and difficulties the *London Gazette* became the only authorized newspaper in 1666. It was a small paper containing very little news and that badly told. Everything that might have been of political interest was kept out by the government, and it did not occur to the publishers to describe the everyday occurrences that fill so much room in modern newspapers.

In the latter part of the reign of Charles II other newspapers were started and either approved by the censor or published secretly. There was so much excitement that there was a ready sale for newspapers, both Whig and Tory, and gradually a number

came to be established and regularly supported by sympathizers with one or other of these parties.

446. Death of Charles II. — Charles died in 1685. The scenes at his deathbed were significant. He suffered from an apoplectic stroke but recovered consciousness and lingered several days. His usual wit did not desert him, for he asked pardon of those around him for his delay, saying that he was an unconscionable time in dying. When he was failing, a Roman Catholic priest was brought to him by his brother. Then, after the church of England clergymen and all others had left the room, Charles confessed, received absolution, and died a member of the church of Rome. There was little that was high-minded or admirable in the character of Charles II. None the less the twenty-five years of his reign had been a period of much constitutional, commercial, and intellectual progress.

James II

447. Accession of James II. — James, duke of York, the late king's only brother, was immediately proclaimed king. It was well known that he was a Roman Catholic, and it was true, if not so well known, that he held the same views of the powers of the king and had the same obstinate determination to have his own way as his father. He had but little of the ease of manner, the wit, and the good nature of his brother. Nevertheless the Tory reaction in the country had been so clear, and the feeling that the king's authority must be upheld in order to avoid something worse was still so strong, that he came to the throne on a wave of popularity. All classes seemed inclined to put the best interpretation possible on what he said and did. His first expressions

of good will and statement of his intention to support the church and state as they were then established also favored the expectation that he would carry on a moderate and reasonable rule. It is true that Titus Oates was tried for his libels upon the Roman Catholics, and in accordance with the known wishes of the king condemned to successive whippings on his bare back through the streets of London and to stand in the pillory; but there was a general acceptance of this as a fair vengeance upon the inventor of the Popish plot which had brought so much suffering upon the Roman Catholics.

448. **Invasion of the Duke of Monmouth.** — A small party, however, had never given up the plan of the Exclusion Bill and the succession of the "Protestant Duke." Within a few months after the accession of James, relying upon these discontented men and upon the large number of Dissenters in the west of England, Monmouth sailed from the continent, landed at Lyme in Devonshire, and declared himself the legitimate successor of Charles II. He was well received by the lower classes in the country and the citizens of many of the small towns, and soon had an army of five thousand men behind him; but not a man of any rank or position took his side. News soon came also that parliament had passed an act of attainder declaring him guilty of treason and condemning him to death without further trial. He marched towards London, still hoping that some men of more influence would take his side, but none came. Soon James marched to meet him with a part of the regular troops and some militia forces. At Sedgemoor on July 6 "King Monmouth," as his followers called him, tried with his raw volunteers to surprise the king's army. They were, however, discovered, the rebels defeated and scattered, and Monmouth himself was captured and taken to London. A few days afterwards he was executed as a traitor.

449. **The Bloody Assizes.** — A sad sequel to this hopeless rising was the series of trials held before a special body of judges

sent through the southwestern counties to punish those who had given encouragement to Monmouth. The unavoidable harshness and the danger of injustice inseparable from treason trials were made far worse by the action of Jeffreys, at that time chief justice of the Court of King's Bench and president of the special commission. This judge was abusive, profane, and cruel. He seemed to take delight in sarcasm and mockery at the expense of those who were brought before him. He never failed to stretch the law to its fullest degree of severity, condemned many to death who might well have been spared, and made unjust sentences doubly hard by adding to them words of contempt and scorn. More than three hundred persons were hanged as a result of these trials and eight hundred and fifty-one condemned to be transported to the West Indies and sold into virtual slavery. A characteristic instance is that of Alice Lisle, an aged and charitable lady of Winchester, who was condemned to death and executed because she had hidden two fugitives in her house, knowing that they were rebels. When Chief Justice Jeffreys returned from the "Bloody Assizes,"[1] as they have always since been called, James showed his approval of his actions by appointing him lord chancellor.

450. **Increasing Tyranny of the King.** — This appointment was one of the earliest of James's actions which showed his inclination to disregard the feelings and the wishes of his subjects. It was quickly followed by others. Indeed a perpetual succession of acts of unpopularity and violations of the existing laws now ensued. Within three short years James aroused the antagonism of one class of people after another till the opposition to him was universal. He made no attempt to secure the good will and support of either the Tory or the Whig party, and consequently gained the distrust of both alike.

An effort on the part of the king to put the Roman Catholics of the country in a better position was natural but was sure to be unpopular unless it were carried out with the greatest care and

[1] "Assizes" meant a session of a court.

moderation. James, on the contrary, entered immediately upon a reckless and illegal course of action to reach this end, and set himself in opposition to the strongest prejudices and fears of the English people.

He quarreled with his ministers and dismissed Halifax and Sunderland, who refused to support him in the measures which he was planning for the aid of the Roman Catholics. As actions of doubtful legality would sooner or later come before the judges, he consulted them beforehand to see which of them would give decisions in agreement with his wishes. Those who opposed him he removed and replaced by such as would be compliant. He used the rebellion of Monmouth as an excuse for increasing the standing army and established a permanent military camp on Hounslow Heath, not far from London. For the purpose of disciplining clergymen who opposed his actions he appointed an "Ecclesiastical Commission Court," at the head of which he placed Lord Chancellor Jeffreys. This was practically a reorganization of the old Court of High Commission which had made itself so obnoxious and had been abolished by the Long Parliament. The king claimed, however, that the latter had been a court having power over both laymen and clergymen, while this had power only over clergymen. He acknowledged that a court having cognizance of affairs of laymen was under the control of parliament to create or to abolish, but pointed out that the king himself was by law supreme governor over the church of England and might regulate the clergy in any way he pleased.

451. **Use of the Dispensing Power.** — The Test Act had required that every person appointed to office should take certain religious tests to which no Roman Catholic could conform. James now appointed officers in the army who would not take the test, and declared to parliament that he intended to support them in their refusal. The House of Commons remonstrated against this, and as a result James prorogued and afterwards dissolved parliament. He declared that the king had always possessed the power of

dispensing with the law in special cases. Charles II had made the same claim, but when parliament protested against it had dropped it for the time, as he so generally did matters of dispute. James was more determined. He had a collusive suit brought before the court to which he had appointed, as just shown, new judges for this very purpose. An officer of the army was prosecuted for exercising his powers without having taken the test. This officer produced in court a written dispensation from the king freeing him from the requirement to conform to this particular law. The judges decided that this dispensation was valid, and that the king had the right, when he thought best, to dispense with the fulfillment of the law in special cases.

452. **Appointments in the Church and University.** — Making use of the dispensing power, James authorized a number of clergymen of the church of England who had recently become Roman Catholics to retain their benefices. He appointed a Roman Catholic to be dean of Christchurch College, Oxford, and allowed the head of University College to announce himself a Roman Catholic, to have mass said openly in the college chapel, and to set up a printing press in Oxford for Roman Catholic literature. He appointed as bishop of Oxford, Parker, a man who was universally believed to be a Roman Catholic, though he had not announced himself publicly to be such. When church of England clergymen preached against "popery" he ordered them to be silent, and when the bishop of London refused to enforce these orders by suspending a prominent clergyman who had disobeyed them, the bishop himself was brought before the new Ecclesiastical Commission and suspended from his office.

In 1687 the position of president of Magdalen College, Oxford, became vacant. James ordered the fellows, who had the right of election to the vacancy, to choose a certain clergyman, a Roman Catholic. When the nominee of the king was shown to be of bad character James recommended another, Parker, the newly appointed bishop of Oxford. The fellows in

the meantime had elected one of their own number, John Hough. They were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission and browbeaten and abused by Jeffreys. They refused, however, to submit, claiming that they had made their election and that Hough was now legally president of the college. James was furiously angry at this somewhat unexpected opposition and insisted on carrying out the sentence of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The fellows were expelled from their positions and Parker was installed in the office. Obstinacy was not all on the side of the king. The fellows would not surrender the keys and it was necessary to break open the doors of the president's lodging in order to allow the new head to enter into possession. In no other way than this could James have more effectually aroused against himself the feeling of influential men of the established church and the educated classes. The very men who had been loyal to his father and his brother now at last felt themselves as much insulted and aggrieved as any Dissenter or parliamentarian.

453. James's Declarations of Indulgence. — In fact James was being forced by the nature of his position to favor Dissenters in order to be able to favor Roman Catholics, and favor to these two bodies of course meant at that time opposition to the claims of the established church. At the very time when the contest was going on with the fellows of Magdalen College, James was in consultation with members of parliament to find whether or not they could be induced to grant toleration. Finding that parliamentary sentiment was all against it, he determined to dissolve that body and use his dispensing power still further. In 1687, therefore, he issued a Declaration of Indulgence similar to those which had been issued and then withdrawn by Charles II in 1662 and 1672. By it he suspended all laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters and gave to all men alike the privilege of worshiping publicly and freely as they pleased. This freedom was immediately made use of by Roman Catholics but only slightly by Dissenters. Many of the latter were Whigs and did not want a

freedom granted by royal breach of the law; others acted according to the advice of leading men of the established church, who were coming to see that they could not spare the support of Dissenters, and who now gave them private assurances that when parliament met again they would use all their influence to have a bill for the toleration of Dissenters passed.

The next year, 1688, James issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, which extended even farther in its provisions than the former. The king, in order to secure for his action the widest publicity, ordered the declaration to be read in all the churches on two successive Sundays in April. Scarcely a clergyman obeyed the king's order. In Westminster Abbey one of the bishops, who was especially subservient to the king, began to read it, but his whole congregation immediately arose and left the abbey. In one of the London churches the minister, instead of reading the declaration, preached on the text, "Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship thy golden image which thou hast set up." It was very clear that the general feeling was opposed both to toleration and to the dispensing power.

454. Petition of the Seven Bishops. — The archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops in the meantime had prepared a petition asking that the clergy might not be compelled to read the Declaration of Indulgence and presented it to the king at his palace at Whitehall. The king, as in the case of Magdalen College, was furious at the resistance to his will and the disobedience to his commands, and exclaimed: "This is a great surprise to me. I did not expect this from your church; especially from some of you. This is a standard of rebellion. . . . God has given me the dispensing power and I will maintain it." They were then dismissed but soon afterwards were arrested on the claim that their petition was a libel and tended to sedition. They were tried in Westminster Hall in the presence of a great gathering of sympathizing noblemen, merchants of London, and other citizens. In the eyes of the people they were martyrs for

the English church and for English liberties. Even the dissenting ministers sent a deputation to the jail to assure the bishops of their sympathy.

The jury could not at first agree, but on the second day they brought in a verdict of "not guilty." It was received everywhere with a tumult of joy. It was the first important decision adverse to the crown since the Restoration. Even the soldiers in the regular army broke into shouts of approval when they heard the news of the acquittal of the bishops. As James heard the universal rejoicing he was struck, apparently, with the first suspicion that his subjects were turning away from him. His obstinate self-confidence and conviction that he was right, and his utter contempt for laws which interfered with his will, had hidden from him the change that was going on in the nation.

455. Birth of a Prince. — This growth of unpopularity and distrust had led many to turn their thoughts to James's successor. The king was already well along in life and might die at any time. His eldest daughter, Mary, and her husband, William, prince of Orange, were already making arrangements for their expected inheritance of the English throne. William's representative in England gave assurances to the leaders of various parties and religious denominations that they would have religious toleration and civil freedom when the princess and her husband came to the throne. All such hopes and plans were brought to a sudden close June 10, 1688, two days after the arrest of the bishops, by the birth of a son to the king and queen. They had been long married, and the fear on the part of the people that there might be a prince to be brought up as a Roman Catholic to succeed his father had almost disappeared.[1] Now it seemed probable that this would take place, that Mary and her husband would never come to the throne, and that England would have to look forward to a line of Roman Catholic rulers.

[1] According to the rules of inheritance of the English crown a male child takes precedence of his older sisters.

456. Invitation to William of Orange. — The birth of the king's son changed the whole situation. There was no advantage now in waiting for better times. If there was to be any opposition to the crown, the sooner the better. A group of prominent men, some bishops and some noblemen, some Tories and some Whigs, on the very day of the acquittal of the seven bishops sent an invitation to William to come over immediately to England to preserve its liberties against the attacks of the king. William had now become stadtholder of the Netherlands and was engaged in almost constant warfare with Louis XIV of France. The various countries of Europe were pitted against one another, almost all except England being ranged on one side or other of the great struggle. William felt this to be a golden opportunity to gain control of England and bring it into the great alliance which he was re-forming against Louis. He therefore immediately began to make arrangements for an invasion of England in the interest of the discontented subjects of James and of his wife's candidacy for the throne. He sent over and caused to be scattered through England a declaration stating the grievances of the English people as he understood them, and explaining that he was coming over to call a free parliament and to protect the nation against the tyranny of its king.

The eyes of the king were at last opened. He realized his position and began rapidly to reverse the most unpopular of his recent acts. He restored the president and fellows who had been expelled from Magdalen College and the bishops and clergymen who had been suspended from their positions. He abolished the court of Ecclesiastical Commission, restored the charters of those towns which had recently been deprived of them by the courts, and prepared to call parliament. But it was too late. William was on the sea with a large fleet and an army of fourteen thousand men, the king had lost the confidence of all parties of the people, and his concessions were taken as an indication of his weakness, not of a change of opinions or intentions.

457. Landing of William. — On November 5, 1688, William landed at Tor Bay, in the southwest of England, not far from where Monmouth had disembarked three years before. The events which followed in this case were vastly different from that unfortunate expedition. William was a trained and tried ruler, a general with a high military reputation, and a statesman with the complete confidence and respect of his subjects in Holland and of those who had invited him into England. His wife had long been looked upon as the next heir to the throne, and it was natural to anticipate that her husband would exercise much influence over her and over the country of which she was queen. The people were therefore not unprepared to receive him.

As William marched towards London by slow stages, with his Dutch army, most of the nobility and gentry of the country through which he passed rode to his camp to offer their services. Soon throughout the whole country the great nobles began to announce themselves for William, and they in turn received promises of support from the gentry of their sections of the country. James marched with the army to meet William, but many of his officers slipped away to the other camp. His personal followers and courtiers did the same thing. Even his daughter Anne and her husband and some of the most intimate of his friends deserted him. He recognized that his army was untrustworthy, and at Salisbury halted and shortly afterwards returned almost alone to London.

From this time James lost courage and spirit. The completeness with which all classes deserted him and turned towards the invader, and the neglect with which he was personally treated, astounded him and he attempted no further resistance. He opened negotiations with William, sent his wife and child to France, and at the same time made preparations to follow them. But he still hoped that in some way he might regain his position and power, and with a view to throwing everything into confusion in the meantime destroyed the writs of summons for parliament

and dropped the great seal into the Thames. Unfortunately, as he was on his way in disguise to take ship to go to France, he was recognized by some sailors and brought back to London. William did not want to make another royal martyr, so he gave orders that James should be furnished with every facility for a more successful flight. At the same time he hastened his march to London. December 18, 1688, James left for France, and on the same day William took up his dwelling at Whitehall.

There had been riots in London and the country was without any regular government. It was necessary, therefore, to do something to reëstablish order immediately. William called together the members of the House of Lords, all the members who had sat in the House of Commons during any of the parliaments of Charles II, and a number of the leading men of London, and asked their advice as to what should be done. They advised the calling of a convention, which, as in 1660, would be a parliament in all respects except that the summons which called it together would lack the signature and the seal of the king. This was done. William sent letters to all the county and town authorities, and a body was elected and gathered at London that was a parliament in everything except name.

458. **William and Mary elected to the Throne.** — After long debates a resolution was passed by this convention declaring that "King James II, having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between the king and the people, and having by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked people violated the fundamental laws and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, the throne is thereby vacant." This declaration was not very logical and not strictly true. James had not abdicated the government, and his withdrawal was not the result of his violation of the laws, but of an armed invasion. But there were so many men in the convention who had preached and taught and forced others to acknowledge that resistance to the king was wrong under any circumstances that it was hard now for

them to find any very logical excuse for their action in resisting the king. By common consent consistency was ignored and the doctrine of nonresistance quietly abandoned. The really important declaration of the resolution was that made in its last clause, that the throne was vacant.

This being so, the convention passed a bill offering the crown to William and Mary as joint sovereigns, the adminstration of the government to be in the hands of William. With this offer they combined a declaration of rights enumerating the actions of the late king which they considered illegal, and stating their expectation that the new king and queen would agree to the parliamentary view of them. William and Mary accepted the crown on these terms and February 13, 1689, were proclaimed king and queen of England.

William III

459. The Revolution of 1688. — The deposition of James II and the elevation of William and Mary to the throne by act of parliament are known as the "Revolution of 1688." The revolution was a final victory of parliament and the people whom parliament represented over the principle of absolute monarchy. The new king and queen and their successors were on the throne because parliament had placed them there, not by "divine right." They had received the crown on certain conditions which were set forth in the very document which granted to them their authority as sovereigns. In the future they could not act independently of parliament, because the same power that had placed them on the throne could exercise control over them when on the throne. The revolution therefore settled forever that the

will of the ruler must be subject to the will of the people as expressed in parliament.

In other respects the "Glorious Revolution," as it is often called, accomplished less than has been sometimes claimed for it. No new classes were given the right to vote and there was no effort to represent the people more completely in parliament. It brought few if any advantages to the common people. It was a very successful revolution, but not one that extended very deeply or affected very many of the interests of the people. Nor was it a very high-minded revolution. The general desertion of James by the army, the nobles, and gentry, and even by those who owed all their fortunes to him and who had been in daily intercourse with him, was ungenerous and disloyal. Many of those also who now betrayed him and took the part of William, afterwards, when there seemed some possibility of his return to England, made secret agreements with him by messenger or letter, promising to give him their aid if he should get back. Thus they were twice betrayers. Among the men who carried out the Revolution of 1688 there was little or none of that devotion to high principles and ideals which governed the Puritans who resisted Charles I in the Long Parliament, and the royalists who sacrificed property and life to the support of the king in the Great Rebellion.

460. The Bill of Rights. — After the new king and queen had been crowned they transformed the convention into a regular parliament, and it proceeded to pass various bills. The most important of these was the "Bill of Rights," which was a reënactment in the form of statute law of the declaration of rights accepted by William and Mary the year before. Some of the most important of the thirteen clauses of the act were the following:

> That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.
>
> That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king; and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of parliament, is against law.

That election of members to parliament ought to be free.

That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

That excessive bail ought not to be required nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

And that for redress of all grievances and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

The Bill of Rights of 1689 should be classed with the Great Charter of 1215 and the Petition of Right of 1628 as the three most important and fundamental documents which define the English constitution. It has also been copied into the amendments to the constitution of the United States and into various other written constitutions. But it must always be remembered that the English constitution is not a written document like that of the United States and those of most other modern countries. The English constitution is merely the form of government of England, and this has been a matter of gradual growth, sometimes settled by definite laws, more often defined only by custom. Originally the king had practically all rights and powers of government, and the three great laws mentioned above are so important because they have restricted the despotism or the misgovernment of the king, and thus allowed the people to govern themselves through parliament and in accordance with law.

461. Annual Taxes and the Mutiny Act. — Some other questions of dispute or doubt were settled immediately after the revolution in such a way as to increase the powers of parliament. A large proportion of the taxes which had formerly been granted for the king's life were now authorized only for a year at a time. William was very angry at this restriction, but finally accepted it. Since that time, although no formal statute has been passed requiring that parliament should meet every year, an annual meeting is practically necessary, for if parliament did

not meet the taxes could not be collected and there would be no money to pay the ordinary expenses of government.

Still in the same year, 1689, the Mutiny Act was passed for the organization and discipline of the army. It consisted of a special act appropriating money for the payment of the troops, and authorizing the use of martial law for one year only. Since that time it has been renewed every year; and here again, if parliament did not meet in any year, the army could not be held together, at least legally, for there would be no martial law in existence. Parliament thus secured control of the army and at the same time made its own annual summons certain.

462. The Toleration Act. — The old religious questions were brought somewhat nearer a solution. An attempt was made, as had been suggested and even tried several times before, to pass a Comprehension Bill. This was a plan to change the prayer book and the rules of the church in such a way as to make the Dissenters willing to conform to them. The established church would thereby have been made more comprehensive. But now, as before and since, no way could be found to accomplish it. No changes that the Episcopalians were willing to make went far enough for the Presbyterians and other Dissenters. In accordance with the promises of William and of leading church of England men, a toleration act was therefore passed, allowing the Dissenters to form congregations and worship publicly in their own way. It also allowed Quakers to affirm instead of having to take an oath. This toleration did not include Roman Catholics or any who did not believe in the divinity of Christ, nor did it allow any but church of England men to hold office. Nevertheless even those who were not given formal freedom of worship were not persecuted. The times had changed; a more tolerant spirit was growing up in all things. The Jews, after being excluded from England for centuries, had begun to come in, from the time of Cromwell, though without legal authorization, and they were by this time quite numerous. They were well

treated, though not politically or socially recognized. Roman Catholics had their own services in private, and little by little began to resume a public and recognized existence.

463. Liberty of the Press. — A few years after the revolution all restrictions on freedom of printing, except the ordinary libel and sedition laws, were taken off. This was not done with any great formality or realization of the greatness of the change. Various plans for the control of books and papers issued from the press had been tried since the invention of printing. At one time the Star Chamber issued ordinances and examined proposed publications; at another the work was in the hands of the bishop of London. For a number of years acts of parliament had been passed from time to time, known as "licensing acts," which authorized the appointment of an official licenser without whose approval no book or newspaper could be published. In 1695 parliament defeated the licensing act of the year, and none was ever afterwards introduced. The press, like religious worship and many other things, had become free with the downfall of the Tudor and Stuart arbitrary government and the widespread beliefs and feelings which had supported it.

464. Summary of the Period from 1660 to 1689. — The restoration which took place in 1660 was not only a restoration of the old line of kings, it was a restoration of parliament, of the established church, and of old customs. People were glad to get back to their old habits, and accepted Charles II as part of the old condition of things. No restrictions were imposed upon him, but practically his powers were very much limited. Just how great this limitation was it took all his reign and that of his brother to find out. At first there were no bounds to the loyalty of parliament and that of the majority of the people; then there was a period when the favor shown to the Roman Catholics awakened the opposition of parliament and the fears of the people; after this came a third period in which parliament and the people, in their dread of a return of civil war, again turned to the support of the king.

Charles generally showed good judgment and ended his reign in peace and popularity. James showed very bad judgment. Between 1685 and 1688 he exercised all the old arbitrary principles of government in an obstinate effort to put Roman Catholics on an equality with Protestants when the great majority of the people were entirely opposed to it. His deposition followed, and the election of William and Mary in 1688 and the adoption of the Bill of Rights in 1689 marked the final success of parliament in its effort to control government.

During the Restoration period the Anglican church was established still more firmly. Roman Catholics on the one hand and Dissenters on the other were shut out from all offices and even prohibited from worshiping according to their own ideas. Only after the revolution did parliament grudgingly pass a bill for toleration.

In foreign affairs England held but a low position compared with what she had occupied under Elizabeth or Cromwell. Charles and James had both been willing to receive money gifts from the king of France rather than to assert the proper position of their country.

General Reading. — MACAULAY, *History of England*, Vols. I and II, is the standard history of this period. His brilliancy of description and grace of language are well known. His statements of fact are mainly correct, but his analysis of the characters and motives of men are not to be taken too seriously. They are usually the mere personal views of a man of a naturally partisan mind. He exaggerates the importance of the Revolution of 1688. RANKE, *English History*, Vols. III and IV, is a fairer history of the period. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ix, sects. 1–7. MACAULAY, *Sir William Temple* and *Sir James Mackintosh* are valuable essays. AIRY, *The English Restoration and Louis XIV*, and HALE, *The Fall of the Stuarts and Western Europe from 1678 to 1697*. MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, chaps. i–iii. ABBOT, W. C., "The Long Parliament of Charles II," in the *English Historical Review*, January and April, 1906, is an important article.

Contemporary Sources. — EVELYN'S and PEPYS'S *Diaries* are of great contemporary interest and value. The Bill of Rights is printed in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, No. 239, and in *Old South Leaflets*, No. 19.

DRYDEN, *Annus Mirabilis*, *Absalom and Achitophel*, and *The Hind and the Panther*, and DEFOE, *History of the Great Plague of London*, are valuable. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 308–334.

Poetry and Fiction. — SCOTT, *Peveril of the Peak*, *Old Mortality*, *The Pirate*, and *The Bride of Lammermoor* belong to this period. BLACKMORE, *Lorna Doone*; CONAN DOYLE, *Micah Clarke*; and Miss YONGE, *The Danvers Papers*, are stories of Monmouth's rising.

Special Topics. — (1) The Great Fire, PEPYS, *Diary*, September 22, 1666, and EVELYN, *Diary*; (2) Scientific Knowledge in the Restoration Period, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. IV, pp. 403–408; (3) Literature of the Restoration, *ibid.*, pp. 422–438; (4) the Pilgrim's Progress, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ix, sect. 2; (5) Shaftesbury, *ibid.*, sects. 4 and 5; (6) the Reaction from Puritanism, *ibid.*, sect. 1; (7) the Massacre of Glencoe, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 102; (8) Influence of the Bill of Rights on the Constitution of the United States, ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, No. 239, or *Old South Leaflets*, No. 19, and *Constitution of the United States*, Amendments 1–10; (9) Coffee-houses, COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 79.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PERIOD OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE 1689–1763

465. The Battle of the Boyne. — William had to fight for his new crown. Although he was declared by the English parliament to be king of Scotland and Ireland as well as of England, his acknowledgment in those countries was not as easily obtained as it had been in England. Yet it was pretty certain that if James remained king of either Scotland or Ireland, he would soon regain the English crown as well, and William recognized that he must hold all three British countries or none. The most prompt and decisive struggle was in Ireland. The deposed king secured some aid from France and came over to Ireland, counting on the support of the Roman Catholic people of that country and of the officials whom he had appointed there before his deposition. He was not disappointed. When he arrived he found a volunteer army awaiting him. The Irish parliament acknowledged his claim and the whole country soon declared for him, except a few towns inhabited almost entirely by English and Scotch settlers. He tried to bring those to submission by force. Londonderry and Enniskillen, the two principal Protestant towns, were subjected to sieges, but showed noble endurance through months of close investment and repeated attacks. Soon William with his Dutch officers and veteran army came over to Ireland and marched to meet his rival. The two armies met at the river Boyne, July 1, 1690. A decisive battle was fought in which the army of James was defeated and scattered and he himself forced to flee to France.

466. The Reconquest of Ireland. — James had not borne himself very well in the field, and an Irish gentleman after the battle called to the English, "Change leaders with us and we will fight you again." But the revolt of Ireland was not dependent on his leadership. The spirit of liberty of the Irish people was aroused and they continued their resistance to William on their own account, even after James had retired to the continent. William seized Dublin and besieged and captured a number of Irish towns, but his army suffered much from the long sieges, the bad weather, and the attacks of the Irish army, which was led by an able and beloved Irish officer, Patrick Sarsfield. In the fall William had to return to England, but the next year, 1691, those whom he had left behind finally scattered the Irish army and captured Limerick, the last important Irish city to hold out. Ireland was thus once more conquered, as she had been so often before, after an unsuccessful struggle for independence. Her struggle in this case was not, however, an entire failure. In order to obtain the surrender of Limerick, Ginkell, the Dutch general commanding the English army, had been forced to grant very favorable terms. All the Irish who wished to go over sea and enter the French service were allowed to do so. About twelve thousand Irishmen, many of them noblemen and officers, took advantage of this opportunity and frequently afterwards fought against the English as part of the French army. The history of Ireland was much influenced by this emigration. After this time the natural leaders of her people were gone, and the names of Irish families became prominent in the annals of France, Spain, and other Roman Catholic powers on the continent, while Ireland herself remained to a great extent a nation of peasants.

In the second place it was agreed in the treaty that the Irish should be allowed to exercise their own religion, as in the reign of Charles II, when the Roman Catholics had been put practically on an equality with the Protestants. This part of the agreement was not carried out. An Irish parliament, which now included

only Protestants, protested against this clause, and William disowned it. Limerick has since been known to Irishmen as "the city of the broken treaty." For more than a century to come the Catholic population of Ireland was terribly oppressed and persecuted by the English government and by the small minority of Protestant settlers in Ireland of English or Scotch birth.

467. Resistance in Scotland; the Massacre of Glencoe. — In Scotland a parliament, somewhat irregularly constituted, accepted the revolution and acknowledged William. Episcopacy, which had lately been reintroduced, was immediately abolished and Presbyterianism and the Westminster Confession reëstablished. But some of the nobles and others refused to agree to the deposition of James, seceded from parliament, and dashed away to the north to rouse the Highlanders in favor of the old king.[1] William sent an army to Scotland to meet them, but the Highlanders defeated it at Killiecrankie. The leader of the Jacobite army, Viscount Dundee, was, however, killed on the battlefield, and the army soon afterwards went to pieces. With great shrewdness William's government distributed a considerable sum of money among the poor Scottish clan chieftains and thus detached them from their party. Edinburgh Castle was held for awhile by the adherents of James, but it finally surrendered and by the year 1691 all open resistance ceased in Scotland as it had in Ireland.

One unfortunate scene of the drama remained to be played. A proclamation was issued requiring all those who had risen under Dundee to lay down their arms and take an oath of allegiance to the new king by the last day of the year 1691, or else be treated as rebels in arms against the government. This was yielded to with more or less willingness by almost all the highland clans. But the head of one small branch of the McDonalds,

[1] This created the "Jacobite" party, so called from *Jacobus*, the Latin form of the name James. The well-known song "Bonnie Dundee" refers to this occurrence. Many other stirring Scotch songs express the sentiments of the Jacobites.

living in a valley called Glencoe, had in a spirit of defiance postponed making his submission till the very last day, so as to be known as the last man to submit. Then he was astonished and alarmed to find that there was no one in reach who had the power to receive his oath. He was forced to make a long trip through the snow-covered mountains, and only succeeded in reaching Inverary and inducing the sheriff to receive his oath on the 6th of January. This somewhat belated submission might certainly have been pardoned under the circumstances. Instead a punishment was meted out to the neglectful clan which has ever since remained one of the dark spots in history. Like other Scottish clans, they had in times past swept cattle from the lowlands and killed men in the contests connected with such expeditions, and thus made themselves chargeable with other crimes besides that of the delayed submission. A warrant was signed by William authorizing the extermination of the whole body of inhabitants of Glencoe, — about a hundred and fifty persons. Soon afterwards a regiment of soldiers appeared in the glen under the command of a member of a rival clan, but a relative of the wife of McDonald, and acting in every respect in a friendly way. They were received unsuspectingly by the clansmen and lived in their houses as their guests amid much merrymaking for two weeks. Then early one morning the soldiers, in obedience to the orders of their officers, fell suddenly upon those who had so lately been their hosts, and proceeded to kill men, women, and children indiscriminately. In

Glencoe: the Scene of the Massacre

the bloody massacre some forty or fifty were killed outright; as many more, principally women and children who escaped in the darkness, died of cold and starvation on the desolate mountains; while the others escaped altogether. Their houses were then plundered and burned and their cattle driven off. The responsibility for the massacre of Glencoe has been the subject of much discussion. The immediate action was certainly due to Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, the king's principal minister in Scotland, who was hostile to the McDonald clan and took this opportunity for revenge. Yet William signed the order, and although all the facts may not have been told him, and he may have relied on the judgment of his advisers, he made himself responsible for the action by supporting the perpetrators of it. The whole story of treachery and cold-blooded atrocity is rather to be looked upon as sad testimony to the barbarity of the times than proof of the especial cruelty of any one man.

468. England and France. — Ireland and Scotland had been secured by William, but the deposed king had an ally in Louis XIV of France, who now determined to give him help to invade England itself. War with France was inevitable, even if James had not sought and obtained help from that country in his effort to get back the throne. Feeling in England had long been rising slowly into a settled hostility to France. This was due to three causes. First, France had become the protector of the Roman Catholics of Europe, as Spain had been a century before, and had threatened to assist Charles and James in emancipating the English Roman Catholics. Secondly, England and France were brought into conflict by the jealousy between their colonists in India and America. Thirdly, the English shared to a certain extent that general feeling of alarm in Europe at the steadily growing military and naval power of France which threatened to make the whole of Europe dependent on that country.

The accession of William of Orange to the crown of England, therefore, precipitated a war which was already imminent.

William had long been the special champion of resistance to the overweening ambition of France, and as stadtholder of Holland he had been engaged for years in a deadly conflict with Louis XIV. The help given by Louis to James transformed this contest, which William was waging on general European principles, into a national English struggle. War with France was from this time forward a repeated occurrence. The first of these struggles began immediately. William having declared war at the request of parliament, an alliance was formed comprising the somewhat unfamiliar allies, England, Holland, Spain, and the German Empire. Hostilities had already begun when the alliance was signed.

469. **First War with France.** — While the struggles had been taking place in Ireland and Scotland the French had sent a fleet of eighty vessels to attack the coast of England on their own account as well as in the interests of James. In 1690 they gained a victory over a combined Dutch and English fleet off Beachy Head and burned part of the town of Teignmouth. Two years afterwards another French fleet, still larger and better equipped, met an English fleet near La Hogue on the French coast. This time the English, after a three days' battle, were victorious, the French fleet was scattered, and England saved from invasion. This was the greatest naval battle since the Armada. It was a doubly important victory, for it discouraged Louis, who after this more and more neglected the navy for his armies, and the English and Dutch fleets protected the Channel without difficulty.

England was now safe from invasion, and the later battles were for the general objects of the war, and not merely to keep the new king on the throne. These battles were fought on the continent, on the border between France and the Netherlands, William being in command of the allied armies. Successive battles went in favor of the French, though William was so skillful in reorganizing his defeated troops that the French obtained comparatively little advantage from their victories. William was able to keep troops in the field for an indefinite time, for he was provided plentifully

with money from England. This made it possible to block the progress of the French, who were finding it more and more difficult to secure funds for their constant and expensive warfare. In 1695 William was successful in capturing from the French the city and fortress of Namur in the Netherlands. It was the first time in fifty-two years that the French had lost a battle or allowed one of their fortified towns to be captured, and it indicated that the tide of success was turning against them, at least for the time. Two years afterwards, therefore, in 1697, a general European peace was agreed upon. The treaty is known as the "Peace of Ryswick," from the little Dutch town where it was signed. It was on the whole favorable to William, as by it he was recognized as king of England, and the French surrendered to their previous owners all the places which they had conquered during the war.

470. Personal Position of William. — William was less successful in obtaining the affection and loyalty of his English subjects than he was in securing his position on the throne and in carrying out his designs in Europe. He was, in the first place, a foreigner, and the English have never been fond of foreigners. He was a cold, silent, almost gloomy man, without any of that cheerful humor and habit of pleasantry which had gained popularity for many an English sovereign who had few other claims to the good will of his subjects. He was hard-working, true to his word, patriotic, and wise; but he was so deeply interested in his statesmanlike projects that he had little time for those lighter interests which make up an attractive royal court and even interest and please those classes which have little part in them. He was valued and respected in England, but never loved or received with enthusiasm. Six years after William and Mary had been crowned the queen died, to the king's sincere sorrow and to the loss of much of the affection in which they had both been held for her sake. Almost the only permanent memorial of Mary's part in the government is the foundation of Greenwich Hospital. Charles II had begun the building of a grand palace at Greenwich on the Thames

a few miles below London, but it had never been finished. Its situation did not suit William's delicate health, and the queen took up the task of completing it, and then endowed it as an asylum for disabled sailors.

William's position as king was probably as unattractive to him as his personality was to his subjects. He did not trust the English noblemen and ministers who surrounded him, and his distrust was fully justified. His lack of popularity had made it seem possible at various times that he might either lose his throne or abdicate it voluntarily. A number of the prominent men of the country, therefore, tried to make good their future fortunes by giving secret promises to James to bring about his return, if there should prove to be any chance of it. William learned of these instances of secret offers of assistance to James one after another, till he felt that there was no one at the court whom he could trust except his own Dutch friends and officers. These he advanced to highly paid places and rewarded with titles and estates. By this action he still further increased the discontent of Englishmen.

Besides these men who were trying to carry water on both shoulders a Jacobite party existed, consisting of those who had never favored the expulsion of James or were now for one reason or another strongly in favor of his return. They had a standing offer from the king of France to send over troops if they would first bring about an insurrection in England, but the whole reign of William drifted by without any good opportunity arriving. In 1696 a Jacobite plot to assassinate him was discovered and several men were tried and executed. The general preference of the nation for William and his system of government was shown at this time by the "Association," which was signed by thousands throughout the country, as was done when Elizabeth was threatened with assassination, declaring that in case he was murdered the signers would support the princess Anne, not James.

471. **Political Position of William.** — William had frequently to feel the tight rein kept upon him by parliament. In most

countries of Europe the king at this time was a ruler with unlimited powers. In England the rebellion and the revolution had placed the center of gravity of government in parliament, not in the king. Parliament was by no means loath to use the newly won extension of its powers. The Bill of Rights, the yearly grant of the revenue, and the passage of the Mutiny Act showed its intention to restrict the powers of the king. The moment the Peace of Ryswick was signed parliament insisted on a reduction of the army. It did not like its expense, and according to old experience dreaded its retention lest it should give the king greater personal powers. William believed that the keeping up of a large army was necessary to force Louis to keep the treaty and to be ready for the next war which should break out. He had to give way, however, and the army was reduced to seven thousand men, leaving out of the service even the Dutch guards of the king. William was so vexed that he seriously planned to abdicate the throne and return to Holland.

Royal Arms of William and Mary, including the Lion of Holland

Parliament also remonstrated against and even withdrew grants of crown land which William had lavishly made to certain Dutch military officers, ministers, and favorites in his service. The complicated treaties into which he had entered with foreign countries were also much criticised in parliament, and four of his ministers were impeached by the House of Commons, though they were supported and protected by the House of Lords.

472. **Party Government.** — The power of parliament was no doubt made greater by the existence of the two great political parties. Usually either the Whigs or the Tories had a decided majority in the House of Commons, and it acted in important matters according to the principles or the policy of that party. The Tories wanted peace abroad and the continued control of the established church and of the landholding gentry at home. The

Whigs, who were in a majority during the early part of William's reign, were more inclined to keep up the army and the foreign war, to extend toleration in religion, and to favor the interests of the merchant class. In lesser matters parliament did not act very consistently, because the attendance was apt to be irregular and few devices had yet been invented to keep the majority together. At first William, like Washington in his first administration, chose his ministers from both parties, on the ground that both parties had joined to bring him into power. But the plan did not work well. There were constant disputes among the ministers and they did not get along well with parliament. In 1694, at the suggestion of Sunderland, a shrewd statesman, he dismissed the Tories and chose his ministers from the Whig party alone.

Now the ministers and the majority in parliament were of the same party, and everything went along much more smoothly. The Whig members of parliament attended more regularly, because if they did so, and thus helped the ministers, they were rewarded by appointments to office and other favors. If the ministry found the Whig majority in parliament becoming slender, they could and unfortunately did keep it together for some time longer by paying members to vote for the measures they wanted passed. The practice of bribery was on the increase. Ministers not only gave bribes to members of parliament but also got rich themselves by receiving bribes for their favor.

By choosing all his ministers from one party for the purpose of getting along better with parliament, William probably did not realize that he was making them his masters and putting still more power into the hands both of ministers and of parliament. But he soon discovered that he had done so. When the Tories obtained a majority in parliament and insisted on a change of policy, the king, in order not to be in constant conflict with parliament, found it necessary to allow the most prominent of his Whig ministers to resign and to appoint Tory ministers in their places. On the other hand, when a group of ministers of the same party

as the majority in parliament gave any advice to the king he found himself practically compelled to take it. He could not carry out plans against the wishes of his ministers, and he could not now very well choose new ministers, because they would be of the opposition party and would not be able to get along with parliament. The ministers were coming to have power even over the king through being the representatives of the majority of parliament.

473. **The Cabinet.** — Still another advance in the power of the ministers was being unwillingly conceded during the same time. Under Charles II, as has been seen, it had become usual for the king to dismiss individual ministers who became obnoxious to parliament. Under William and Mary, as just described, it had become usual for all the ministers to be of one party and for all to resign when their party lost its majority in parliament. It now became customary for a certain number to hold together and to be consulted together by the king. The first conspicuous instance of this was the group known as the "Whig Junto." After William had decided to have all his ministers of one party he regularly consulted the four who held the highest positions and in whom he had the greatest confidence. In earlier times the king had consulted the ministers, as in the case of the "Cabal," separately, not as a body; or if he consulted them in a group, it was the larger body known as the "Privy Council" which he called together. Now, however, it was a small group of influential ministers who met frequently for purposes of conference with the king or for consultation among themselves. Although this practice was by no means invariably followed afterwards, yet it was never long given up. It grew more and more to be the regularly established custom that a certain number of the king's ministers should form a sort of council, and that they should act together after once being appointed, and resign together when they were opposed by parliament. This was the earliest form of the cabinet, which has now become such an important part of the English government.

474. **The National Debt.** — Notwithstanding all the disorder and civil wars of the seventeenth century, England had been growing rich. Commerce had brought into existence a class of wealthy men, especially in London and the other large cities, who possessed larger amounts of capital than had been known before. This money was drawn upon by the government not only by taxation but also by borrowing. Loans were authorized by parliament, and those who lent to the government were assured of receiving the interest on their loans by a guarantee of the income from certain taxes. The permanent national debt of England began in 1692, when parliament authorized the treasury to borrow a million pounds. From this time forward the government has paid the interest on all that it has owed, but has made no attempt to repay all that it has borrowed, and has even borrowed more money from time to time whenever it has had any special need. When any person to whom the government owes part of its debt wishes the money, he simply sells his claim to some one else who has money to loan and is willing to take over the bond of the government. Thus the national debt has become a permanent institution and has always been a popular and safe form of investment.

475. **The Bank of England.** — In 1694 the Bank of England was founded. Before this time large amounts of money were usually deposited with the London goldsmiths, who had strong vaults and a high reputation for honesty. But a safer place of deposit and one more specially suited to its purpose was evidently needed for the large sums now being used in business. As the war with France dragged on, the government also needed to borrow more money for its expenses. A plan was suggested by a Scotchman named William Patterson, who was a member of parliament and also a friend of the chancellor of the Exchequer, by which these two needs were fulfilled and certain other advantages reached at the same time. Following his plan a number of wealthy merchants formed a company and agreed to loan the government

£1,200,000 at 8½ per cent interest, and were in return granted a charter allowing them to establish, under certain regulations, a bank to receive deposits, loan money, and carry on a general banking business. This constituted the Bank of England. The bank has been rechartered by parliament time and time again, and the rules under which it has been allowed to act have been repeatedly changed. It has been the financial agent of the English government in all its larger money operations and its stock has been one of the most common forms of investment in England. It was later allowed to issue a certain amount of paper

The Bank of England

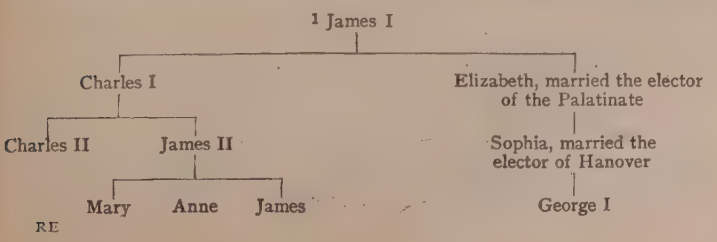
money, and Bank of England notes are the familiar form of paper currency. Its building was placed in the heart of the city of London and has been enlarged repeatedly until it has come to be one of the most conspicuous objects of the great city. It is sometimes called the "Old Lady of Threadneedle Street," from the name of one of the streets on which it borders.

476. **The Act of Settlement.** — After the death of Mary the question of the succession to the crown came up. William and Mary had no children and William did not marry again. All the children of Anne, Mary's sister, had died. It was evident,

therefore, that, although Anne would succeed William, some further arrangements would have to be made as to who should succeed her. The "Act of Settlement" was adopted by parliament in 1701 to settle this and other difficulties. It passed over all the near relatives of Mary and Anne, because they were Roman Catholics, and arranged that the crown on the death of Anne should go to her second cousin Sophia, electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James I.[1] Sophia was the nearest relative who was a Protestant and therefore satisfactory to most Englishmen.

While the succession to the crown was being arranged by this act occasion was taken to include in it a number of provisions of constitutional importance. These were on points which had not been thought of when the Bill of Rights was drawn up, or which were suggested by recent occurrences or by the anticipated coming of a foreigner to the throne. In future, according to this act, every ruler of England must be a member of the church of England, he must not marry a Roman Catholic, nor may he declare war on behalf of his foreign dominions. According to its terms judges hold their offices during good behavior and can be removed only at the petition of both houses of parliament. No pardon granted by the king can stand in the way of an impeachment by the House of Commons. Other provisions were intended to prevent favoritism to foreigners, to restrict the influence of government officers in parliament, to lessen the authority of the cabinet, and to strengthen that of the old privy council.

477. War of the Spanish Succession. — During the later years of William's life clouds were gathering for another great war in



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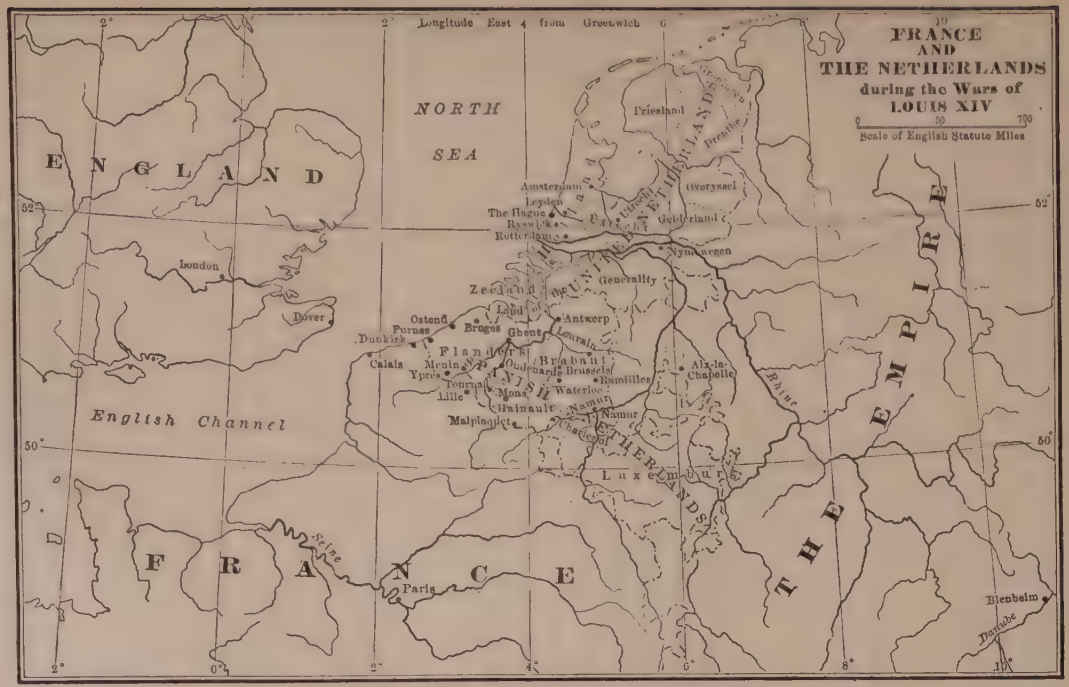
Europe. The king of Spain was weak-minded and had no children or other near relatives. There was great probability that a part or the whole of his widely scattered dominions in Europe and America would either come into the possession of Louis XIV of France or come under his influence by being bequeathed to a member of his family. This would enormously increase the already great French power in Europe; and it was therefore to the interest of other nations to prevent such a settlement. The rulers of the other countries of Europe also hoped themselves to obtain part or the whole of the Spanish inheritance. Two successive treaties between England, France, and the other countries interested were formed under William's influence, known as the "partition treaties," to arrange the division of the Spanish dominions peacefully. When the king of Spain died, however, it was found that he had left Spain and the great bulk of his dominions to the grandson of the king of France. The ambassador at Paris said "There are no more Pyrenees." Louis threw over the partition treaty and prepared to fight for his grandson's claims. Other countries declared their opposition to this increase of the power of France, and the long War of the Spanish Succession broke out.

478. **The Grand Alliance.** — This war began in 1701, but England was drawn into it only by later occurrences. Lying between France and the Dutch republic was a group of provinces then under the government of Spain and known as the "Spanish Netherlands." A number of towns in these provinces were heavily fortified and occupied by garrisons half Spanish and half Dutch. They were known as the "barrier fortresses," being intended to protect the Spanish Netherlands in the first place and Holland in the second from invasion by the French. On the outbreak of the war, by a secret agreement between the French government and the Spanish parts of the garrisons, the Dutch were suddenly driven out and French garrisons introduced. The barrier towns thus became a point of attack instead of a defense to William and constituted an immediate danger to his Dutch


FRANCE
AND
THE NETHERLANDS
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NORTH
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THE EMPIRE
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Dover
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Overyssel
Amsterdam
Leyden
The Hague
Ryswick
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Gelderland
Nymwegen
Generality
Zeeland
Land of
Antwerp
Ostend
Furnes
Bruges
Ghent
Dunkirk
Calais
Flanders
Menin
Ypres
Tournai
Lille
Mons
Brabant
Oudenarde
Brussels
Ramillies
Waterloo
Hainault
Namur
Malplaquet
Charleroi
Aix-la-Chapelle
Luxemburg
Blenheim
2°
0°
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6°
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52°
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dominions. William thereupon entered the struggle against Louis and signed a treaty known as the "Grand Alliance," — an agreement between England, Holland, and the Austrians to drive Louis out of the barrier fortresses and to prevent the union of France and Spain. At almost the same time Louis performed an act of hostility to the English people as marked as that against the Dutch. James II since his deposition had lived as an honored guest of the king of France in the palace of St. Germain, not far from Paris. Louis had nevertheless at the Peace of Ryswick recognized William as king of England. In 1701 James died and Louis immediately disregarded the treaty and roused the anger of all England by acknowledging the son of James as king of England, speaking to him as "your majesty," and inviting him to visit him in state as if he were a brother monarch. This young man, whose name was James and whom his followers called "James III," became known in England from this time forward as the "Pretender."[1] When parliament met the Whigs proved to be in a majority, and intense indignation was expressed that the king of France had recognized as king one whose claims had just been distinctly rejected by the English parliament in the Act of Settlement. On the strength of this feeling, combined with the former causes for hostility to France, England went heartily into the war. The army was raised to forty thousand men, the navy brought into good condition, and a large amount of money appropriated for their expenses.

William did not live to take the lead of these troops in the field, as he had anticipated. Early in the year 1702 he was injured by a fall from his horse and soon afterwards died. Anne then became queen.

479. **Marlborough.** —William before his death had placed temporarily at the head of the united English and Dutch forces a

[1] In later times when his son, Charles Edward, came to fight for his father's claims and his own they were called respectively the "Old Pretender" and the "Young Pretender."

man who was destined to win far higher military glory and success than his own. John Churchill, now earl and afterwards duke of Marlborough, was one of the courtiers of James II who had been taken into favor by William, enriched by the grant of estates, ennobled, and employed in many duties for the government. He had seen much military service and shown brilliant abilities when acting as an officer in Ireland and in the Netherlands. He was not a man of high character and he had, like other courtiers and ministers of William, at one time made secret terms with James. When this was discovered he had been for a while deprived of all his offices and disgraced at court. William was not a man, however, to let good ability be wasted when there was need for it, and men of military training and gifts were none too numerous at that time. Marlborough was therefore restored to favor and placed in command of the allied English and Dutch forces on the continent immediately under the king.

Queen Anne

William's death left him for the time with all the military power and responsibility in his hands. In military and foreign affairs it was Marlborough rather than the queen who was the real successor of William. This resulted partly from the fact that he had directly and by means of his wife very great personal influence over the new queen. Anne was a good woman but not very bright, nor was she very strong-willed. Her husband, Prince George of Denmark, although he lived in England, was a foreigner by birth and interests and a quite insignificant man who furnished her no guidance. During the early part of her reign, therefore, while Anne ruled England, it was Marlborough, and still more Lady Marlborough, who ruled the queen. In their

private intercourse and correspondence Lady Marlborough addressed the queen as "Mrs. Morley," while Anne addressed her as "Mrs. Freeman," and no deference or ceremony was practiced. In fact Lady Marlborough frequently criticized the queen so harshly as to reduce her to tears, and dictated to her just what she should do and say under certain circumstances.

480. **The Great Victories of the War.** — Marlborough, who had been made by the queen captain general of all English forces wherever they might be, now proceeded to the Netherlands and in conjunction with other leaders of the allies worked out plans for the contest against the French. Year after year campaigns under various leaders were fought in the Netherlands, in southern Germany, along the Rhine, in Italy, in Spain, and in Asia and America. The fleets fought in the Channel, the Bay of Biscay, the Mediterranean, and the West Indies. Many sea and land battles were fought and both successes and reverses were numerous; but year by year Marlborough himself gathered a harvest of brilliant victories. Four great battles, fought respectively in the years 1704, 1706, 1708, and 1709, have become famous. They were those of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. The first of these was the culmination of a bold and skillful campaign in which Marlborough had fought his way through Germany till he had succeeded in uniting his troops with those of his Austrian and other allies near the little village of Blenheim on the Danube River in Bavaria. The French and their allies had gathered there to meet them, hoping in case of a victory to press on and capture Vienna. A bloody contest was fought between the two armies, each numbering more than fifty thousand men. It resulted in a brilliant victory for Marlborough and his allies, the destruction of a large part of the French army, the driving of the French permanently out of Germany, and a break in the tradition of their almost invariable success. Marlborough, who had already been created a duke and granted a life pension of £5000 a year, was now congratulated and thanked by

Anne and by both houses of parliament, and given the old royal manor of Woodstock, on which was built for him at public expense the great building which has always since been known as Blenheim palace.

The victories of Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet were won in various parts of the Netherlands, which was necessarily the principal theater of the war, as it was the border land between France and Holland. The war went generally against the French, and at various times they offered favorable terms to close it. The members of the Grand Alliance, however, were anxious to win still further advantages, and Marlborough was not as wise an adviser in statesmanship as he was a brilliant commander in war. It was continued therefore at enormous expense and for doubtful advantages.

481. Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. — Even when peace was finally made the terms were neither so disadvantageous to France nor so honorable to England as might have been secured at an earlier time. In 1711 the English ministers opened secret negotiations with the French king apart from their allies and agreed on all general points before they disclosed the matter to them. Finally the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713. The French prince was allowed to keep the throne of Spain, where he had already been crowned and obtained the acceptance of most of his new subjects. France on the whole, however, lost territory and prestige, and even the close family alliance with Spain proved to be of but slight advantage to her. The Italian possessions of the Spanish crown were handed over partly to the Italian duke of Savoy, partly to the Austrian emperor. Austria also obtained the old Spanish Netherlands. Holland gained little except freedom from the constant threat of being invaded and conquered by France.

England obtained greater advantages from the treaty than any other European country. Her gains were, however, not of European territory, but almost all in the direction of that extension of

her colonial empire and distant interests which was the most marked tendency of English growth during this period. On the continent of Europe she retained Gibraltar and Minorca, which had been captured by her fleet during the war. In America she obtained the recognition of her claims to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the land around Hudson Bay, and one of the West Indian Islands. She also obtained a valuable commercial concession from Spain in the form known as the "Asiento Treaty."

This gave her not only permission to take negro slaves from Africa to the Spanish West Indies, which had been a rather shameful object of struggle on the part of her merchants and sailors from the time of Queen Elizabeth, but also an actual and legal monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies for thirty years. She also obtained the right to send to Porto Bello annually one ship of six hundred tons burden loaded with goods to sell to the Spanish colonists. This entering wedge for trade with the Spanish colonies was valued and put to its fullest use by England shortly afterwards.

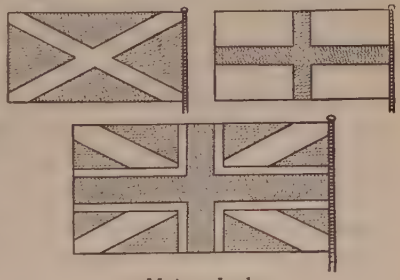
Somewhat similar trading advantages in another direction were obtained by means of a treaty with Portugal, which has always been known as the "Methuen Treaty," from the name of the minister who arranged it. By its terms England agreed to admit port and other Portuguese wines into England at a rate of duty one third lower than she admitted those of France, while Portugal in return gave admission to English manufactured goods on very favorable terms.

482. English Naval Supremacy. — England emerged from the War of the Spanish Succession with the strongest fleet in the world. The naval greatness of Spain had long since passed away. She was too poor, too badly governed, and too much occupied with contests on land to keep up a great navy. Indeed, after the loss of the Armada her fleet had never been brought up again to any considerable efficiency. The navy of Holland rose into prominence and strength when the long contest with Spain and

the necessities of her colonial dominions led her to make herself a great naval power. The contests with England during the Commonwealth and early Restoration period had shown her fleet in its greatest development. But the long and expensive contests that the Netherlands had to wage on their land frontiers to protect themselves against Louis XIV had prevented them from keeping up their navy. Then in turn France, as part of her great national strength under that monarch, developed a great navy which was able to defeat or at least to cope on equal terms with that of England. But the enormous sums which had to be spent in her widely extended land wars left little means for keeping up a navy. England alone was in a position to continue the building up of her naval power; and for the sake of her colonies, her growing commerce, and the protection of her coasts from invasion she felt the necessity of doing so. At the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, therefore, England was far stronger on the sea than any of the other European powers, and she continued to hold this supremacy. It was not a period of great sea fights, and no victories on the water were gained to correspond to Blenheim and other such victories on land, but England's predominant sea power was recognized by her rivals and carefully kept up by her own statesmen.

483. Union with Scotland. — When James I had tried to induce the English and Scotch parliaments to unite more closely and to form one nation with the same laws, church organization, and government, as well as the same king, neither the Scotch nor the English were ready for any such union. It had taken them about a century to become so. Immediately after Anne came to the throne, in 1702, commissioners were appointed from both countries to arrange terms for a closer union. There was much difficulty in overcoming the obstacles in the way. The Scotch demanded the right to share in the commerce of England. Englishmen, on the other hand, were very jealous of the trade which they had built up with their colonies and with other countries,

and they were reluctant to admit any one else to share it. After long disputes, however, this and other questions were settled, and in 1707 the union was agreed to by both nations. There were no longer to be separate English and Scotch parliaments, but a joint parliament for what was now called the "Kingdom of Great Britain." Forty-five members were to be elected to the House of Commons from Scotch counties and boroughs, and sixteen peers were to be elected to the House of Lords by the whole number of Scotch nobles. The "union jack" was at the same time adopted as the flag of the United Kingdom. It was formed by uniting the square red cross of England with the Scots' diagonal white cross of St. Andrew.[1] The established church of Scotland remained presbyterian while that of England remained episcopalian. Besides the church, the common and statute law, the money and banking systems, the universities, and many other of the older institutions of the countries remained separate, and there long remained, and indeed still remains, much difference of national feeling. It was but little more than the crown and the legislatures which were combined, but this was sufficient to make their policy in all foreign and in many internal questions the same.



Union Jack

484. **Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.** — Scotland was united to England on almost equal terms and received from the larger country the consideration due to a willing partner. Ireland, on the other hand, so far as the native Irish were concerned, remained,

[1] The word *jack* is said to be derived from Jacques, the French form of the name James, James I having first planned a combined flag for the two nations.

as she had always been, a conquered country, held down unwillingly by the superior power of England. A great many of her leading men, as before described, had emigrated and were making successful careers for themselves in the military or civil service of France and other Roman Catholic countries. The mass of the people of Ireland was therefore a poor and despised peasantry with a mere scattering of men of higher position and abilities, especially in the towns.

Ireland was ruled partly in the interests of the English and Scotch settlers, partly in the interests of England herself. The Irish parliament consisted of Protestants only, which excluded probably four fifths of the population, since almost all those of native blood had clung to their Roman Catholic faith. This Protestant parliament from time to time passed harsh laws, usually described as the "penal laws," intended to keep down the Roman Catholics. Some of these laws had reference to property. The land belonging to a Roman Catholic must at his death be divided equally among his children, instead of all descending to the eldest son, as would usually occur if the father had been a Protestant; if any one of the sons, however, became a Protestant, he received all the land, while his brothers, if Roman Catholics, received none. If parents with any property died leaving minor children, these were placed by law under the control of a Protestant guardian. Other laws concerned education. No Roman Catholic could enter the university, or be a schoolmaster, or send his child to a Roman Catholic school at home or abroad. The Irish Roman Catholics must either remain absolutely ignorant or go to Protestant schools. A third group of penal laws referred to religion. The church of England had been made the established church of Ireland also, and although Presbyterianism was now allowed under the Toleration Act, Roman Catholic worship was not permitted. In 1703 a law was passed which enabled more than a thousand priests to perform service in their parish churches on being registered and supervised by the

government. But they were required to take such oaths as made it impossible for them to perform many of their religious duties; they were subject to heavy fines and penalties for trying to convert Protestants and for marrying Protestants to Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholics were excluded from the right to hold office or to serve in positions of honor or trust. Many other laws were passed from time to time during the eighteenth century, either by the Irish or the British parliament, laying the most burdensome restrictions upon the native Irish people.

485. **Trade Laws against Ireland.** — This oppression of the Roman Catholic Irish was imposed upon the great majority of the nation by a small minority, — the English and Scotch settlers. These Protestant settlers were enabled to keep down their countrymen by the assistance of England; but they in their turn had to recognize their inferior position when English trade interests were endangered. The English government had no intention of allowing any industries to grow up in Ireland in the hands of either Roman Catholics or Protestants, which would interfere with the interests of England. The English parliament therefore prohibited the importation into England of any kind of cattle, meat, butter, or cheese from Ireland. A law was passed forbidding the export of Irish woolen manufactures to any country but England, and burdening even these with heavy duties, thus ruining the Irish cloth manufacture for the greater prosperity of that of England. In many other ways Irish industry was restricted. This led to much discontent even among the English and Scotch Protestant settlers in Ireland, and to a steady emigration of many of them to America, where they made up a considerable part of the population of several of the colonies and became known as the "Scotch-Irish."

486. **Political Parties under Queen Anne.** — Anne was by nature and training a high Tory. She was narrow-minded, conservative in all her feelings, and devoted to the established church. When she came to the throne the Tories had a majority in parliament.

Marlborough, not being closely identified with either party and wanting only to obtain support for the war and to retain his influence over the queen, proclaimed himself also a Tory. At the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, therefore, the condition of things was a peculiar one. The sovereign, the ministers, and parliament were all Tories, and yet they were carrying on a great foreign war, favoring commerce, and allowing Dissenters to increase their numbers and influence, all of which were Whig and not Tory principles. This had arisen partly from the personal influence of William, partly from the peculiar condition of the times, which made the national interests stronger than party prejudices.

Arms of Queen Anne

Such a condition could not last very long. The interest of the nation in the war and the personal influence of Marlborough gradually forced the Tories out of office and their majority was lost in parliament. By 1705 a clear Whig majority had come into existence, and as one Whig minister after another was appointed to take the place of the Tories who resigned, Marlborough declared himself a Whig. By 1708 the queen was forced to appoint a full Whig ministry, much as she disliked that party and its policy.

The early part of the reign of Anne marks the period at which three customs, long growing, as already shown for two of them, became a settled part of the English constitution. First, the sovereign must drop his or her own personal views on politics and appoint a ministry of the same party as the majority in parliament. Secondly, the ministry or cabinet must all be of the same party, and must act as a unit in all matters of general policy. Thirdly, the sovereign must sign a bill which has received the approval of the ministry and both houses of parliament. The third of these customs arises from the other two. If the sovereign refuses to sign a bill which the ministers recommend, they will resign their

office; but the sovereign cannot appoint a ministry from the other party, because they would be in a minority in parliament. Therefore there would be no ministry and government could not go on. In 1707 occurred the last case in which the sovereign refused to sign a bill passed by parliament. Since that time the veto power has ceased to be exercised by the English kings. When a bill has been passed by parliament the sovereign signs it as a matter of course.

The power of the Whigs did not last long. The nation was becoming weary of the war, the queen was becoming weary of Lady Marlborough, the ministry and the majority in parliament acted unwisely in impeaching a noisy Tory preacher of London named Sacheverell. A wave of popular excitement spread over the country, high church and royalist views were expressed everywhere, the ministers were attacked, and in the next parliament they lost their majority. The Tories were again in power, at least so far as having the ministry, a majority in the House of Commons, and the sympathy of the queen extended. The House of Lords had still a small Whig majority. A bold stroke was now made. There was just one way in which a majority in the House of Lords could be changed. The sovereign has a right to create new noblemen when he or she thinks best. The ministers now asked Queen Anne to exercise this power by raising twelve men, all of whom were known to be Tories, to the peerage. They thus became members of the House of Lords and changed its majority to the same party as that to which the ministers and the majority of the House of Commons belonged. From this occurrence it became evident that just as the king has to give way in any contest with parliament, so if at any time the two houses are strongly opposed to one another, the House of Lords may be forced to give way to the House of Commons.

Several laws were now enacted to keep down the Whigs. The "Occasional Conformity Act" was intended to prevent the practice by which a Dissenter conformed to the church of England test

on the one occasion when he entered upon his office, but at all other times attended his own church. The "Property Qualification Act" prohibited any one from being a member of parliament who did not have an income drawn from land amounting to at least £200 a year. The "Schism Act" made it necessary for every one to obtain a license from the bishop of his diocese before he could open a school.

Some of the Tories went still farther in their opposition to the liberal policy in force since the revolution, and became out-and-out Jacobites. They opened up communications with the son of James II and offered to obtain the repeal of the Act of Settlement of 1701 and to endeavor to make him king on the death of Anne, if he would become a Protestant. He refused to barter his religion for a throne, and the Tory leaders knew very well that not even their own party, the country clergy and gentry, would accept a Roman Catholic king. While these plans were in progress Anne died suddenly, in 1714, and an entire change came over all parties.

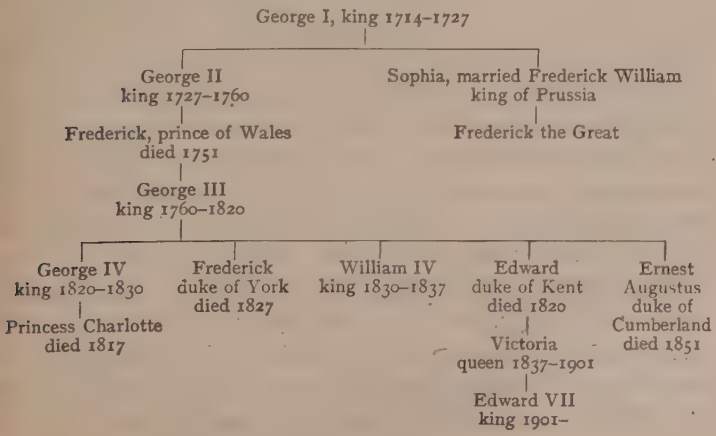
487. Accession of George I. — The electress Sophia of Hanover had died a few weeks before Anne. Her son was immediately proclaimed king of England as George I, retaining his Hanoverian dominions also. The "Four Georges" followed one another in succession, their reigns continuing through the whole remainder of the eighteenth century and far down into the nineteenth.

They were not gifted rulers or men of a very fine type, but the time had gone by when the personality of the king was of much consequence. The regular course of government would now be pursued and the desires of parliament carried out, no matter who sat upon the throne. With the exception of one short period, ministers looked to the majority in parliament, not to the king, for support. In other respects this was a period of great importance for England, — a period in which she grew from an insular state to a great empire, and in which internal changes and struggles of the greatest interest took place.

George I, believing with some reason that all Tories were Jacobites, gave his entire confidence to the Whigs and formed a ministry from among them. There had been much popular dread also lest the Tory leaders during Anne's last days would bring in the Pretender as a Roman Catholic king. The next parliament therefore proved to have a Whig majority. After the recent party changes the Whig leaders now used their position and influence so skillfully and the classes that supported them were so strong that that party became established in power for almost fifty years. Instead of the rapid alternation of parties which had occurred under William and Anne, there was a long control by the Whigs unbroken till 1760.

488. Jacobite Rising of the Earl of Mar. — An effort to drive out the new king of the House of Hanover[1] and to restore the old Stuart line followed immediately upon the accession of George I. The Pretender, when he refused the offer of the Tory leaders made just before Anne's death, had hoped that on her deathbed she would recommend him as her successor, and that Louis XIV of France would then support him in an attempt to get back his

[1] The Hanoverian line of kings was as follows:



throne without giving up his religion. Anne and Louis died within a year of one another, but neither of them gave him encouragement or help. Thereupon, in 1715, at his summons some of his adherents in Scotland rose in rebellion under the earl of Mar, and others in the north of England declared for him at the same time; but after some fighting both were defeated by government troops and surrendered or were scattered. Although the Pretender landed in Scotland he showed himself incompetent and spiritless and soon returned to France. Several of those who had taken part in the rising or in plots connected with it were executed for treason, but the greater number were allowed to escape or were pardoned. The rising of 1715 had been scarcely more than a ripple on the surface, and the real interests of England at the time were in other directions.

Coat of Arms under Kings of the House of Hanover, 1714–1807

489. **The South Sea Bubble.** — The broadening commercial interests of the nation, the foundation of the bank, and the increasing wealth of the country had led at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession to the formation of mercantile companies of all kinds and to a great deal of speculation in their stock. Lottery after lottery was established and numerous wild projects were entered upon principally for the purpose of dealing in the stock of the companies formed to develop them. One organization of this kind, the South Sea Company, was founded and obtained a charter from the government in 1711 for the purpose of trading with the Spanish American colonies and other parts of America and Asia. It was favored by the ministry, given especially great commercial privileges, and treated, like the bank, as being almost a part of the government. Its capital was increased from time to time and its privileges extended. Holders of the national debt were encouraged to give up their bonds and take for them stock of the South Sea Company. Finally, in 1720, the directors of the

company obtained an act of parliament authorizing them on payment of an immense sum to take the whole national debt into their management.

Speculation more reckless than any before or since in English history now began in this stock. Everybody believed that the plans must be all right, since the government approved of them. The directors officially promised large dividends, though there was really but a bare possibility that they could pay any at all. It was rumored that the government was arranging a treaty with Spain by which that country was to receive Gibraltar and Minorca and give England in return gold mines in Peru which were to be turned over to the South Sea Company. All classes of people were carried away by the passion for speculation. Country gentlemen sold the estates which had been in their families for generations to buy shares of the South Sea Company and other stocks. Clergymen, dissenting ministers, courtiers, noblemen, literary men, poor widows, — all put their savings, their earnings, or their borrowings into stock, especially that of the favored South Sea Company. The price of its shares rose and rose, and yet there were thousands anxious to buy them at any price. The stock finally sold at ten times its par value.

This went on for some weeks. Then the excitement began to die down. People began to doubt whether they would get such large returns for their money as they had anticipated, and here and there began to sell their stock at less than they had paid for it. Then the bubble burst; men came to their senses and realized that there was no basis for all this nominal value, and that no commercial company could carry the national debt. Immediately there was a panic. Everybody wanted to sell. Lenders of money could not get it back and failed in all directions. The stock fell in price to almost nothing. Thousands lost everything they had and were reduced to bankruptcy and ruin.

490. Political Effects of the Panic. — Such periods of reckless speculation and subsequent loss have occurred frequently since.

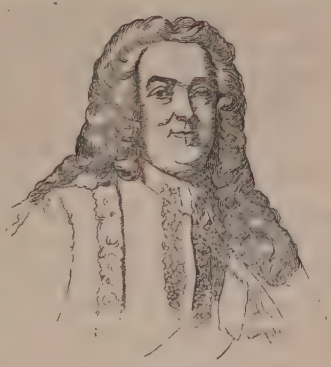
The bursting of the "South Sea Bubble," as it has always been called, was conspicuous because it was one of the earliest and most complete, and because it brought into power a minister who was destined to be the practical ruler of England for the next twenty years. This minister was Robert Walpole.

When the panic occurred losers naturally looked for some one to hold responsible. There was much bitterness expressed against the directors of the company, and one nobleman half seriously proposed that they should be sewed up in bags and thrown into the Thames. But it was upon the government that most blame was thrown, and to it men looked for relief. The ministers had certainly favored the company, encouraged and taken part in the speculation, and several of them were proved to have helped swindle the public. Those guilty of fraud were arrested and imprisoned, and even of those who were not accused one resigned, another died of heart disease during the excitement, and still another committed suicide.

491. Ministry of Walpole. — Walpole was in one of the lower positions of the ministry. He belonged to a family of the lower gentry and had no connection with the noble Whig families which were so influential. He had been in parliament for many years and had been in the service of the government for a considerable time. He had there gained a high reputation for financial ability. He had, however, fallen out with the more influential ministers and had been for some time reduced to unimportance. He had opposed them in their policy concerning the South Sea Company and had taken but a small part in the speculation himself. When it was felt that somebody was needed in office who could put things in order and who was in no degree responsible for recent occurrences, Walpole naturally came to mind as exactly the man for the place. He had been called "the best master of figures of any man of his time," and he was therefore in 1721 appointed by the king first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer.

By the plan which he brought forward the estates of the directors of the South Sea Company were confiscated and turned into its treasury, all other resources were realized, the government resigned its claims against it, and the stockholders as a result received about one third of the par value of their stock. This did not reimburse private losers, but various other measures were taken to give them some relief. Every one felt that Walpole had brought order out of chaos and done all that could be done to put matters again on a firm footing with the least possible loss.

By the credit of this achievement, by his great abilities, by his judicious policy, and by his long continuance in office Walpole became distinctly the most influential of the ministers. With him began the prime ministership. Although there was even yet no office with that title, yet since the time of Walpole there has always been one minister who holds the most conspicuous place, gathers the others around him, confers with the king in their name, and in other ways holds them together. There had been royal favorites before this time, and there had been ministers of predominant influence, but none who for any length of time was acknowledged by his associates, by the king, and by parliament to have this leading position. Walpole now attained the position and held it without serious danger of its loss for more than twenty years. This occurred the more naturally because George I could speak no English and his ministers no German. All their intercourse, therefore, had to be in Latin, which was spoken badly and with difficulty and dissatisfaction by all parties. The king therefore soon ceased to attend cabinet meetings and one of the ministers



Walpole

presided in his place. This was naturally the most influential minister and it made his position still more that of a leader.

492. Policy of Walpole. — Walpole obtained the confidence of two successive kings, George I and George II, and parliament was usually easily persuaded to follow the plans he advised. The principal characteristics of the policy of the great Whig minister were the effort to keep peace abroad and to conciliate party differences at home. He strove to allay as far as possible the bitter political and religious conflicts which had divided men, so that the new line of kings might get quietly settled and the country become prosperous and contented. He was always moderate, reasonable, and cautious. With these views it naturally followed that he did not encourage any great changes, any brilliant policy, or any conspicuous actions at home or abroad. His greatness was displayed in avoiding unwise actions during the quiet routine of government rather than in taking the leadership in stirring events during a period of action. This, indeed, was the general character of the eighteenth century. It was not a period marked by such conflicts on great matters as the Reformation in the sixteenth century or the Great Rebellion in the seventeenth. But England during this time was growing more moderate, reasonable, peaceful, and wealthy, and Walpole was the ideal leader for such a time.

493. Parliamentary Corruption. — The higher motives of members of parliament and of the voters who elected them were seldom appealed to. Most matters that came up were questions of interest, not of conscience. In carrying through parliament the measures in which they were interested the ministers did not find it very difficult, therefore, to gain men over by bribery or other corrupt means. This bad custom had been growing ever since the reign of Charles II, but it reached its height under Walpole. "All these men have their price," he once said to a friend, pointing to a group of members of the House of Commons. The use of a large amount of secret-service money for purposes of bribery

was reduced to a system under him. Appointments to office under the government were used for political purposes as a regular custom. He made no effort to draw to his side orators or statesmen or the rising young men of ability and character. Instead he simply bought or bribed by office enough members to carry through the measures in which he was interested. Curiously enough, although Walpole carried on the government by a set system of bribery and corruption, he was himself quite free from mercenary motives and was never known to take a bribe.

494. **The Rising of the Young Pretender.** — The justification of the policy of conciliation and of devotion to material prosperity was given in 1745, when a second attempt was made to restore the Stuart line. Thirty years after the rising of the earl of Mar, Charles Edward Stuart, son of the "Old Pretender" and grandson of James II, tried his fortunes in an attempt to regain the throne of his ancestors. He came to Scotland accompanied by only seven friends and appealed to the chiefs of the Highland clans to support his claims, as the descendant of the old Scotch kings, to the throne of that country. He was quite the opposite of his father, being young, handsome, brave, and hopeful. "Prince Charlie," or the "Chevalier," as he was called by his adherents, — the "Young Pretender," as he is called in more serious history, — found for the time his principal strength in his dignity and charm of manner, in the Highland costume that he adopted, and in his confidence in his own success. His persuasiveness soon brought over the Highlanders, who were always ready for a raid into the Lowlands. He then marched straight to Edinburgh, gathering adherents as he went until he had several thousand followers. Here he had himself proclaimed king with the title of James VIII of Scotland, and gave a grand ball in the palace of Holyrood. But fighting could not be long postponed. The regular army stationed in Scotland was under a specially incompetent commander, Sir John Cope. In a few weeks a battle was fought at Preston Pans, in which Charles Edward

was completely victorious, and for the next few months had Scotland practically under his control.

But Scotland could not be held without England. Troops were already marching north against him. He must attack or be attacked, and he was encouraged by the arrival of money and arms from France. Therefore, although many of the Highlanders had returned to the mountains with their booty, the young prince was able to organize an army of six thousand men, and with this he crossed the border into England, hoping the people would rise to his support. But there was no sign of such a reception. The Tories who had preached the divine right of kings did not put their principles into practice. Jacobitism proved to be a very weak sentiment in the face of the practical dangers of a rebellion. A few recruits were found in the towns of Lancashire and a few of the clergy expressed their good will.

On the other hand, there was no spontaneous action of the people against him. It was not a period of enthusiasm for anything, and most of the people took refuge in apathy, leaving resistance to the government. The government soon acted, however, and by the time the prince and his followers had reached Derby, forces were gathered around them which made any farther advance mere recklessness. The militia had been called out to bar the way to London, and two armies were preparing to cut the invaders off if they went west into Wales or east into Yorkshire. Charles Edward was anxious to make a dash on London, but his more prudent advisers would not allow it, and although London, the king, and the ministers were badly enough frightened, the Highland army soon began its retreat to Scotland.

They beat off various attacks from the government troops, but finally were brought to a decisive battle at Culloden Moor in Scotland, where the rebel army was crushed and scattered. The Young Pretender himself wandered for five months through the Highlands before there was an opportunity to escape. Though there was a heavy price set on his head, not a Highlander betrayed

him, and finally he made his way to France. His later life was unworthy of his promise. He became dissipated and worthless. He died in 1788, and his younger brother, the last descendant of the male line of Stuart, died in 1808. The expedition of 1745 had been hopeless and without excuse from the beginning, but the gallantry of its young leader at its opening and the courage and touching fidelity of his Scotch followers at the close have thrown over it a gleam of romance which is sorely lacking in other quarters in the eighteenth century.

495. **The Rise of Methodism.** — The condition of religion at this time was much the same as that of politics. Little interest was taken in those controversies on theological questions which had been so intense during the time of the Stuarts. The religious excitement and personal devoutness which had been so common among the Puritans and even among some of the stricter churchmen had almost disappeared. The general religious character of the time was cold, unspiritual, and formal. The clergy both of the established church and of the various dissenting sects taught good morals and preached sermons intended to prove the truth of Christianity, but they did not generally feel nor did they encourage in others any very active or devout personal religion. Nor was there any missionary interest or active effort to give religious instruction or comfort to the increasing population of England or to the lower classes, except where these were already inhabitants of the rural parishes.

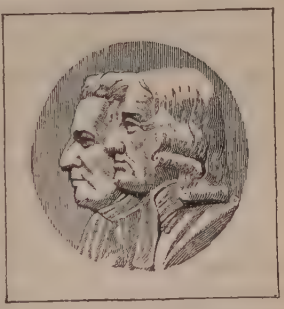
Here and there, however, there were persons who felt attracted to a more earnest religious life. Of this character was a small group of students at Oxford in the years between 1729 and 1735, who were accustomed to meet for purposes of mutual improvement. They were of course members of the established church and were religious and ascetic to a degree then very unusual. They fasted during Lent and on every Wednesday and Friday of the year; they discussed the Bible together; they visited the sick and prisoners, and abstained from most of the common forms of

amusement. They were much ridiculed by other students at the university, and were nicknamed "Methodists," from their methodical, strictly regulated manner of life.

496. John Wesley. — Among these students were several men who were destined to carry their religious fervor into the broader world and to create a religious revolution in England. The most influential of them were two brothers, John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield. John Wesley, the leading spirit of the little society, was born in 1703, at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, and was the son of the rector of that parish. He was well educated, became a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and was ordained to the ministry in 1725. He was a man of strong religious nature, great determination, and clear intellect. He was deeply attached to the established church and at that time laid great stress on its forms and ceremonies. In 1735 he left Oxford, and after varied experiences in the American colonies, in Germany, and in his own country, with his brother Charles and his friend Whitefield from the year 1738 he undertook continuous missionary work throughout England. Although clergymen of the established church they had no special parishes. When John Wesley was rebuked for having no regular charge he said, "The world is my parish." These three and others who joined in their work preached from the pulpits of the parish clergy wherever they obtained permission to do so, but their preaching and teaching were of a very different kind from what was usual at the time. Instead of calm instruction they introduced enthusiasm, excitement, violent warning, and appeal into their sermons.

They also organized, among the men and women of the congregations to which they preached, societies similar to the old Oxford society, formed to keep up religious fervor and to help one another in their religious life. From the general similarity of these societies in plan and object all those who took part in them were called "Methodists," which soon became a well-known descriptive term, half of contempt, half of approval.

497. Separate Chapels and Field Preaching. — Many of the clergy refused to admit the Wesleys or Whitefield into their pulpits, objecting to this irregular, unusual, and disorderly preaching, which brought hundreds into the churches who had never been seen in them before and broke up the decorum and routine of ordinary church life. The Methodists thereupon built separate chapels as places where itinerant preachers might speak when they were refused the use of the parish church. These chapels soon became permanent places of worship. For service in them men who were not regularly educated and ordained, but who proved to be well suited to make the emotional appeals of Methodist preaching, were approved by Wesley and other leaders as lay preachers.



John and Charles Wesley (from the memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey)

Still other customs resulted directly from the exclusion of the Methodist preachers from the established churches. When Whitefield went to Bristol on a missionary visit he could not find a single church in which he was allowed to preach. He heard that not far from that city there were many thousand coal miners and their families who had practically no religious teaching whatever. He therefore went out into their country on a Sunday afternoon, and, taking his stand on the side of a hill, began preaching. His first congregation consisted of about two hundred men, but the fame of his eloquence spread and he soon preached to thousands. Great throngs of the poor miners and of the inhabitants of the neighboring city came out to hear him. Trees were crowded with listeners, the lanes were thronged with wagons and carriages of the more wealthy who shared in the general curiosity. He moved the great throng with wonderful power. Tears made white streaks down the coal-blackened faces of miners who had probably never

heard preaching before. Then Whitefield did the same thing in Moorfields and Kennington Common, on the outskirts of London.

The Wesleys took somewhat reluctantly to field preaching and the practice soon became common among the Methodists. Thousands of converts were made. Whitefield was the greatest popular preacher England ever had. John Wesley was of a somewhat more formal, calm, and self-possessed nature, but he also could hold the attention of crowds of ten and even twenty thousand people. The total amount of his preaching was almost incredible. He lived to be eighty-seven years old and retained his vigor to the last. He spent fifty years in itinerant preaching, and it is computed that he traveled a quarter of a million miles and preached more than forty thousand sermons. He always rose at four o'clock in the morning and frequently preached four or five times in one day.

498. **Separation of the Methodists from the Established Church.** — Neither Wesley nor his companions wished to leave the established church of England. They considered themselves clergymen of that body and believed in and were strongly attached to its creed and form of worship. But there were many things which tended to bring about separation. The Methodists were organized among themselves, with their separate chapels and often their separate ministers. In 1744 the first Methodist conference was held at the Founder's Chapel in London. It was attended by John and Charles Wesley, four other ordained clergymen, and four lay preachers. They simply drew up an outline of their teachings and resolved that "societies are to be formed wherever the preachers go." But organization was not likely to stop there. John Wesley was a man of great organizing and administrative ability and he gradually introduced among the Methodist societies rules and arrangements which enabled them to carry on their church affairs quite separately from those of the parishes of which they were still nominally members. In 1760 many of the lay preachers declared themselves "dissenting ministers" and began

to give the sacrament, like Presbyterians and Baptists. Thus the Methodists became a separate body from the established church and practically another denomination of Dissenters. They had their own buildings, preachers, congregations, and conferences. They numbered before Wesley's death almost a hundred thousand members and have later grown to many millions in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and other countries.

499. **The Evangelical Clergy.** — The Methodist movement not only resulted in the formation of another religious body but it also had a great effect on the established church. Many ministers and laymen were led by the religious revival and by the preaching of Whitefield and the Wesleys to adopt a more active and intense religious life than had been customary. Much the same appeal to the feelings which was customary among the Methodists was now frequently made by clergymen of the established church. In his later life Wesley was asked to preach from many pulpits from which half a century before he had been turned away.

Some Anglican clergymen even became itinerant preachers, speaking in other churches, in Methodist chapels, and in the open air. This is known as the "evangelical movement" in the English church, and had a marked influence far into the nineteenth century. Even in the eighteenth century the Methodist and evangelical agitation had awakened the mass of the people, given them new interests, taught them the possibility of creating new organizations for themselves, and done much to break up the stolid and half-barbarous ignorance and brutality in which many of the lower classes lived. In the colonies, especially in America, the Methodists became the great pioneer religious body, carrying their teaching and organization close to the frontier as it advanced into the wilderness.

500. **William Pitt and the Young Patriot Party.** — There were signs of a change in the political feeling of the country somewhat similar to the religious changes that have just been described. The kind of government that was being carried on by

Walpole satisfied, it is true, a great part of the upper classes. It was moderate and reasonable; but it was extremely corrupt, low-minded, and unpatriotic. It kept a safe majority in parliament, but it made no appeal to the enthusiasm or support of the country at large.

There were some members of parliament, however, even adherents of the dominant Whig party, who were deeply dissatisfied with it. They hated the bribery which was so common and refused to vote always according to the wishes of the ministers. The most conspicuous of these members was William Pitt. He was a young man, a brilliant speaker, and an intense, enthusiastic lover of his country. He could see no other side to any question than the one which was to the interest of England. He had no sympathy with Walpole's moderation and coolness. He believed in appealing to the whole people and in stirring them to more patriotic national feelings. It was many years before he occupied any office, but he was admired and beloved by the people outside of parliament, and kept up a constant and growing opposition to Walpole and to his form of government.

501. War with Spain. — Notwithstanding the slight control which the people had over the government, from time to time some wave of popular feeling spread over the country, and, supported by the patriot party in parliament, swept the government along with it. In 1738 such an outburst carried England into war with Spain. There were many commercial disputes with that country. English merchants were active, enterprising, and unscrupulous, and pushed their ventures into all parts of the world. The inhabitants of the widespread colonies of Spain wanted to buy the goods which English merchants wanted to sell them. The Spanish government, however, like all other European countries at that time, forbade foreign ships to trade with their colonies. The only exception to this was the Asiento Treaty, by which England might send one vessel of six hundred tons once a year into the harbor of Porto Bello. This concession

was made an opportunity for much unfairness by English merchants. When the ship which was permitted to enter the harbor discharged her cargo, a number of other English vessels which had followed her and lay far enough off from the coast to be out of sight sailed in at night and loaded her again. This cargo was then discharged the next day, and the process repeated several times. The Spanish government knew of this but could not afford to patrol the coast and prevent it. There was also much smuggling by English merchants into the Spanish possessions. These conditions brought about frequent disputes between the two countries and repeated conflicts between English merchants and Spanish revenue officers.

The actual occasion for the war, however, was the story of an English sea captain named Jenkins, who came to London, told how he had been maltreated by the Spaniards, and showed one of his ears which he claimed had been cut off by them seven years before, and which he had kept in a box. He declared when examined in the House of Commons that the Spanish officer had told him to take his ear and show it to his king. When he was asked what he did then he replied, "I recommended my soul to my God and my cause to my country." This expression was seized upon, became a popular cry, and the ministry, urged by the warlike feeling in the country and the rising spirit in parliament, decided to go to war. When Walpole entered upon this war with Spain in 1739 he did so against his better judgment and in the anticipation of defeat. His fears were justified. There was no fighting on land, and at sea there were more failures than successes. It is true that an English fleet which was sent on a half-warlike, half-exploring voyage around the world plundered a Spanish port on the coast of Peru, captured a Spanish galleon on the way to Manila, seized some Spanish colonies and ships in the Indies, and returned to Portsmouth, like Drake, with holds full of gold and silver. But its return was only after four years, in which nothing had been heard of it, and in the

meantime the war elsewhere had gone badly. A fleet captured Porto Bello on the isthmus of Panama, but was driven off from Carthagena and Santiago with heavy losses and some discredit.

502. War of the Austrian Succession. — This would have been a quite unimportant war except for two things. In the first place, its ill success led to the resignation of Walpole in 1742, and secondly it dragged on until it became a part of the great War of the Austrian Succession which was carried on among the European countries from 1740 to 1748.[1] Even in this war the part which England took was comparatively small. George II was deeply interested in it on account of his possession of Hanover in Germany, and the feeling in the country was warlike, especially as the position of England was opposed to that of both Spain and France, her two ancient enemies. England was more wealthy than her allies. In addition therefore to the troops she sent, grants of money were made by parliament to various countries on the continent to enable them to put armies into the field. In 1743 a combined army of English, Hanoverians, Hessians, Austrians, and Dutch was formed under the command of King George II, and put in motion for an invasion of France. A victory of some importance over the French was gained by it at Dettingen. This was the last occasion when an English king actually took part in a battle.

[1] This was a war in which the principal contestants were Maria Theresa of Austria and Frederick the Great of Prussia, but which drew into it as allies on one side or the other most of the nations of Europe. Charles VI of Austria, having no sons, had drawn up a document known as the "Pragmatic Sanction," guaranteeing to his daughter Maria Theresa the inheritance of all his dominions. Most of the sovereigns of Europe agreed to this, but when Charles died Frederick of Prussia seized part of the inheritance of the young queen and others other parts. For the protection of her dominions Maria Theresa organized an extensive alliance of different countries, of which England was one. On the other hand, Frederick called in the aid of the French, so that the various countries were soon pitted against one another.

Two years later occurred the battle of Fontenoy in the Netherlands, where the English and their allies were defeated. A column of English and Hanoverian troops had forced themselves through the French lines and were on the brink of obtaining a complete victory when the French general made a last and desperate effort to save the day. He ordered the household troops of the French king and an Irish brigade to attack the British column. The Irish brigade was composed of several regiments of Irishmen driven out of their own country by the persecutions of the penal code and now in the service of France. They were burning with desire to avenge themselves on their English persecutors and now attacked them in a charge that carried all before it, threw the British and their allies into confusion, and won a decisive victory for the French.

Some fighting took place at sea, although there were no great engagements. England defeated two French fleets, conquered Cape Breton in America, and captured an immense number of French merchant vessels. Fighting between the English and French also took place in India. A general peace was made in 1748 at Aix la Chapelle by which the countries involved agreed to restore everything, as far as possible, to the condition it was in at the beginning of the conflict. The War of the Austrian Succession was one of the most useless and at the same time one of the most destructive wars in history.

503. **The Colonization of Nova Scotia.** — When the war was over great difficulty was found in England in disposing in a satisfactory way of the large numbers of soldiers and sailors who were discharged from the service. The suggestion was made that they be encouraged to go as settlers to the English colony of Nova Scotia, which was flanked by the French colony of Canada and, because of its small population, liable to be absorbed. This plan was taken up with great interest by Lord Halifax, president of the Board of Trade. Free passage, a piece of land, and support for a year were offered to each private, and larger grants were

made to officers. Some four thousand men accepted the offer of the government, the expedition sailed in 1750 under military protection, and Nova Scotia soon became a populous and flourishing colony. Its principal town was named Halifax, after the patron of the enterprise. This was the first colonizing expedition sent out under the direct auspices of the English government.

504. Reform of the Calendar. — In 1752 the English calendar was corrected and made to conform to that in use in continental countries. The Julian calendar, established in the time of Julius Cæsar and in use throughout the middle ages, was imperfect, and in the course of time had brought an error of several days into the common reckoning. This error was corrected by certain Italian astronomers and the correction promulgated by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582. Most countries accepted this reform, but England obstinately declined to do so because the recommendation came from the pope, and still used the dates which are now described as "Old Style." In the eighteenth century the error amounted to eleven days. Parliament now passed an act ordering that September 3 should be called September 14, and that the year should be calculated in the future according to the Gregorian calendar. The beginning of the year was also placed at January 1 instead of March 25, as was customary before. Many of the people did not understand the change and believed that in some way they were being defrauded of their time or pay. Mobs went about shouting "Give us back our eleven days."

505. English and French in America. — The last war had showed that England's interests were now so widely spread over the world that any war into which she entered was likely to involve fighting in India and America as well as in Europe. Her colonies were also likely of themselves to lead her into conflicts. It was in this way that she was drawn into her next great war. In America French colonists occupied the valley of the St. Lawrence River and the district of Louisiana around the mouth of the Mississippi.

ENGLAND
FRANCE AND SPAIN
IN AMERICA
1750
0 100 200 300 400 500 1000
Scale of Miles
THE M-N. WORKS
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
NEWFOUNDLAND
UNEXPLORED
PACIFIC OCEAN
Hudson Bay
RUPERT'S LAND
HUDSON BAY CO.
Winnipeg
Lake of the Woods
CANADA OR NEW FRANCE
Montreal
Ticonderoga
Boston
Plymouth
Providence
New York
Albany
Hartford
Philadelphia
Detroit
Ft. Duquesne
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
LOUISIANA
Santa Fe
Baltimore
Jamestown (1607)
Wilmington
Charleston
Savannah
Pensacola
New Orleans (1718)
St. Augustine (1565)
Bahamas
Bermuda Is.
ENGLISH COLONIES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Tropic of Cancer
Havana
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
San Domingo
PORTO RICO
CARIBBEAN SEA
Mexico
BELIZE
GUATEMALA
SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
Equator
Cape Breton I.
Halifax
Port Royal (1608)
Antigonish
St. Johns I.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Red R.
Ohio R.
Arkansas R.
Rio Grande
Saskatchewan R.
Nelson R.
Severn R.
Albany R.
Moose R.
Rupert R.
Gt. Whale R.
Saint Lawrence R.
Quebec
Ottawa
Mississippi R.
Colorado R.
Columbia R.

They claimed all the country lying between these distant settlements, which would have given them the whole western slope of the Allegheny Mountains, and had even established a few forts and trading posts there.

The thirteen English colonies along the seacoast, on the other hand, had been developing their country, spreading inland and across the mountains, and were not at all inclined to accept the French claims. In 1749 the English government granted a charter to the "Ohio Company" which had as its objects trade with the Indians in this disputed region and the founding of settlements on the Ohio River. On the other hand, in 1753, Duquesne, the governor of Canada, issued a proclamation declaring all territory west of the mountains to be in the possession of France. At the same time he sent messages to the governors of Pennsylvania and New York announcing that France would permit no settlements on the Ohio River. A French fort was built where the Monongahela flows into the Ohio and named after the governor, Fort Duquesne.

The English protested against this and fighting soon occurred. The home government gave orders to the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia to resist the French if they entered the limits of their provinces. The colonies raised troops and an expedition was sent from Virginia to the Ohio country in 1754 under a young planter named George Washington. He was successful in one skirmish with the French but was soon attacked by a much superior force and compelled to surrender. Then General Braddock was sent from England with about two thousand regular troops to help the colonial militia. He was too proud to take the advice of colonial officers and was defeated by a body of French and Indians near Fort Duquesne. He was killed with many of his officers, while his whole force was scattered. When the French brought new troops from home an English fleet intercepted and attacked some of the vessels carrying them. In India a conflict had broken out between the French and English East India Companies.

506. The Seven Years' War. — With actual fighting in progress between Frenchmen and Englishmen in India and America, war between the two nations could not long be avoided. It was the more likely to occur and would more probably be a serious contest because another European war was threatening to break out, in which England and France would as usual be drawn to opposite sides. In 1756 the Seven Years' War began. England immediately declared war on France.

For a while everything went badly. Minorca, one of the two English possessions in the Mediterranean, was captured by the French fleet, the king's electorate of Hanover was overrun by a French army, an attempt by the English commander in America to capture the French fortress of Louisburg was a failure. Worse than these military disasters was the weakness and incompetency of the ministry. A succession of prime ministers had held office since the resignation of Walpole. Lord Carteret had been succeeded by Henry Pelham, and he by his brother, the duke of Newcastle. Newcastle was fussy, easily frightened, and incapable of planning or carrying out a vigorous policy. Under his administration, without a good organization of either army, navy, or diplomatic service, it seemed certain that England would suffer calamity after calamity in a war with France.

507. The Ministry of Pitt. — Pitt was added to the ministry but at first given almost no power. After two years of alarm, mismanagement, and failure he was at last brought into his true position as the most influential minister in the cabinet, and to him fell the principal direction of the war. Pitt had been in parliament for more than twenty years, and his splendid powers of oratory, his fiery nature, and his great popularity in the country at large had made him dreaded by opponents and valued by the most thoughtful of his colleagues. But the dislike of the king, the secure position of the great leaders of the Whig party, and his own stiffness and irritability had prevented him from holding any important office or exercising any great influence in the

government. Now, however, events had at last brought him to the front, and for some years Pitt was almost the despotic ruler of England in all things connected with the war.

He immediately infused some of his own energy, patriotism, devotion, and confidence into all branches of the government, army, and navy. He sent home again the Dutch and German troops which had been brought over by the king and Newcastle to defend England, leaving the English people to defend themselves, as they had always been able to do before. He ordered regiments to be recruited in the Highlands, much to the alarm of those who remembered 1745 and believed all Highlanders to be confirmed Jacobites. But Pitt argued that if the Scotchmen were given an opportunity for warlike glory and regular pay, they would faithfully support the government; and they did. He sent new troops to the continent to join the allies of England there, obtained from parliament liberal subsidies to help Prussia keep her armies in the field, and dispatched one naval expedition after another to the coast of France. The old capacity of the English for naval warfare asserted itself. Between 1758 and 1762 about nine tenths of all the ships of war belonging to the French government were captured or destroyed, and the English naval vessels and privateers also seized most of the French West Indies and almost swept French commerce from the seas. But the greatest battles of this war were fought, where it had originated, in North America and in India. In both these countries English and French, pitted against one another in a long struggle, fought desperately, and in both the English emerged completely and permanently victorious over their ancient rivals.

William Pitt

508. The French and Indian War in America. — In America the settlers in the English colonies were much more numerous than those in the French settlements; but they were unwarlike, divided into separate provinces, and their military affairs much mismanaged by the home government. The French, with a small population in America, had been provided by their government with a relatively large and effective military equipment and had been placed under a succession of capable governors whose powers were almost absolute. The French were also more successful in obtaining the good will and the alliance of the Indians. In the early part of the war, therefore, under Montcalm, fighting had gone mostly in favor of the French, and it seemed not unlikely that they would make good their hold upon the vast western territories which they claimed.

But all this was now changed. Pitt urged the English colonists to raise twenty thousand troops, promising to provide them with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and to obtain a grant from parliament to repay the expense of their uniforms and wages. He sent more than twenty thousand regular troops from England and placed them under new commanders like Wolfe, Howe, and Amherst, chosen not for their position or influence but for their ability, enterprise, and ambition.

The troops and supplies that were sent from France were cut off by the English fleets, and the French had thereafter to keep up the contest with no resources except such troops and equipment as they already had in Canada. The English suffered several defeats but gained many more victories. In 1758 Louisburg and all Cape Breton were taken. Fort Duquesne was captured and destroyed and the settlement renamed Pittsburg, after the great minister. In 1759 Ticonderoga, after a failure during the previous year, was taken, as were also several other forts. The crowning achievement was the capture of the city of Quebec in a bloody struggle in which Wolfe and Montcalm were both killed. In 1760 Montreal was captured and Canada was thus lost to

France. It was never regained and passed permanently into the possession of England. Shortly afterwards France ceded the country around the mouth of the Mississippi to Spain and thus lost her foothold in America.

509. **India.** — In India the contest was fought out with less help from the mother country. In fact the fighting between English and French in India had long been a rivalry between traders and adventurers from those two countries rather than between the governments. The wars at home merely gave an excuse for the rivalries of the two companies in India to be settled with the sword. Unlike America, where the natives were few, poor, and barbarous, in India there were many millions of inhabitants who had been thickly settled in the land for ages and had an old civilization and much wealth. They had therefore many political and religious complications among themselves quite apart from those of the European traders and settlers who came to live among them.

At about the time that Elizabeth was reigning in England a Mogul or Tartar emperor named Akbar was making a long series of conquests of various native kingdoms and principalities, which resulted in uniting the greater part of India under his control. He and his armies were Mohammedans but they allowed freedom of worship to the vast Hindoo and Parsee population which they conquered. The capital of Akbar was finally established at Delhi in the north of India. He divided his empire into provinces, over each of which was a viceroy, and instituted great improvements, in government, the action of the law courts, the keeping of order, the survey of land, and the regulation of taxation.

The power of the viceroys in such a large country was very great, and frequently they and even their subordinate governors acted almost independently. The conquests of the ruler of Delhi and those of his successors were never complete in the Deccan,[1]

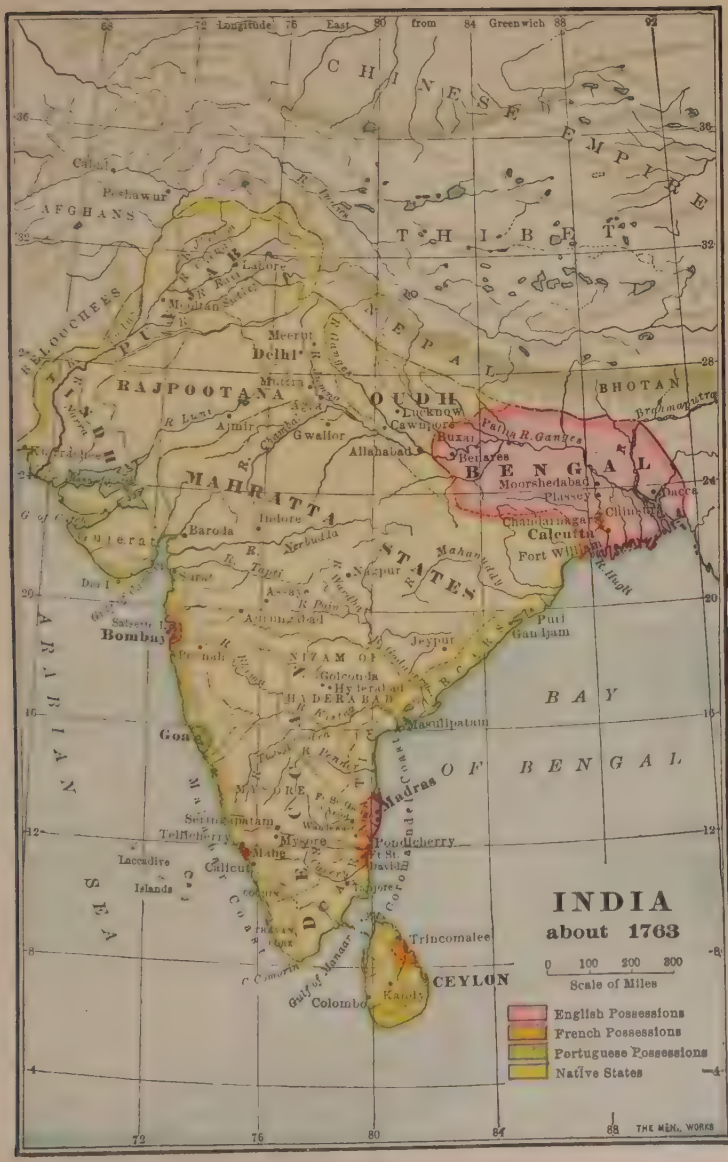
[1] The Deccan is the southern portion of the peninsula of India. The name is applied to a district about nine hundred miles long and three or four hundred miles wide.

where several older Mohammedan and one native Hindoo kingdom remained either entirely or practically independent. Somewhat later also a number of the native Hindoo races in the western mountainous provinces became independent and formed what was called the "Mahratta Confederacy" under independent rajahs.[1]

510. European Settlements in India. — In this tangle of native races and governments Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English traders had come and made settlements for trading purposes, relying on permission received and protection given by the Great Mogul or by one or other of the local rulers. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Portuguese and Dutch settlements on the mainland of India had become comparatively unimportant. The French, however, were installed in two or three important centers, and the English had three well-established posts, Bombay on the west coast, Madras on the southeast coast, and Calcutta on the northeast, at the head of the Bay of Bengal, near the mouth of the Ganges River. About twelve hundred miles of coast intervened between Bombay and Madras, and about eight hundred between Madras and Calcutta. Thus they were separated from one another by long distances. By sea it required many days' sailing to pass from one to another, and by land the difficult country, mountain chains, and hostile native population made communication almost impossible.

The English settlements, which altogether included only a few hundred or at most a few thousand men, were not under the English government nor did they govern themselves. They were

[1] The confusion of governments led to much confusion in the titles of the greater and lesser rulers of India. The native Hindoo name for a ruler is *rajah*, which has the same root as the Latin word *rex*. *Maha rajah* means a great prince. *Nawabs*, or *nabobs*, were the viceroys of the Mogul Empire. The *Peishwa* was the military head under the Mahratta rajah. *Nizam* was the special name given to the Mogul viceroy of the Deccan. The emperor at Delhi was commonly called the "Great Mogul." There were many other names of special honor or family tradition used by the various native princes.


INDIA
about 1763
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles
English Possessions
French Possessions
Portuguese Possessions
Native States
Longitude East from Greenwich
CHINESE EMPIRE
THIBET
NEPAL
BHOTAN
AFGHANS
BELOOCHEES
PUNJAB
RAJPOOTANA
OUDH
BENGAL
MAHRATTA STATES
NIZAM OF HYDERABAD
MYSORE
DECCAN
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Cabul
Peshawur
Lahore
Meerut
Delhi
Mutra
Ajmir
Gwalior
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Allahabad
Benares
Moorshedabad
Plassey
Dacca
Chandernagore
Calcutta
Fort William
Baroda
Indore
Nagpur
Assaye
Aurungabad
Bombay
Jeypur
Puri
Gandjam
Golconda
Hyderabad
Masulipatam
Goa
Madras
Seringapatam
Tellicherry
Mysore
Pondicherry
Mahe
Calicut
Laccadive Islands
Trincomalee
CEYLON
Kandy
Colombo
Gulf of Manaar
Coromandel Coast
Malabar Coast
Brahmaputra
Palta R. Ganges
Nerbudda
Mahanuddy
R. Hugli
THE MEN. WORKS

established and ruled and their officials paid by the British East India Company, an organization of English merchants with headquarters in London and possessing by grant from the English government a monopoly of the trade between England and India. Each of the three settlements was governed by a president and council appointed by the company.

For many years these trading settlements,[1] detached from one another and from those of other European nations, were occupied merely with matters of trade or with efforts to preserve their own security in the midst of the native inhabitants. But some time before the middle of the eighteenth century one of them at least, Madras, came into conflict with the nearest French settlement, Pondicherry, situated on the coast some eighty miles to the southward.

511. **Dupleix.** — The governor of this trading post of the French East India Company was a man of genius and activity named Dupleix. He was not satisfied merely to protect the small colony of French agents and traders under his charge, but was ambitious to extend his power and that of the French government among the natives. Dupleix perceived that in the general disorganization of government among the native races of India the Europeans would sooner or later obtain political as well as trading powers. When this should happen the French and the English would confront one another as rivals for control in India, and he determined to be the first in the field. With great skill and labor Dupleix carried out two lines of policy. One of these was to weave a network of treaties and alliances with the native princes and persons of influence in the Carnatic ;[2] the other was

[1] They were often called "factories," because a factor or agent of the company was in charge of each of them. This word must not of course be confused with factory in the sense of a manufacturing establishment.

[2] This was the name given to the district along the east coast of the Deccan, where the English and French settlements of Madras and Pondicherry were established.

to take native troops into the service of the French company and drill and organize them on the European model.[1] Dupleix thus made himself well known and influential among the natives and had a military force to be used when occasion should arise. This opportunity came for the first time with the outbreak in 1740 of the War of the Austrian Succession, in which England and France were on opposite sides. Madras was immediately attacked and captured by a French fleet, and Dupleix with the aid of one of the native princes, the nabob of Arcot, attacked the neighboring English fort of St. George on the coast. Fighting went almost invariably in favor of the French and their allies until the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed. One of its clauses required each country to give back its conquests, so Madras was restored to the English.

But nominal peace between France and England was no barrier to the schemes of Dupleix; there were still the contests among the native rulers. His policy and success during the recent contests had given him the greatest possible prestige and prominence. From Pondicherry he exercised an enormous influence, throwing the weight of his personal alliances and the fighting power of his sepoys now on the side of one native ruler, now on that of another. He was in fact for a while one of the most powerful of Indian rulers, exercising control, directly or through the native princes whom he had placed on their thrones, over several millions of men. Thus the English were hemmed in by French influence and power on the coast of India much as they were in America, and it seemed only a matter of time till they should be expelled altogether.

512. **Clive.** — The British East India Company had never attempted to form any strong body of soldiery in India. In imitation of the French they engaged a small number of sepoys, but for such military duties as were required they usually relied upon

[1] Such native soldiers with European drill and equipment were known as "sepoys."

their employees, who were for the most part without any special military training. Among these was a young clerk named Robert Clive, who proved, when necessity and opportunity arose, to have a natural gift for military service. In the rivalry with the French he gradually developed a military skill, boldness, and genius which made him one of the world's greatest commanders.

Like the French, the English now obtained alliances with some of the native princes, took sides with those who were opposed to the French, and aided them in their contests.

A number of battles were fought in which victory usually fell to the English, and within two or three years the French and their native allies had been repeatedly conquered and English influence in turn became supreme. In 1753 Clive had to return to England on account of ill health, Dupleix was recalled to France in disgrace on account of his failures, and a treaty was made between the French and English East India companies by which they agreed to leave conditions in the south of India in their existing state. The natives of the Carnatic had become habituated to the influence of Europeans, but the question as to whose this predominant influence should be, that of England or that of France, remained undetermined.

513. **Calcutta.** — In 1756 a terrible tragedy in the far north brought the English into conflict with the natives of that region and soon pitted them against the French there. Some disputes having broken out between the English at their little trading post of Calcutta and Surajah Dowlah, the cruel and dissipated nabob of Bengal, within whose dominions Calcutta lay, the latter suddenly advanced upon that settlement and seized it. He gave orders that the merchants who had been captured there should be thrown into the cell in the English fort, which became sadly famous as the "Black Hole of Calcutta." It was a room less than twenty feet square, with but a few windows near the low ceiling.

The prisoners were a hundred and forty-six in number, the weather was extremely hot, and they had nothing to quench their

thirst. During a night of horrors, in which many became raving mad, they struggled and trampled upon one another in frenzied efforts to get near the windows, till one hundred and twenty-three of them had died from suffocation or from being trodden down by their companions. In the morning the twenty-three survivors were sent by the nabob as prisoners to his capital at Moorshedabad. All the English were expelled from Bengal and their factory seized.

The news of this catastrophe soon reached Madras, where Clive had just arrived with restored health and a military appointment as commander of one of the English forts. The authorities at Madras determined to take revenge on the nabob of Bengal for his cruelty and to restore the English settlement at Calcutta. Clive was appointed to command the expedition, and within a few months Calcutta had been recaptured and the nabob forced to enter into a new alliance with the English. But here also was a French settlement not far away, that of Chandernagore, and the nabob, in his anger with the English, turned to the French, offering them his special favor and protection. When the Seven Years' War broke out in 1756 the peace between England and France in India, but poorly kept at best, was broken. Clive secured as reinforcements a regiment of royal troops and attacked and destroyed Chandernagore.

514. **Plassey and Wandewash.** — This brought Clive and the English again into a contest with Surajah Dowlah. In the wonderful battle of Plassey in 1757 Clive, with a little army consisting of nine hundred English soldiers and about twenty-one hundred sepoys, defeated the nabob's army of more than thirty thousand men. The superiority of European discipline, equipment, and leadership over vastly greater numbers of native troops was conclusively shown.

Clive had plotted with one of the nabob's generals before the battle, promising to reward his treachery with the throne of Bengal. This was carried out; the old nabob was deposed and soon

Part of the City of Benares, India

afterwards put to death, and the newly enthroned prince in gratitude gave to the English a great sum of money and extensive power over all that part of Bengal surrounding Calcutta. Although peace was established with this prince, Clive pressed on far inland and near Patna defeated Shah Allum, the Great Mogul himself. Clive was appointed by the company governor general of the British possessions in Bengal, where he exercised almost sovereign powers.

While these things were taking place in Bengal the old struggle between the French and English in the south of India was renewed and fought to a conclusion. When the war in Europe broke out a new French commander in chief named Lally was sent to India to follow in the footsteps of Dupleix. The natives had small part in the hard struggles which followed between French and English. After many contests a decisive battle was fought in 1760 at Wandewash, in which Colonel Coote, an officer brought up, like Clive, in the Indian service, completely defeated Lally and the French. Fortress after fortress belonging to the French was reduced, and finally Pondicherry itself was captured and destroyed. The two great battles, Plassey in the north in 1757 and Wandewash in the south in 1760, with the events which preceded and followed them, placed the future of India in the hands of the English. Although the French settlements were restored to them at the peace and rebuilt they were no longer military establishments, and although in later wars the French in India showed hostility to England they never again became serious rivals. In India, as in America, France was either deprived of all her power or reduced to relative unimportance. Her greatness lay at home, while England's had become world-wide.

515. **The Peace of Paris.** — These changes were all embodied in the Peace of Paris, which in 1763 finally brought the Seven Years' War to a close. Shortly before the peace Spain had been drawn into the war as an ally of France, and the English fleets had captured many of her island possessions, including Havana

in Cuba and Manila in the Philippine Islands. By the peace England gained from France Canada and all her American possessions westward to the Mississippi, four of the islands of the West Indies, some former French possessions in Africa, and a promise not to fortify the French settlements in India. From Spain England obtained Florida, giving back to her in return all recent conquests. By this treaty England reached the greatest extent of military glory, power, and territory which she was destined to attain within the eighteenth century.

An expedition sent out some years afterwards indicated some of the other directions in which her colonies and settlements were later to extend. This expedition was sent in 1768 by the Royal Society to the island of Tahiti to make observations of the transit of Venus. In command of the vessels as navigator was Captain Cook. He made many surveys of the smaller islands of the Pacific, then circumnavigated the great island of New Zealand, and sailed along the eastern coast of Australia, naming Botany Bay and claiming possession for England of the region which afterwards became the rich and populous colony of New South Wales.

Medal given to Captain Cook

516. Summary of the Period. — During the seventy-five years lying between the Revolution of 1688 and the Peace of Paris of 1763 the new line of kings, the Orange-Stuarts, and their successors, the House of Hanover, kept the throne, notwithstanding the struggle of 1690 and the two Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745. All desire on the part of the English people to return to the old line gradually passed away. This was partly at least a result of the unimportance into which the office of king was gradually falling. The power of parliament was really supreme.

England was practically an aristocracy, governed by the leaders of the classes which were represented in parliament. The growth of the power of parliament, of the cabinet which drew its power from parliament, and of the prime minister who could speak in the name of the majority in parliament, had reduced the royal power to little more than a right to accept the advice which the ministry gave. "Ministers are the king in this country," George II once said, and his complaint was scarcely an exaggeration of the fact.

Commerce and the wealth drawn from commerce were becoming constantly more important and more influential. Although England was still fundamentally an agricultural country and the landed aristocracy were the most influential class in the nation, yet the interests of commerce and the prominence of money questions were far greater than they had been in any previous period. The Bank of England was founded in 1694, the money to carry on the wars was mostly borrowed, and the national debt was made larger and larger.

Above all, the interests of England had spread from one half of the little island of Britain to a world-wide empire. The parliaments of England and Scotland were united in 1707 and Ireland was more than ever subordinated to the prejudices and interests of England. By interests and ambitions outside of her own island limits England was led to take part in the three great wars of the eighteenth century which were closed by the treaties of Utrecht in 1713, of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and of Paris in 1763. In the last of these she secured control of the vast dominions of North America and India, and she laid down through her explorers the general courses in which her later civilization was to flow. In politics, in literature, in science, and in religion the first half of the eighteenth century was, at its best, a period of reasonableness, moderation, and polish; at its worst, a period of corruption, formality, and unbelief in any except material objects. Before this period was over, however, Methodism

and the evangelical movement aroused the nation not only to religious interests but also to a more active intellectual life. In politics William Pitt had awakened a new fire of patriotism, and parliament, if not less corrupt, became at least responsive to higher and nobler impulses.

General Reading. — MACAULAY, *History of England*, Vols. III–V, covers the earlier part of this period. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ix, sects. 8–10, chap. x, sect. 1. MORRIS, *The Age of Queen Anne* and *The Early Hanoverians* (Epochs of Modern History), cover most of the period. MACAULAY, *Clive* and *Chatham*. LECKY, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, is a large work in eight volumes but much of it is devoted to Ireland and America. Only Vols. I–III are devoted entirely to English affairs. The spread of colonies is finely described in SEELEY, *The Expansion of England*. The personal history of the kings of the period is well described in THACKERAY, *The Four Georges*. The foundation of the English dominion in India is described in INNES, *Short History of the British in India*. TRAILL, *William III*, MORLEY, *Walpole* and *Chatham* (Twelve English Statesmen), and MALLESON, *Lord Clive* and *Dupleix* (Rulers of India), are valuable biographies. HOLDERNESS, *Peoples and Problems of India*, is a good small book.

Contemporary Sources. — The Act of Settlement is printed in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, No. 243. A number of short selections from contemporary writers, admirably chosen and including a number from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are published in a small volume, called *English Prose*, in the Camelot series. Several varied and interesting illustrative extracts are given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 110–118; in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 83–96; and in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 335–364.

Poetry and Fiction. — THACKERAY, *Henry Esmond*, belongs to the period of Queen Anne, and *The Virginians* to a time somewhat later. SCOTT, *Black Dwarf*, *Rob Roy*, *The Heart of Midlothian*, and *Waverley*, all fall within this part of the eighteenth century. Mrs. CHARLES, *Diary of Mrs. Kitty Trevylyan*, is a story of the Methodists. CAMPBELL, *Lochiel*, is a poem referring to the battle of Culloden. The well-known little poem of Southey refers to the battle of Blenheim.

Special Topics. — (1) The Massacre of Glencoe, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 102; (2) the Battle of Plassey, *ibid.*, No. 117; (3) the Battle of Quebec, *ibid.*, No. 118; (4) the Jacobite Rebellions, LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 195–200;

(5) Jacobite Songs, *Scottish National Songs;* (6) the Duke of Marlborough, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ix, sect. 9; (7) Walpole, *ibid.*, sect. 10; (8) Wesley and Whitefield, *ibid.*, chap. x, sect. 1; (9) Voyages of Exploration and Piracy in the Eighteenth Century, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. V, pp. 24–34; (10) Literature in the Age of Walpole, *ibid.*, pp. 72–88; (11) Agriculture in the Early Eighteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 99–109; (12) The Cabinet System, MONTAGUE, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 163–173; (13) the Ascendency of France under Louis XIV, ROBINSON, *Western Europe*, pp. 495–508.

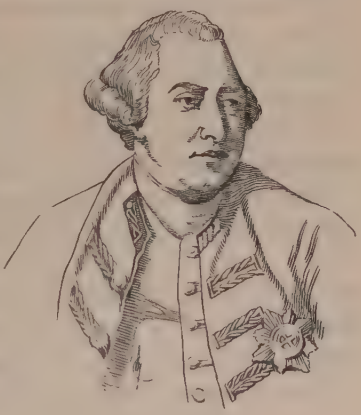
CHAPTER XVIII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 1763–1815

517. George III. — In 1760 George II had died and his grandson George III, a young man of twenty-two, had come to the throne. He had been born in England and was the first king of his family who was not more of a German than an Englishman. He was the only one of the four Georges who had qualities which were likely to endear him to his people. He was a man of good moral character, plain in his habits, faithful to his duties, sincerely religious, dignified, and kind. Along with these attractive traits of character he had some others which were not so well suited to a king of England. He was naturally narrow-minded, prejudiced, and unspeakably obstinate. His early life had been unwisely arranged. After the death of his father, Frederick, prince of Wales, his mother had brought him up in almost entire seclusion. His education had been neglected, and he had had no opportunity to substitute for it the broadening influence which comes from contact with many men.

Along with his mother's teachings of piety, courage, courtesy, and respect for women, which he never afterwards lost, some of her other precepts had also taken only too deep root in his mind. "George, be a king," she enjoined frequently upon him. Her ideas of the proper authority of a king were drawn from the example of certain rulers on the continent of Europe at this time, and these ideas she had impressed strongly upon her son. Some of his tutors imparted to him the same teachings. He gained therefore at an early period a view of the powers and duties of his

position which, backed by his ignorance and his obstinacy, could not fail to be harmful. If he had been willing to drop into the background, as the last three sovereigns had done, and allow the ministers and parliament to govern the country, it would have made little difference what his views on current matters were; but George was determined to choose his ministers himself and to exercise personal influence over their policy. He did not plan to rule without parliament, as Charles I had thought possible, but he did expect to control the ministers and through them to exercise an influence upon parliament.



George III

518. The New Ministry. — Very soon, therefore, the king seized an opportunity to get his old tutor and guardian, Lord Bute, into the cabinet. One by one the old ministers found their position unsatisfactory and resigned. In 1761 Pitt himself had failed to convince the cabinet of the desirability of continuing the war and resigned. In each case of resignation a new minister was selected who was more satisfactory to the king and to Lord Bute. These, being generally opponents of the late ministers, were Tories, and when in a short time Lord Bute became prime minister, a Tory ministry was in power for the first time for almost forty years. After a number of changes, including a temporary return of Pitt, who was at the same time made earl of Chatham, in 1770 Lord North became prime minister, representing not so much any party as he did the personal wishes and policy of the king himself. Although Lord North was an able man, he was of a good-natured, somewhat yielding disposition and made an ideal prime minister for

the king's wishes. He was always willing to carry out his plans if it were in any way possible.

For the next twelve years he remained in office, and during that time the king's influence over the ministry was greater than it had been since the seventeenth century. In parliament a majority, known commonly as the "king's friends," was obtained and kept pretty steadily in existence. It was held together for the most part by the same old methods of bribery and favoritism that had been so influential for a long period preceding.

The power of the king in the government and his increasing influence over the destinies of the nation were all the more anomalous because many changes were now in progress which seemed likely to break up the old organization of society and to bring new classes of men into power.

519. **The Industrial Revolution.** — Agriculture had always been the principal industry of England, and the landholding class had always exercised the strongest influence over the government. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries commerce was, however, becoming a serious rival, and even manufacturing was spread widely through certain parts of the country. All these occupations alike — farming, trading, and manufacturing — were carried on by the same methods as had been in use for centuries. During the last half of the eighteenth century, however, a rapid and extensive series of changes began. These were by far the most important in the field of manufacturing. There were so many new inventions and these exercised such a deep influence on later times that the whole series of changes is often described as the "Industrial Revolution." By this is meant that the changes were as complete in the field of manufactures and in the manner of life of the mass of the people as were those caused in political life by the Revolution of 1688.

520. **The Spinning Jenny and the Water Frame.** — One of the first inventions in this series was the spinning jenny, a machine invented in 1764, which could be turned by hand, but which would

spin a number of threads at the same time, instead of only one, as had been done by the old spinning wheels which had been used until this time. Very soon a man named Arkwright invented an improved machine which could spin much more rapidly and evenly than the jenny but which had to be driven by some artificial power. Water wheels were customarily used for this machine and it therefore became known as the "water frame." The first patent for the water frame was taken out in 1769. The course of improvement and invention once begun, others were rapidly made, until spinning by machinery came to be done in enormous quantities and at extremely cheap rates. Some time afterwards a power loom was invented to take the place of the old hand looms; and in the other processes connected with the manufacture of cotton, woolen, linen, and other woven goods there was the same wonderful improvement. Later this was extended to other kinds of manufactured goods and the process of introducing new machinery has gone on almost ever since.

521. **Water Power and Steam Power.**—The application of power to machinery was almost as important as the newly invented machinery itself. At first water power alone was used, and the machines were put up in buildings along rapidly flowing streams where dams could be built and water wheels run.

It had long been known, however, that steam could produce motion, and steam power had even been used in a rough way to work pumps in mines. But James Watt now set to work to overcome the difficulties heretofore in the way of making steam engines really useful, and in 1769 applied for his first patent for improvements. Little by little he brought his work nearer to perfection until in 1781 with a partner he began building engines which produced power for general manufacturing purposes. They soon came to be used even more than water power for running cotton and other factories.

522. **The Factory System.** — The newly invented machinery was large and heavy, and the advantage of running a great deal

of it together was so great that large buildings or factories were put up especially for the purpose, either along the streams that furnished the power or, after the invention of the steam engine, wherever it was convenient. Great numbers of men, women, and children were engaged in these large factories, and the old manufacturing in private houses or small shops which had been customary for centuries came almost entirely to an end. Many of those who were engaged in spinning, weaving, and other industries carried on by the old methods, and who could not readily change to the new, suffered intensely from loss of work and decreased prices for their goods. To these the factory system was the cause of great misery. The large factories were very different from anything before known in England. They gave employment to vast numbers of persons and produced great quantities of goods which were sold at home and abroad and brought vast wealth to England. The factory laborers formed a large body of the population with interests and characteristics very different from those of the farm laborers and the lower classes of the old towns. The men who carried on the factories, invested capital in them, and became wealthy from their produce made another group of the upper classes in England equally different from the landowners of the country and the merchants of the cities.

The custom of manufacturing goods in large establishments with improved machinery, artificial power, and large bodies of laborers under the direction of employers or managers has come therefore to be spoken of as an entirely new social organization, and is often called the "factory system of industry."

523. **The Manufacturing Districts.** — The part of England where these changes were principally taking place was in the northwestern and northern counties. There were three reasons for this. In the first place this was one of the regions in which the old-fashioned spinning and weaving of goods in the households of the weavers had been most widespread, and there was

therefore a foundation for the later manufacturing. Then the configuration of the country in that part of England gives to the streams a comparatively short and rapid course from their source to the sea. This made them capable of furnishing excellent water power for the early factories. Finally, most of the coal fields lie in that part of the country, so that even when steam power had been introduced and there was need of coal to produce it there was no necessity for a change of location of the manufacturing establishments. Many of the small towns of that region grew large and populous, and others which had been mere villages grew to be busy manufacturing towns. In many places hundreds of tall smoking chimneys can be seen from one spot, and a close and active population has spread over a region which during the middle ages and earlier modern times was the most thinly settled and the most backward part of England. London also became a great manufacturing city, and thus one more cause was given for its vast and ever-increasing population.

524. Roads and Canals. — The improvements in methods of production made during the latter part of the eighteenth century were more conspicuous and important in manufacturing than they were in any other direction, but much the same kind of changes took place in a lesser degree in other lines. One of these was in communication and transportation. The roads of the country were extremely bad, many of them having scarcely been properly repaired since Roman times. They were generally under the charge of the authorities of each locality, who had not the means or perhaps the inclination to improve them or even to keep them in repair. Coaches therefore were continually sinking into sloughs, and goods and persons were much more commonly carried on horseback than by wheeled vehicles. From 1800 onward two engineers, Telford and Macadam, turned their attention to the construction of good roads, invented new methods of building them, and induced the authorities in a number of places to go to the expense necessary to carry out their plans. A number

of turnpike companies were also formed which secured the right of way, made good roads, and then reimbursed themselves by charging toll for their use.

In 1761 the first extensive canal was opened; and before the end of the century a number of canals were completed, extending across England in several places, making a series of easy and cheap ways for the transportation of goods, and connecting many inland districts.

525. **Coal and Iron.** — Coal and iron were also mined in much larger quantities and by improved methods. Coal was first used to smelt iron in 1760. Enough of these substances for fuel for the new manufacturing and material for the new machinery was readily produced in the northern and western districts of England, and vast quantities were mined for purposes of export. Many of these processes only reached their greatest advancement during the next century, but they were all well established during the period under discussion. Thus a number of the most valuable of those physical properties and characteristics of England, which were mentioned in the first chapter of this book, — her streams and inland water ways, her iron, and above all her coal, — after lying almost unused for most of her history, only became of real value to her at this late date in her career.

526. **Inclosures.** — Improvements similar to those in manufactures, mining, and transportation were made in crops, in cattle, and in methods of cultivation during the middle and later years of the eighteenth century. English agriculture, like her manufactures and commerce, became the best in the world.

Along with these improvements the process of inclosing the open fields, which had been so conspicuous in the sixteenth century, was begun again. There was not the same violence nor disregard of customary rights as at that time. An act of parliament was obtained to authorize each process of combining and redividing the old open agricultural lands, and the legal claims of tenants and small holders were carefully protected. Nevertheless there

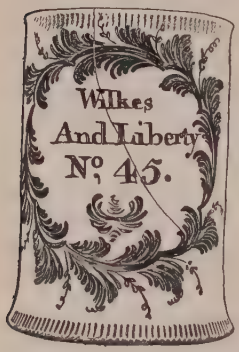
was much suffering during the change. Many who had been small farmers could not keep up with the new methods, and either became laborers on the farms of larger farmers or left the country and went into the factory towns. In this way a large class of small farmers disappeared and another break was made with the conditions of earlier England. Many a laborer also who had formerly made use of the common as pasture land for his cow, goat, donkey, or geese now found it inclosed and his old privilege lost.

527. **John Wilkes.** — These changes among the people, however, had no corresponding effect on the government of England. Parliament was still made up of the same classes that had long had control of it, and often acted with the king in entire opposition to the feelings and wishes of the majority of the people of the country. An instance of this was the affair of John Wilkes. Wilkes was a man of low moral and political principles, who went into public life to gratify his ambitions and further his fortunes. He had good gifts as a writer, speaker, and social companion, was elected to parliament, and for notoriety's sake threw himself into opposition to the king, the ministry, and the majority with reckless boldness. He thus won the reputation of being an intrepid friend of the people. In a paper which he edited, called the *North Briton*, he made severe attacks upon the ministry, upon many special friends of the king, and upon others high in office or in influence. No. 45 of his journal was particularly outspoken and abusive. When it appeared, at the king's urgent request he was prosecuted for libel and sedition, though it would evidently require much stretching of the laws to prove him guilty of such a crime.

His arrest was declared illegal by one of the judges on account of his membership in parliament and for other reasons. The House of Commons then expelled him and ordered the obnoxious newspaper to be burned by the hangman. No longer protected by the privileges of parliament, he was then convicted of libel. In the meantime he had fought two duels, in one of

which he had been almost killed, and had gone to France to recuperate in health and reputation. Not appearing before parliament to resist his expulsion or before the court to receive sentence, he was outlawed. His opponents, the king, the ministers, and the majority of parliament, had triumphed and apparently crushed him.

His reckless, profligate life, profane speech, and scandalous writings were such as would seem likely to deprive him of general sympathy. Nevertheless, strange to say, Wilkes was one of the most popular men in England. Many towns passed resolutions in his honor and the government of the city of London ordered his portrait painted and hung in the guildhall with an inscription, "In Honor of the Jealous Assertor of English Liberty by Law." When he returned to England his outlawry was removed, but he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for the libel. Notwithstanding this the county of Middlesex elected him for a second time its representative in parliament. Again on the urgency of the king the House of Commons expelled him; but still again he was elected by a practically unanimous vote. Parliament refused to admit him and declared him incapable of ever sitting in that body. Nevertheless his constituency again elected him, and this undignified contest between parliament and the voters was repeated yet again. He was now at the height of his popularity, and "Wilkes and Liberty" and "Wilkes and Forty-five" were common cries over all England. The mystic number "45" was inscribed on the houses and shops of men who wished popularity, and was worn by many as a badge. When he was released from imprisonment he was elected lord mayor of London, and gifts, legacies, popular



Cup commemorating John Wilkes and No. 45 of the *North Briton*

applause, and testimonials of approval and gratitude poured in upon him from all sides.

528. **The Junius Letters.** — Among the pamphleteers and writers of letters in the newspapers during this excitement there was one who attracted special attention. He signed himself "Junius," but it was then and has always since remained quite uncertain who he really was. The letters appeared in a newspaper called the *Public Advertiser*, and were published from time to time between 1768 and 1772. They were written in a good style, vigorous and clear; they attacked the king and the king's friends with bitter invective; and above all they were written by some one behind the scenes, who knew all the private scandals of the time and did not hesitate to use them for political effect. They were republished in all the newspapers and magazines, were read and quoted everywhere, and goaded the king and ministers to fury. As the letters were anonymous this anger could only be satisfied by prosecuting for libel the editors of the newspaper publishing them. The jury, however, declared that, although the editor was guilty of publishing the letters, he was not guilty of libel.

The willingness to make a popular hero of such a man as Wilkes and to support him against king, ministers, and the majority in parliament, and the unwillingness of a jury to punish the publishers of the Junius letters, show that the system of government of the time, a corrupt parliament elected by a small part of the nation and influenced by an intriguing and obstinate king, was in as complete opposition to the will of the people of England as any despotism could be.

529. **Grievances in America.** — This system of government awakened the same kind of opposition in a portion of the British dominions where conditions were more favorable to the success of the opposition than in England itself. This was in the American colonies. There had frequently been conflicts of interest between the colonies and the home government, but these disputes had never yet become embittered. The policy of England,

like that of other European countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was to use her colonies for her own interests. When the colonists began to manufacture woolen goods, hats, wrought iron, and steel, laws were passed forbidding them to export these products or to send them from one place to another within the colonies. Manufacturing consequently died out, as it was intended that it should, the colonists remained agriculturists, and bought their manufactured goods from the mother country.

The Navigation Acts[1] were intended to increase the prosperity of English merchants and shipbuilders and provide the government with plenty of ships and sailors in case of war. But these acts were adverse to the interests of the colonists. They prohibited them from exporting sugar, tobacco, and several other articles produced in the colonies to any country except England and her possessions; forbade the importation of any European goods except such as should be brought directly from England or should have paid specially heavy duties and been specially authorized; and allowed no trading with colonial ports to any except British vessels. The Navigation Acts were not as burdensome to the colonists as might be supposed because they had not been strictly enforced. Smuggling was a regular occupation even of respectable business houses at Salem, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other colonial ports; and as a matter of fact the colonists kept up a profitable though an illegal trade with the French, Spanish, and Dutch West Indies. This violation of the laws may fairly have been looked upon as more of a grievance to the home government than the laws themselves were to the colonists.

530. **The Stamp Act.** — After the close of the French war in 1763 many of these conditions were altered. The old days of letting the colonies drift had passed and a stricter policy was begun. The English government, having obtained Cape Breton, Canada, and Florida by the Peace of Paris, organized them as

[1] See pp. 456, 457.

three new colonies and began to make arrangements for their defense, as well as for that of the older colonies, from the Indians and from France and Spain, who would probably try to regain them. It was proposed to establish in America an army of ten thousand men for this purpose. The number of crown officials in America was also to be made larger and the expense correspondingly greater. To meet these expenses and at the same time to check the colonial disregard of the Navigation Acts, which was a constant complaint at home, the ministry proposed to adopt a new policy. The first point of this plan was to enforce the Navigation Acts by sending revenue vessels to patrol the American coast, and by prosecuting American offenders against the acts in the vice-admiralty courts. The second part of the plan was to provide one half the necessary funds for the payment of soldiers and office holders in America by increasing the taxes on colonial importations and by laying a stamp tax. The stamp tax required the use in the colonies of stamped paper for deeds, wills, contracts, and all other legal documents. This stamped paper, which could be bought only from government agents, constituted a tax on all the colonists who had occasion to carry on any legal business.

Opposition to the "Stamp Act," as this statute was called, immediately showed itself. Resolutions were carried in some of the colonial legislatures declaring that the colonists had all the rights and privileges of English citizens, including control of their own taxes, and that the English parliament had no right to levy taxes upon the American colonists, because they had no representation there. There was a serious riot in Boston and the officers who undertook to sell the stamped paper were mobbed. Delegates from nine of the colonies met at New York in 1765, in what was called the "Stamp Act Congress," and issued a declaration of what they considered their rights.

531. American and English Ideas of Representation. — In the American colonies an idea of representation had grown up which

was quite unfamiliar in England. In the colonial legislatures the great body of the people were represented, and the colonists had grown to feel that only those for whom they actually voted could properly make laws for them or tax them. While they acknowledged their dependence on the English crown, they believed that parliament represented the people of England only, and that their colonial legislatures were coördinate with that body.

In England representation instead of being a personal was a class matter. Parliament included the nobles, the great churchmen, and the commons. The last class, according to the understanding of the law, included all Englishmen belonging to the untitled classes. It made no difference whether a man had an opportunity to vote for a member of the House of Commons or not. If he was an Englishman and was not a peer, he was represented by the House of Commons and bound by its actions.

The colonists were therefore quite sincere in their claim that the taxation which was now imposed upon them for the first time by the English parliament was tyranny. The English parliament and ministry, on the other hand, were quite as sincere as the colonists when they claimed the right of taxing and making laws for Englishmen wherever they might be. The English at home and the colonists in America simply held different views as to the meaning of this point of the English constitution.

Whatever may have been the state of the law, as a matter of fact the colonists were angered by the new taxation, the harsh restrictions on their commerce, and the increased duties on sugar, molasses, and other necessary articles. To show their opposition to these they not only mobbed the stamp distributors but also adopted non-importation agreements, pledging themselves not to buy or use any goods imported from England till the obnoxious laws were repealed.

532. **The Declaration of Independence.** — In 1766, after a year of disorder, the English ministry, realizing that the Americans were being roused to anger and that almost no revenue was

coming in, asked parliament to repeal the Stamp Act, which was done. Parliament at the same time, to satisfy its pride, passed a resolution declaring that it had a right, if it saw fit, to pass laws for the colonies in all cases whatsoever. Nevertheless the repeal of the Stamp Act showed that parliament and the ministers did not intend in the future to pass such laws unless they were satisfactory to the Americans. The colonists met their action halfway. There was universal rejoicing and they again seemed perfectly loyal.

But this satisfaction lasted for a short time only. King George had been bitterly hostile to the repeal of the Stamp Act. He was deeply offended with the ministers who had carried the repeal, even though it had won back the Americans to their allegiance. He thought the colonists ought to be punished for their disorders and ruled with a heavy hand. He used all his royal influence to induce the ministers and parliament to take a more high-handed policy towards them. The next year his wish was carried out. What were called the "Townshend Acts" were passed, one of which placed a tax on various articles imported into the American colonies, including twopence a pound on tea. The revenue from the tax on tea was to be used to pay government officials in America. When the news of this tax came there was a still more serious outbreak of resistance in America. From this time forward hostility between the people of the thirteen colonies and the mother country increased steadily.

In 1767 the legislatures of the colonies were forbidden by the government to pass resolutions in opposition to the laws passed by parliament, and several of them were dissolved by the royal governors; in 1768 English troops were sent to Boston; in 1769 colonists charged with treason were ordered to be brought home for trial; in 1770 there was a riot in the streets of Boston, in which the soldiers fired upon the mob and five or six persons were killed. In 1774 the five "Intolerable Acts" were passed by parliament closing up the harbor of Boston, putting it under military control,

taking self-government away from the state of Massachusetts, and in other ways laying a heavy disciplinary hand on the Americans.

The colonists, on the other hand, renewed their resolutions of non-importation of English goods, seized the tea on the vessels that brought it over and threw it into the water, passed resolutions of protest, rang muffled bells, and drilled their militia troops. Finally, in 1774, a Congress of delegates from twelve of the colonies met in Philadelphia, and determined to make armed resistance to what they felt to be the tyranny of England.

The people rose in arms in many colonies. The first blood of a long contest was shed at Lexington in April, 1775. Fighting followed at several points, and on July 4, 1776, the contest was made an irreconcilable one by the Declaration of Independence.

At several points during the growing bitterness of the last ten years a few concessions on the part of the mother country would have allayed the excitement of the Americans, perhaps obviated the war, and certainly postponed or prevented the Declaration of Independence. The feelings of the great body of the people were still strongly attached to the home land of their race; the determination to resist by arms, the idea of total separation from England, and the interest in the principles of republican government were in the minds of most of the colonists the growth of a very short period. This is shown by the series of petitions sent by them to the king, and by the long hesitation in Congress before the Declaration of Independence was finally made.

It was the writings and the speeches of a comparatively small group of men, like Adams, Franklin, and Paine, falling on the favorable soil of a race of people who had been long used to self-government in their colonial assemblies, and who were now angered by the oppressive interference of the British government, which transformed the colonists from good subjects of a distant monarchy into rebels and republicans. On the other hand, the greatest influence opposed to concessions to the colonists was that of the king. The ministers who favored a more compliant

policy either resigned or, as Lord North did, yielded against their better judgment to the wishes of the king. The party of the king's friends in parliament was always a solid body of supporters of measures intended to humble the colonists. Although the majority in parliament enthusiastically favored the policy of interference in America, that majority took its cue from a few of the leaders and but poorly represented the feelings of the great body of the people of England. If there had been any way of finding the real views of the people, they would quite probably have proved far more conciliatory to the colonists than those of the king and his party.

533. **Pitt, Burke, and Fox.** — America was, however, not without powerful friends in parliament. Pitt, who was now an old man and a member of the House of Lords, having been made earl of Chatham, used his remaining influence to obtain the repeal of the stamp tax, and favored conciliation at every opportunity afterwards. Two younger men now entering upon great careers also took the side of the colonists, though they were not influential enough to change the main course of events. These were Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox. Burke was the son of an Irish lawyer and early became known for his great learning, his philosophic mind, his vigorous writing, and his thoughtful and eloquent speeches. He was introduced into the House of Commons by the influence of one of the great Whig leaders and soon became one of the most prominent opponents of Lord North and his policy and a steady though moderate friend of the Americans.

Fox was a man of very different origin, character, and gifts, though he formed a friendship with Burke which lasted for many years, and they were close allies in parliament. Fox was the second son of Lord Holland, a prominent member of the ministry at various times and a very wealthy man. The younger Fox was a spendthrift, and lived the wild, reckless life so common among young men of the English aristocracy at that time. He gambled every night, wasted his father's fortune, and borrowed from his

friends to the verge of ruin. At the same time his affections were so strong, his nature so lovable, his gifts of eloquence and clearness of thought so great, that his friends and even his opponents bore with all his excesses and valued him as one of England's greatest statesmen.

534. **The American War.** — But neither the eloquence of Chatham, the philosophy of Burke, nor the generous sympathy of Fox had much influence on the course of the American Revolution. The fighting spirit of the English people rose with the continuance of the war, parliament favored its prosecution, and the king was always ready to press his policy of complete coercion of the Americans on Lord North when he wavered. On the other hand, the distance of America from England, the immense extent of its territory, and the inadequacy of English military equipment fought for the colonists.

Congress placed at the head of the army George Washington, whose personal dignity, fine character, simple-minded devotion to his country, and military abilities proved to be the main factor in the ultimate success of the Americans. Most of the pitched battles went in favor of the English, and Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, the three largest cities, were held by them for a longer or shorter time. On the other hand, the Americans gained some notable successes. In 1777 General Burgoyne, who was marching southward from Canada, was surrounded and forced to surrender with his army. This victory caused France, where there was some enthusiastic sympathy for the colonists and much more desire for revenge upon England, to make an alliance with the Americans.

In 1779 Spain also declared war upon England, and in 1780 Holland likewise was drawn into the contest. The British government, notwithstanding its military successes, had not shown itself capable of putting down the rebellion in America. Much less was it able to defeat a combination between the colonists and the powers of Europe. Therefore when the news of the surrender

of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown arrived in November, 1781, the Whigs in parliament were able to carry a motion for the discontinuance of the war in America. Soon afterwards Lord North was at last allowed by the king to resign office. His successor made peace in 1783, acknowledging the independence of the United States of America with boundaries extending westward to the Mississippi, bounded on the north by Canada, and on the south by the province of Florida, which was now returned to Spain. War with France, Spain, and Holland was also brought to a close and general treaties were signed at Paris in 1783.

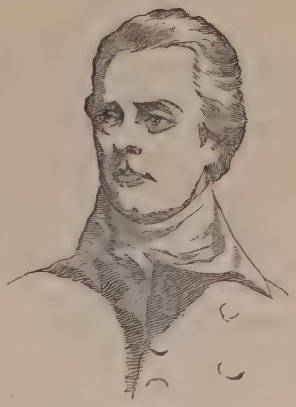
535. **Home Rule in Ireland.** — The acknowledgment of the independence of the United States was accompanied by similar if less thoroughgoing concessions to Ireland. Ireland, like the American colonies, had been governed as best suited the interests of England, not her own, and as in America this had given rise to a spirit of hostility. This hostility was shared even by those whose ancestors had come from England, who were Protestants, and who were themselves oppressors of the native Catholic population. It is true that the Protestant part of the population of Ireland was represented, though very irregularly, in an Irish parliament which sat at Dublin. But the powers of this parliament were narrowly limited. An old act, known as "Poynings's Law," passed by the Irish parliament in the reign of Henry VII, required that all laws before being proposed in that body should be submitted to the king and his council in England and approved by them. Another statute passed by the British parliament in the time of George I declared that that body could pass laws for Ireland as well as for England and Scotland. Under these conditions it had been found impossible for Ireland to legislate for her own interests, and she had been subjected to much that was inconvenient and injurious. In addition to the unhappy penal code under which the great mass of her lower Catholic population lived, she was also forbidden to export many of her products to England, Scotland, the colonies, or foreign countries.

An old proverb says that "England's necessity is Ireland's opportunity." It proved to be so in this case. When France and Spain allied themselves with the American colonies Ireland was much exposed to invasion. It was impossible for the English fleet and armies to protect the whole coast of Ireland, Scotland, and England at a time when the troops were all needed in America and the vessels on the coast of America, in the West Indies, and in the Mediterranean. Therefore volunteer troops were raised in Ireland to the number of fifty thousand men, and although they were all nominally Protestants and all professedly loyal, yet their existence gave the Irish people and the Irish parliament an unwonted boldness. They had now the power to enforce their demands.

The spokesman of these demands was Henry Grattan, the greatest lawyer and orator in the Irish parliament. In 1779 such strong resolutions were carried through that body in favor of freedom of trade with England that the next year laws were passed in the English parliament putting the two countries on an equality in commercial matters and allowing Ireland free export of its principal commodities. Then began an agitation for the complete legislative freedom of the Irish parliament. It was taken up with great enthusiasm by the "Volunteers," and deputies from their various regiments carried resolutions in its favor. In 1782 Grattan brought forward a declaration in favor of a free parliament, which was carried unanimously through both houses. Under these circumstances the English ministry, not caring to face an Irish in addition to an American revolution, gave way, allowed Poynings's Law to be repealed in Ireland, and induced the English parliament to repeal the act of George I.

For the next eighteen years Ireland had "home rule," that is to say, her legislature could pass any laws which seemed best for the country. The executive power was, however, not under the control of parliament, as it was exercised by a lord lieutenant appointed by the king on the advice of the British ministry.

536. Close of Personal Rule of George III. — The resignation of Lord North in 1782, the complete independence granted to America, and the partial independence given to Ireland not only indicated the failure of a coercive policy, but also marked the close of the active interference of George III in the affairs of government. In 1780 a resolution was carried in the House of Commons to the effect that "the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The king was obliged in 1782 and 1783 to accept ministers who were most distasteful to him. When, however, these ministers failed to retain their majority and found it necessary to resign, he exercised his old claim to make his own choice of a minister. But the man whom he selected proved to be more masterful than the king had expected, and George III never again became "his own prime minister," as he had been called.



William Pitt

The resistance of America and the self-assertion of Ireland had therefore not only gained the ends for which those countries were striving but had also saved England herself from a reintroduction of royal absolutism.

537. William Pitt the Younger. — The new prime minister who came into office in 1783 was William Pitt, the second son of the great earl of Chatham. The elder son, who had inherited his father's title, was not a man of much ability or political importance. The second son and namesake of his father, however, had been trained from childhood for a public career, and he developed qualities which made him almost if not quite the equal of the earl of Chatham. "He is not a chip off the old block, he is the old block itself," was Burke's judgment of him soon after

he entered parliament as a young man of twenty. He had not the fiery and impetuous eloquence of his father, but his speeches were always clear, vigorous, and graceful. He knew what he wanted to do, and yet saw clearly what could or could not be done in each set of circumstances. He knew how to manage men and was willing to be patient. He was moderate, even cold. In intellectual abilities he was therefore quite the equal, perhaps the superior, of any statesman of his time, although in strength of feeling he was inferior both to many of them and to his father.

Nevertheless he had unbounded confidence in himself, and although he had been in the ministry but a few months, was only twenty-four years old, and represented a small minority in parliament, when the king asked him to take charge of the government in 1783 he did so without hesitation. He had a hard struggle to keep his position. The Whigs were still in a majority in parliament and protested against the appointment of a minister who did not represent their party. For Pitt, though he called himself a Whig, like his father, and in American affairs and some other matters had taken the same ground with Burke, Fox, and other influential Whigs, had yet put himself on Tory ground by accepting a personal appointment as minister from the king. He was really throwing down the gauntlet to the old leaders and trying to form a new Tory party.

538. **The New Tory Party.** — In this he finally succeeded. During his first year of office he declined time after time to resign when called upon to do so or when his measures were defeated. He believed that the people of the country were tired of the old leaders and of their selfish and unpatriotic combinations. Insufficient as were the means then in existence for voicing the wishes of the people, he believed that they would uphold a new cabinet freed from the trammels of the old leaders as soon as an opportunity was given to express their views.

He simply waited, therefore, for a good occasion to ask the king to dissolve parliament, in the meanwhile taking a moderate

tone on all questions that came up, boldly refusing to resign, and encouraging Fox and his other opponents to an ever-increasing violence of expression. His judgment of the popular feeling was correct. The people admired his courage, he inherited some of the popularity of his father, and in a few months the tide began to turn in his favor. Parliament was therefore dissolved in 1784 and the new elections brought in a good majority of supporters of the new ministry. Pitt remained prime minister for almost twenty years, and the Tory party as he reorganized it and as it was strengthened by succeeding events, remained in almost unbroken control for more than forty years. This was a period nearly as long as the Whig control during the eighteenth century, which had lasted from Walpole's advent in 1721 to Lord North's ministry of 1770, and it was even more full of great events.

Gatton "Town Hall": the Site of a Decayed Borough

539. **Defects of the Representation.** — Pitt desired, like his father, that the policy of his government should be based on the support of the people at large, not on that of parliament only. Many recent occurrences had served to show how wide was the chasm between parliament and the great body of the people. This was due to the bad system of representation. It will be remembered that the original plan had been to summon to parliament two members from each county and two from each considerable town. The list of represented towns had been somewhat changed since the thirteenth century, but not at all since the sixteenth. In the meantime many of these towns had from one cause or another lost much or all of their population. A town which in 1295 had had two or three thousand inhabitants had

from one cause or another ceased to flourish, and its people had drifted off to more active towns, till it had sunk to a mere county village, or in some cases had become simply farming ground or some country gentleman's park. As the population of a town decayed, however, it still retained its right to send members to parliament, and the choice of these gradually came into the control of the landowner who possessed the soil on which the town was built or who had the greatest influence in that part of the country.

Thus came into existence what were known as "pocket boroughs," [1] because their owners could put their hands in their pockets and take out the appointment of members of parliament to represent them. Several noblemen had each the appointment of half a dozen or more members of the House of Commons. Many landowners had practical control of at least one decayed borough with its representation. The crown also had the appointment of a considerable number, since in some of the small represented towns so many of the people were in the employ of the government, or of contractors for the government, or otherwise under government influence, that the king or his ministers could always say who should be elected. In these ways more than three hundred members of the House of Commons were practically appointed by a handful of influential nobles and gentry or by the ministers who were in office at the time of an election. A combination among these "borough owners," and above all an agreement between a number of them and the ministers, could almost always control a majority in parliament, quite apart from the wishes or opinions of the members elected by more independent constituencies.

540. **Unrepresented Towns and Classes.** — On the other hand, many large towns and cities had grown up which had no especial

[1] They were also called "nomination boroughs," because their representatives in parliament were named or nominated by a landlord; "close boroughs," because the group of voters was a restricted body; and "rotten boroughs," because the population was decayed.

representatives in parliament, their inhabitants voting, when qualified, simply for the two representatives of the whole shire in which the town lay. This had been especially true since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, when large manufacturing towns were growing up in a part of the country which had previously but a sparse population. In these a numerous, active, and wealthy population was almost without representation in parliament. The property qualification for voting and other restrictions resulted in the exclusion from the franchise of the middle and lower classes of the population, even of those towns and counties which did have representatives in parliament. In 1768, when the population of England, Scotland, and Wales was about 8,000,000, or probably 1,600,000 grown men, there were only some 160,000 voters. In other words, out of every ten grown men in the country one had a vote, the other nine had none.

As a result of these inequalities parliament but poorly represented the nation, and it was possible for the ministers and the majority in parliament to have one set of wishes, and the great body of the people to have quite another. The recognition that they had no real control over the policy of the government made the people far more disorderly and reckless than they would have been otherwise, as violence was almost the only way in which they could exercise any influence.

541. The Lord George Gordon Riots. — This had been shown in the Wilkes affair, in a great many mob insults to Bute, North, and other ministers, and even to the king himself. It was now still further shown by the "Lord George Gordon Riots" in 1780.

Views of religious toleration had been growing during the more enlightened century which had just passed and among the more enlightened classes which were represented in parliament. The old dread of the Roman Catholics had passed away very largely since the country had settled down under its new Protestant dynasty and since other interests had so largely taken the place of the old religious contests. As a result of this feeling parliament

in 1778 made a beginning of the abolition of the old drastic laws against the Roman Catholics.

In the country at large, however, feeling was not nearly so liberal, and many took alarm at the changes. Parliament was not trusted, as it was not under the control of the community, and an unreasoning fear that more far-reaching changes were to be introduced spread abroad. Protestant associations were formed and began an agitation for the repeal of the late laws. The head of this agitation was a certain Lord George Gordon, a young man of enthusiasm but not of an entirely sound mind. In 1780 he

An Election in the Eighteenth Century (drawn by Hogarth)

sent out an appeal for a body of twenty thousand Protestants to meet him in St. George's Fields, London, and go with him to the parliament house to present a special petition. A much larger number gathered, rioting broke out, the entrances to the house of parliament were invaded and the members mobbed, the disorder spread through London, and for five days the city was in the hands of an uncontrollable mob. Roman Catholic chapels were sacked and burned, and houses and stores of Roman Catholic tradesmen were destroyed, while those of members of parliament

who had advocated any legislation in their favor were plundered and burned, and many persons killed. Finally the king, who was never lacking in courage, called together his council and urged upon them the use of military force to put down the riots. The troops were therefore ordered to take vigorous measures, and at the cost of some five hundred persons killed and wounded order was restored. A number of rioters were executed and officials punished, and parliament adhered to its former action.

542. **The Reform of Parliament.** — Old abuses of many kinds survived because there was so little connection between parliament and the people. Every effort made by reformers to put an end to bribery, to lessen the number of sinecure offices, to exclude men from parliament who were under the control of government, or in other ways to introduce purity and justice was met by resistance due to the existence of the close-borough system. The united devotion and interest of the country could scarcely ever be obtained for any measure because the country was not really represented in its legislature. Many leaders therefore had long looked to a change in this system as a necessary step to be taken before any further reforms could be accomplished. Any plan of this kind intended to improve the condition of the representation came to be known as "reform of parliament."

The earl of Chatham had announced in his last ministry that he intended to introduce a measure for parliamentary reform, but his failure in health and his resignation led to the plan being dropped at that time. After the close of the American war popular meetings were held and organizations formed to demand various reforms, among which that of parliament was prominent; but nothing was done. Soon after the younger Pitt entered the House of Commons he brought in a bill to take away representation from a number of the close boroughs and to give their representatives to the most populous counties, where the right of voting was more general. This bill was defeated, though it was strenuously supported by Fox.

Now that Pitt was prime minister it might be expected that a reform bill would be carried, and in 1784 he introduced a measure by which he proposed to abolish many of the nomination boroughs, paying the owners for their loss. It was defeated and Pitt gave up the attempt to force through parliament a measure which was so much opposed to the interests of a great majority of its members. It still remained, however, a subject of agitation in the country and was proposed again from time to time even in parliament itself. In 1792 a long petition was presented showing that a decided majority of the members of the House of Commons owed their election to not more than one hundred and fifty-four influential men. Pitt himself opposed these later attempts to bring about reform, notwithstanding his early efforts. As a matter of fact a great occurrence had by this time taken place in Europe which led Pitt and the great body of the nobility and upper classes in England to oppose everything which threatened to give greater power to the lower classes.

543. **The French Revolution.** — This occurrence was the outbreak of the French Revolution. For a long time the necessity for extensive reforms had been even more evident in France than in England. In 1789 a National Assembly of the representatives of the French people was called by the king of France to devise means of overcoming the financial difficulties of the government. The Assembly gave but slight attention to financial matters but proceeded within the years from 1789 to 1791 to introduce the most radical reforms into every department of French society and government. The king was deprived of most of his former powers and a representative system of government was established. A "Declaration of the Rights of Man" was issued which laid down the principles on which, in the opinion of the Assembly, government and society should be constructed. These principles were similar to those expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, and if generally accepted would have transformed the existing system of every country of Europe.

An effort was made to introduce social along with political equality. France was divided into "departments" with new boundaries, the church reorganized, aristocracy abolished, and many institutions which had existed for long centuries were superseded by new arrangements based on universal equality. This transformation was not accomplished without much violence. There were many riots in the streets of Paris and throughout the country. The Bastille, a royal fortress in the heart of Paris, was captured by the mob on July 14, 1789. There was much confiscation of property belonging to the nobles and the church. Many of the upper classes fled from the country and representatives of the middle and the lower classes came into control.

544. **English Opinion on the Revolution.** — These changes in a neighboring and rival nation were looked upon with various feelings in England. A great number of the people, including some such prominent men as Fox, welcomed the change and believed that it would result in the greater happiness and welfare of the French people and of the human race.

Following the example of France they turned their attention to affairs at home and began an agitation for a reform of parliament, for a milder libel law, for the abolition of the slave trade, and for the removal of many old abuses in the government and laws. They revived old Whig associations, the "Constitutional Society" and the "Revolutionary Society," and these adopted as their principles the advocacy of universal suffrage, more frequent elections for parliament, and other measures which would have put the control of government more completely in the hands of the masses of the people. From 1789 to 1792 they sent repeated letters of congratulation to the French Assembly. Still other societies were soon formed, such as the "Friends of the People," many of whose members believed in a republic and wished to see one established in England.

While many men in England were thus encouraging and imitating the French Revolution, many others believed that the personal

outrages and injustice to individuals and to the upper classes in France would lead to mere anarchy without the possibility of orderly reform. They thought that the Revolution was a reckless and injurious overthrow of established order that was sure to go from bad to worse in France and to give an evil example to the people of other countries.

Of the latter views Burke made himself the special representative. In 1790 he issued a pamphlet called *Reflections on the French Revolution*, in which with great philosophic insight he called attention to the weak points in the revolutionary movement and prophesied the more extreme lengths to which it would go. This book not only had a great influence but it also served as a statement of principles in which many of the old Whig party believed. With Burke they soon separated themselves from the rest of their party, who were led by Fox, and eventually joined the Tories, who supported Pitt. This addition of strength made that minister and his party all powerful.

545. War between England and France. — For a while Pitt occupied a middle point between those who admired and those who opposed the French Revolution, and as prime minister followed a policy of carefully keeping England from taking any part in the internal troubles of France. He was anxious for unbroken peace, for reform measures in England, and for an increase of commercial exchanges with other countries. He hoped, moreover, that the excitement in France would diminish and that that country would gradually settle down into a constitutional monarchy like England herself. He had therefore every reason to avoid any interference with French affairs.

This policy, however, gradually became impossible. In 1791 and 1792 there were more massacres in France, the king was dethroned, and finally a republic set up. A new Assembly was called, which was under the influence of radical Parisian clubs. A Committee of Public Safety came into power, which carried out ruthless executions of all those who were suspected of disloyalty

to the new republic. War broke out between France on one side and Austria and Prussia on the other. France was successful and began not only a conquest of territories on her border but also an extension of the principles of the revolution wherever her arms or her influence extended. These principles and their application would in time surely bring France and England into conflict, just as they had already brought about war between France, Austria, and Prussia. Other causes hastened the outbreak. In 1793, when France invaded the Austrian Netherlands and sent her own king to execution, Pitt ordered the French minister to leave England, and France immediately declared war. After this time war between England and France continued without cessation for nine years, until a treaty was signed at Amiens in 1802.

546. **Close of Revolutionary Agitation in England.** — One of the earliest results of the war was the silencing of the revolutionary societies in England. They had become more and more outspoken and disorderly in their agitation. Processions passed through the streets of London carrying banners inscribed "Liberty," "Equality," and "No King." When the war with France broke out Pitt and his party came to the conclusion that this was dangerously close to a revolution, and determined to put a stop to the agitation if it were in any way possible. Proclamations were therefore issued, the militia was called out, two new treason acts were passed, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and a number of leaders of the agitation in England and Scotland were prosecuted for sedition and sentenced to various periods of transportation to the convict colonies. The next year, when the Constitutional and the Corresponding Societies called a convention in London whose influence over parliament they dreamed might be similar to that of the Jacobin Club over the Convention in Paris, the officers of those societies were prosecuted by the government for treason. The juries could not be induced to convict them of such a high crime and they were acquitted.[1] Nevertheless the government

[1] These agitators are often called the "English Jacobins."

utilized the powers given to it by the new sedition laws to dissolve some of the societies and to prevent others from holding meetings.

Little by little the agitation was suppressed. Popular sympathy turned to the side of the government. The passion of hostility to France grew with the continuation of the war. It was generally felt that active approval and praise for France should not be openly expressed when the two countries were at war. By the year 1795 it may be said that all active reform agitation had come to an end. Scarcely anything which savored of reform of any kind was carried for the next twenty years.

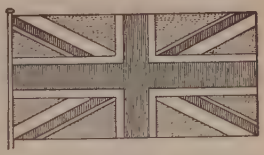
547. The Irish Revolution and the Union. — In Ireland, with its vast unrepresented and unhappy population and its various classes with their different interests, the French Revolution exerted even more influence than in England. One of its effects was to bring into existence a revolutionary society, the "United Irishmen," whose plan was to obtain the help of France, throw off the yoke of the English government, and establish a republic in Ireland. After much plotting, negotiation with France, organization, and drilling, a serious insurrection broke out in 1798. There was some fighting and terrible atrocities were committed both by the rebels and by the English troops, which soon put down the rebellion. Several of its leaders committed suicide or were killed in resisting arrest; the others were hung.

Royal Arms from 1801 to 1816

When the revolt was over the English ministers decided that the only hope for peace and order in Ireland was to unite her parliament with that of England and rule the two countries as one. The great majority of the Irish parliament was at first strongly opposed to this plan, but by wholesale bribery and promises of peerages a majority was obtained sufficient to carry the necessary bills. There was no opposition in the British parliament and the requisite measures were, in the same year, 1800, carried in that

body also. The name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" was adopted for the two nations.[1] Thus the parliament at Dublin disappeared, and that which met at Westminster in 1801 became known as the first "united" or "imperial" parliament. It included not only the members from England, Scotland, and Wales, but also one hundred members from Ireland in the House of Commons and twenty-eight Irish peers in the House of Lords.

548. **Bad feeling between England and Ireland.** — The legislative union of Ireland with Great Britain came nearly a hundred years later than that of Scotland with England and was practically identical with it in principle and intention. Many circumstances connected with the Irish union, however, were different, and these served to make it a heavy burden to both countries and the source of embittered contests which have continued to the present time. In the first place, the union was forced upon the Irish legislature and the Irish people against their will. The bare majority vote in its favor obtained in the Dublin parliament by bribery and management by no means constituted a willing acceptance of the union. The great body of the Irish have therefore always felt that the British government was a usurping power, governing them as a tyrant, not as a voluntarily chosen ruler. Secondly, the English have always looked upon the Irish with a certain amount of contempt. In discussing in the united parliament matters relating to Ireland the ministry early formed the habit of neglecting or disregarding the judgment and the knowledge of the representatives of Ireland, and simply overwhelmed them by enormous majorities made up of English and Scotch members. As a result legislation for Ireland for almost three quarters of a century was unwise and unpopular to an almost incredible degree.



Union Jack after the Union with Ireland

[1] At the same time the title "King of France" was dropped by the king and the fleur-de-lys removed from the coat of arms.

Finally, the religious incompatibility of the two nations was intensified rather than moderated by the union. Probably seven eighths of the Irish people were Roman Catholics and only one eighth Protestants. Roman Catholics could vote but could not hold office or be members of parliament. They were not, therefore, properly represented, being restricted in their choice of members of parliament to persons not of their own religious faith. There was nothing in the government to arouse the interest or secure the loyalty of the masses. The best that could be hoped and the most that was ever obtained was the sullen and uninterested submission of the Irish people to what they felt to be an alien and despotic government. Other causes combined to make the history of Ireland during the nineteenth century an unhappy one, but the most fundamental cause has been that she has not been able to work out her own salvation in her own way.

549. Resignation of Pitt. — The last of the difficulties mentioned above — the lack of religious equality between the two nations — was no part of the plan of the union as formed by Pitt. He had intended, and indeed promised the Irish leaders, to repeal the law excluding Roman Catholics from parliament; and this was clearly understood to be one of the terms of the agreement by which the union was carried. Pitt knew that he could count on a majority in parliament to support him in this plan, and proceeded to the preparation of a bill for their emancipation. But there was one influence of which he had not taken proper account. This was the resistance of the king. Opponents of the Roman Catholics, even some members of the ministry, went to the king privately and urged him to interpose his power, even to the extent of vetoing such a bill. George III had always been extremely conscientious in religious matters and he was bigoted in opposition to Roman Catholics. He asked Pitt, therefore, not to introduce such a bill, but the prime minister declared that he would fulfill his promises or resign.

The king still persisted in his opposition, and as he was now becoming an old man and more than once had had attacks of insanity, and as opinion in the ministry and parliament was much divided, Pitt preferred to resign rather than carry the contest farther. The project of giving relief to the Roman Catholics was given up, and Pitt after being prime minister seventeen years resigned his office in 1801.

550. **Abolition of the Slave Trade.** — Various ministries followed, including a return of Pitt to power in 1804; but he died in little more than a year, when a ministry of all parties was formed, the most influential member of which was Fox. He also died in 1806, the same year as Pitt. During his short ministry, however, he was instrumental in securing the adoption of one great reform. This was the passage of the law by which English vessels were prohibited from taking part in the trade in slaves between Africa and America. This was an old if somewhat disreputable branch of commerce in which English merchants, especially those of the west of England, had won much wealth. It was said that at one time sixty thousand negroes were yearly taken from the coast of Africa to the West Indies and to American states and colonies.

About 1783, a young graduate of Cambridge, named Clarkson, became impressed with the evils of this trade when engaged in preparing material for an essay on the subject. He afterwards devoted many years to collecting evidence of its horrors. He learned and published the fact that vessels bound from Africa to America habitually took aboard so many negroes that only a few cubic feet of space between decks was allowed for each. He described the plan by which they were placed so close as almost to touch one another, chained together in long tiers in the hold, with so little space above them that they were not able to stand or even sit upright. Large numbers died in the stifling air of the hold as the vessel sailed through the tropical seas, many others became insane, and still others committed suicide by springing overboard when they were taken on deck for exercise. The

terrible inhumanity connected with this traffic had troubled many men of benevolent character in England; the Quakers had petitioned parliament against it, and Wilberforce, an influential man and a friend of Pitt, had made himself the special advocate of its abolition in the House of Commons.

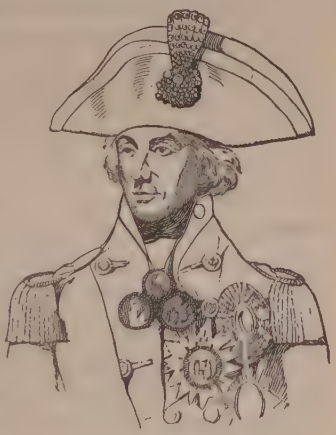
Both Pitt and Fox had become interested in the subject and desirous of legislating against it, and from 1788 onwards, at various times, measures for the abolition of the slave trade had been introduced into parliament and carried through some of their stages. The pressure of other business, the influence of the merchants who were engaged in the trade, and the tide of opposition to all kinds of reform had, however, prevented any bill from being actually carried until 1806. In that year, while Fox was prime minister, a bill was brought in and passed providing that the slave trade should cease after January 1, 1808. This was the same date as the United States had just fixed for its abolition, so far as vessels bringing slaves to that country were concerned. In neither country did these measures abolish slavery itself, which still continued in the West Indian and some other colonies of Great Britain, as it did in the southern states of the American Union. In 1814 most of the other countries of Europe abolished the slave trade, and its general condemnation was made one of the terms of the Treaty of Vienna the following year.

Medal prepared by Napoleon to be issued at London when he should have conquered England

551. Renewal of the War with France. — The peace signed at Amiens in 1802 did not long continue. Napoleon Bonaparte, although only possessing at that time the title of First Consul, had become practically the ruler of France, and in fact in 1804 took the title of emperor. The war of England against the French republic, therefore, was gradually merged into a war against Napoleon. England became the soul of the opposition of the

other countries of Europe to the great French emperor. At one time or another she formed alliances with Spain, Holland, Prussia, Austria, Russia, and some of the minor powers of Europe. When the continental countries were defeated and one alliance after another was dissolved, England regularly set to work to form a new coalition. Her wealth enabled her not only to equip and pay her own troops but also to subscribe money to keep the troops of Prussia, Russia, Austria, and other countries in the field.

No account of the frequent and long campaigns and of the many alliances can of course be given here. England's part in the war on land until 1813 was not either very prominent or very successful, but she won great glory upon the sea. Over and over again she showed herself superior to French fleets, even when these were joined, as they were later, by those of Holland or Spain.



Lord Nelson

552. Nelson.—The great hero of her naval history proved to be Horatio Nelson, who had been brought up in the navy and reached the command of a vessel before he was twenty years old. He served in the American war and by the time he was forty had taken part in one hundred and twenty engagements. In 1797, when he was simply a commodore, he helped win a victory off Cape St. Vincent over the Spanish fleet which was on its way to join the French fleet at Brest. Soon afterwards he was made admiral. In 1798, in the Battle of the Nile, fought in Aboukir Bay, he destroyed the French fleet and made useless the army which Bonaparte had taken to Egypt. In 1805 the greatest and the crowning naval battle of the war, fought off Cape Trafalgar,

resulted in the total destruction of the last considerable fleet which the French placed upon the sea during this war. Nelson, who had now been made a viscount and had become the idol of the sailors and indeed of the whole nation, at the opening of the engagement put up the signal, "England expects that every man will do his duty." The victory of the English was decisive but Nelson fell mortally wounded and died just as he heard the news of the destruction of the French fleet. His body was buried in St. Paul's cathedral.

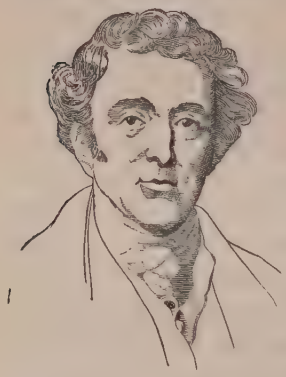
553. **Advantages of the War to England.** — The command of the sea which England thus obtained gave her three great advantages. In the first place, she was enabled to ward off invasion and to prevent warfare upon her own territory. Secondly, she was able to capture almost all the French colonies and even those of Holland, after that country had allied itself with France. The French possessions in the West Indies, Africa, and the Indian Ocean and the Dutch colonies of Java, the Cape of Good Hope, and Guiana were one after another seized while their home governments were not in a position to defend them. Most of the colonies thus captured were returned at the conclusion of peace, but England retained Tobago and St. Lucia in the West Indies, one half of Guiana on the coast of South America, Malta in the Mediterranean, and two great stations on the road to India, that is to say, the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France. Thirdly, England was able to get possession of most of the commerce of the world except that part of it which was carried on by the United States and that of the far East. The European colonies in America and the native races of Africa and Asia made a great market for the manufactured goods which England was now able under the factory system to produce in such vast quantities. The war, therefore, though it required heavy taxes and enormous loans, probably paid for itself to England in the increased extent of her dominions and population and in the wealth obtained by her manufacturers and merchants.

554. War of 1812 with the United States. — After the battle of Trafalgar and Napoleon's recognition of the impossibility of taking an army into England he tried to destroy her prosperity by closing to her vessels all the ports of France and her allies, which included almost the whole continent of Europe. He announced that England herself was blockaded, and that all neutral vessels which entered an English harbor and then entered one of the continental ports would be seized. These laws were promulgated in the "Berlin Decree" of 1806 and the "Milan Decree" of 1807, and are known as Napoleon's "Continental System." England retaliated in the "Orders in Council" of 1807 by declaring all the ports of France and her allies blockaded and requiring neutral vessels to stop at a British harbor and obtain permission before entering any French or allied port. These rules of action were hard on the vessels of the United States, the only important neutral power. If they sailed directly for a French port they were apt to be seized by English war vessels for violation of the Orders in Council; if they stopped at an English port before going to the continent they were seized when they reached it for violation of the Berlin and Milan decrees.

Disputes connected with this matter were accompanied by others arising from the English claim of a right to search American vessels for war material, and her practice of seizing from American ships men whom she claimed to be deserters from her own navy. These claims, weakly submitted to by the United States for a while, led in 1812 to an outbreak of war between the two countries. The land fighting was not considerable, although English troops were landed in America, burned the capitol at Washington, and were later defeated in an engagement at New Orleans. On the sea the English were surprised to find that the new nation which had sprung from themselves showed a naval superiority which led to the capture of many English vessels. The war was closed in 1814 by a compromise which left most of the questions at issue unsettled. At the same time it was quite

unlikely that England would in the future try to enforce the high claims she had made before the war. The differences between the two nations had also lost much of their intensity as a result of the close of the great war with France which had brought the disputes between them into existence.

555. Close of the Wars. — During the years from 1808 to 1815 England's part in the wars against Napoleon had become more prominent. In the first of those years British troops were sent to Portugal and Spain to assist the people of those countries to resist the French armies. This "Peninsular Campaign," as it is called, proved to be an extensive series of battles and manœuvres extending over five years. Its direction was taken by Sir Arthur Wellesley, an officer trained in military service in India. He proved to be England's greatest general and in reward for his efforts was made duke of Wellington. These efforts were ultimately crowned with success and the French were finally driven out of Portugal and Spain.



The Duke of Wellington

By this time the tide of success was turning against Napoleon in other directions also. The great army which he led into Russia in an attack on the Czar in 1812 was annihilated by the terrible weather, the long marches, and the slow starvation; and another army which he gathered in 1813 was crushed by the allies in Germany. He was deposed in 1814 and banished to the island of Elba, and Louis XVIII was made king of France. A few months afterwards Napoleon escaped, returned to France, was accepted again as emperor, and organized another army. But his efforts were in vain. He succumbed to the united forces of Europe, and in the great battle of Waterloo, fought in June, 1815, under the command of Wellington, was finally and decisively defeated by an allied

army of English and Prussians. The long wars had at last come to an end. A series of treaties was entered into at Vienna in 1814 and 1815 by England, France, and the other European countries.

556. Summary of the Period 1763–1815. — The period of fifty-two years which intervened between 1763 and 1815 saw a profound transformation in England. The improvements in manufacturing, agriculture, and transportation began a series of changes which deeply affected all classes of society. The old settled ways could no longer be retained. New classes of employers and new classes of employees grew up, with different ways of thinking and acting. All parts of the country were brought within easy reach of one another, and when the railroad and the telegraph were introduced a generation or two later they only made more complete the changes which were already begun.

The struggle with the American colonies not only led to the loss of those possessions but also to the breakdown of the narrow personal management of parliament by the king and the ministry. The English as well as the American people were more free as a result of the revolution carried through by the latter. During the wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon, England obtained an extension of her colonial dominions which in some degree made up for the loss of the thirteen colonies in America. The long struggle with France, it is true, gave a setback to all reforms in England, and Ireland was, after a time of greater liberty, more completely subjugated than ever before. Nevertheless this condition in England and Ireland could hardly be a permanent one.

The part which England played in the wars necessarily gave her a high place in Europe at their conclusion and in the years that followed. But the real effects of the Napoleonic wars upon her are to be measured not so much by the successes in the Peninsula and at Waterloo as by the colonial acquisitions and increased trade on the one hand, and the heavy taxes, burdensome debt, and dissatisfied population on the other.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. x, sects. 2–4. The Industrial Revolution is more fully described in CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History of England*, chap. viii, and in WARNER, *Landmarks of English Industrial History*, chaps. xv and xvi. The American war is well described from the English side in TREVELYAN, *The American Revolution*. MORLEY, *Edmund Burke;* TREVELYAN, *Early Life of Charles James Fox;* and ROSEBERY, *Pitt*, are valuable biographies. MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution* and *The Life of Nelson*, are important and suggestive books. MACAULAY, *Warren Hastings* and *William Pitt*.

Contemporary Sources. — The *Junius Letters* are published in several forms. Documents concerned with the American Revolution are published in *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 3, 9, 47, and 68, and in HART, *American History told by Contemporaries*, Vol. II, parts vi–viii. BURKE, *Speeches and Letters*, published in cheap form in Morley's Universal Library, show how the French Revolution was looked upon in England. Conditions in parliament are well exemplified in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 104–107. Some of the *Junius Letters*, No. 45 of the *North Briton*, the *Berlin Decree*, and several other interesting documents are given in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 97–111. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 365–404.

Poetry and Fiction. — DICKENS, *Barnaby Rudge*, describes the Lord George Gordon riots, and *A Tale of Two Cities* a part of the French Revolution. SCOTT, *Guy Mannering*, *Redgauntlet*, *The Antiquary*, and *St. Ronan's Well*, belong to this period. VICTOR HUGO, *Les Miserables*, contains a vivid description of the battle of Waterloo. CAMPBELL, *Battle of the Baltic* and *Ye Mariners of England*, are vigorous war poems. WOLFE, *The Burial of Sir John Moore*, refers to an incident in the Peninsular War. BYRON, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, has a famous passage describing the battle of Waterloo. The Irish song, *The Wearing of the Green*, refers to the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798. THOMAS DAVIS, *The Geraldines*, belongs to the same period.

Special Topics. — (1) Purchasing of Seats in Parliament, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 105; (2) The French Revolution, ROBINSON, *Western Europe*, chaps. xxxv and xxxvi; (3) Napoleon, *ibid.*, chaps. xxxvii and xxxviii; (4) Taxation of the American Colonies, LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 202–204; (5) The Union with Ireland, *ibid.*, Nos. 206–208; (6) Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. V, pp. 281–301; (7) Manufacturing Inventions, *ibid.*, pp. 305–317; (8) Improvements in Pottery, *ibid.*, pp. 317–322; (9) Howard and Prison Reform, *ibid.*, pp. 482–488; (10) The Army during the Wars with Napoleon, *ibid.*, pp. 526–541; (11) Ireland and the Union, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. x, sect. 4; (12) The Battle of Waterloo, HUGO, *Les Miserables*.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PERIOD OF REFORM. 1815–1852

557. The Early Years of the Peace. — The year 1815 was the close of a long era of war, and peace might well be expected to bring better times. Yet the period that immediately followed the Treaty of Vienna was not one of prosperity or of national happiness for England. The expenses of the war had increased the national debt enormously and taxes were therefore very high. Many soldiers and sailors were thrown out of employment by the coming of peace. The corn laws, an import duty on wheat, prevented its importation and therefore kept the price of food high. Two or three bad seasons in succession made the price still higher. Not so many goods could be exported, now that the ships of other countries could again sail on the seas, and commerce and manufacturing suffered correspondingly.

These hard times turned attention to the old abuses in the government, which had been to a great extent forgotten or neglected under the pressure of war. As a result agitation began again and a party of radicals was organized which revived the old cry for reform of parliament. A well-known newspaper, Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*, which had always been sold for a shilling, was in 1816 reduced in price to twopence, and with great clearness of argument and vigor of style advocated reform of parliament as a cure for all the evils of the time. It was the first cheap newspaper and immense numbers were sold and read. But many of the radicals took more active means to express their discontent, and much disorderly agitation marked the next few years. The lower classes broke out into riots, held

mass meetings, formed societies, and even secretly gathered arms and drilled.

The Tory party was in an overwhelming majority in parliament and its leaders were settled in their opposition to reform of any kind. They feared lest changes once begun would go farther and farther and lead to some such overthrow as the French Revolution, which had just passed. They felt that the only safety was in resistance to the beginning of change. Everything was to be kept just as it was. Therefore when agitation became more widespread the ministry obtained from parliament the adoption of what were known as the "Six Laws," which allowed the government to forbid seditious meetings, suspended the writ of habeas corpus for six months, and provided for the speedy trial and conviction of breakers of the peace. Popular writers were prosecuted for expressions used in their writings, and in every way repression was practiced similar to the action of Pitt against the agitators of the period from 1790 to 1795.

Royal Arms from 1816 to 1837: a Crown surmounting the Shield, Hanover now being a Kingdom

558. **The Manchester Massacre.** — These conditions came to a head in 1819 in what was then called the "Manchester Massacre." A great meeting was summoned by the leaders of the reformers in that city to listen to addresses from popular speakers. The mayor and justices of the peace declared this meeting illegal and prohibited the holding of it. The leaders determined to proceed notwithstanding the prohibition, and on the appointed day an immense gathering crowded St. Peter's Field, a park in the city. The magistrates had called out a considerable military force and determined to enforce their prohibition by the arrest of the speakers, although no special act of disorder had been committed or seemed likely to be committed. Some constables were therefore ordered to make their way through the dense crowd to

the speakers' stand. In doing so they were jostled and jeered, when the magistrates seem to have lost their heads and ordered the cavalry to ride down the crowd. The result of their charge was the death of several men and the wounding of a large number.

The use of military forces for police duty has always been extremely unpopular in England and this unnecessary and violent action of the Manchester authorities aroused much anger throughout the country. On the other hand, the prince regent and the ministers sent messages of exaggerated praise to the magistrates and military officers concerned in the affair, while parliament immediately passed still more repressive laws. For a time it seemed that the country was dividing into two camps, — the mass of the people who were demanding reform, and the governing classes who were determined to silence their clamor.

559. George Canning and Moderate Toryism. — The violence of the agitation became somewhat less as time passed. From 1816 onward a stream of emigration of the working classes began to flow towards the United States, Canada, and Australia, and many found in these new lands a prosperity which they could never have attained at home. Even in England times became somewhat better after 1820. Lord Sidmouth, who had been responsible for the harshest of the measures against the Radicals, resigned, and Lord Castlereagh, the most reactionary of the ministers, died. In 1822 George Canning became minister for foreign affairs and in 1827 was made prime minister. Tory as he was, he carried on a far more liberal foreign policy than that which had been pursued during the early part of the century, approving the efforts of other countries in Europe to obtain greater freedom and giving ready acknowledgment to the independence of the Spanish colonies in America. This made the government more popular at home, and even in internal affairs Canning's influence and that of some of his colleagues was exercised in favor of certain reforms.

560. Reform of the Penal Code. — Efforts had long been made by certain enlightened men to obtain a reduction of punishments

for small offenses, and to these the ministry now gave its support. In 1800 the death penalty was prescribed for as many as two hundred kinds of offenses. Misdemeanors of the most petty character were punishable by death. Picking pockets if the value of what was taken was as much as one shilling, shoplifting if the article stolen was of the value of five shillings, sheep stealing, forgery, counterfeiting, and a great many other offenses of all descriptions were by law all punishable by death.

This severe code left no distinction between such a slight offense as petty thieving and such a terrible crime as murder. The smaller offense was punished by hanging and the greater one could be punished by nothing more. So unreasonable and so harsh was the system that juries often declared culprits innocent directly in the face of the evidence of their guilt, or declared very valuable articles worth less than five shillings, rather than inflict such a heavy punishment for so slight a crime. Many who were sentenced to death were pardoned or the death penalty commuted to imprisonment or transportation. Punishment was therefore very uncertain; nevertheless crime and its punishment were only too common. Hangings at Tyburn in London and at corresponding places of execution in other towns were a frequent occurrence, and attendance at them was a common and demoralizing form of amusement for the populace.

The efforts of those who wrote, spoke, and pleaded in parliament for a reduction in the severity of punishments were at last successful. Some of the worst evils were removed soon after the abolition of the slave trade, and in 1824 Peel as home secretary, supported by Canning and some of the other ministers, induced parliament to abolish the death penalty for a great many more offenses. Some years afterwards the death penalty for forgery, counterfeiting, horse stealing, sheep stealing, and in fact for all other offenses except treason, murder, and certain other crimes of violence, was removed. Imprisonment for debt was abolished in 1813, the public whipping of women in 1820,

and in 1836 prisoners were for the first time allowed to have a lawyer to speak for them.

561. **Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1828.** — But the greatest of these early reforms lay in the field of religious toleration. It will be remembered that the Toleration Act of 1689 gave to Dissenters freedom of worship but did not give them a right to hold office, while Roman Catholics were given neither religious nor political rights. But as time went on the tide gradually turned in their favor, the laws were not carried out in all points, and Dissenters at least were allowed to hold some offices. In 1812 the Five-Mile and Conventicle acts were repealed and in 1828 after a hard contest the Test and Corporation acts were also repealed.[1] This gave Dissenters practically the same political rights as members of the church of England. Roman Catholics had been given freedom of worship in 1778 by the act which brought on the Lord George Gordon riots,[2] and the repeal of the Test Act in 1828 allowed them to hold most offices. Even yet, however, they were excluded from membership in parliament.

562. **Roman Catholic Emancipation, 1829.** — Yet this privilege was just what the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland desired most of all. They felt that so long as they had no representatives in parliament they had no real equality with Protestants. "Catholic emancipation," as it was called, had long been advocated by the more liberal members of the ministry and of parliament; but it was still strongly opposed by the stricter Tories and by the king. The final change was brought about by events in Ireland. In 1823 the "Catholic Association" was formed in that country under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, a Roman Catholic lawyer and orator of great power. Without actually violating the law this association, which had branches all through Ireland, kept up an active agitation, drawing up repeated petitions to parliament and holding meetings at which addresses were made by O'Connell and other leaders.

[1] For the adoption of these acts see pp. 471–473. [2] See p. 600.

In 1828, when a special election for a member of parliament from the Irish county of Clare was to be held, the Association decided to put up their president, O'Connell, as a candidate against the man favored by the ministry. Although Roman Catholics could not sit in parliament they could vote, and thousands of the small farmers of county Clare marched to the polls and voted unanimously for O'Connell. At the urgent appeal of the officers of the Catholic Association the members abstained entirely from drinking, and there was only one intoxicated man at the polls, and he was a Protestant and an Englishman, the coachman of O'Connell. Although it was said that thirty thousand of the peasants attended the election, there was no disorder nor threatening, but only well-disciplined, unanimous determination to have their way.

The only reason the voting farmers were so orderly was because they believed that their leaders were about to obtain their political emancipation. They would have been just as willing to obey orders, if these orders had been to fight for their rights. The English ministry realized this and perceived that they must either give them the representation they were demanding or make up their minds to put down another Irish rebellion. They chose the former alternative. The duke of Wellington and Peel with great difficulty obtained the king's consent to the introduction of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, and with almost as great difficulty induced their Tory supporters in parliament to vote for it. It was, however, finally carried in 1829, and the last legal restriction on the liberty of Roman Catholics removed. Instead of the old formula, all that was now required was a simple oath "on the true faith of a Christian" to support the government and not to injure the established church. On making such a promise a Roman Catholic could hold any office to which he had been appointed or elected except that of regent, lord chancellor of the United Kingdom, viceroy of Ireland, or royal commissioner of Scotland.

The Tory ministry had granted these concessions not because they approved of them but because to have refused them would have brought about still worse results. But the reform of parliament was too far-reaching a change for them to even consider seriously. That subject came up again in 1820 and was during the next few years vigorously advocated by the remainder of the old Whig party and by the new Radical party. However, every bill affecting parliament which was brought in was defeated by large majorities. When the reformers tried to deprive of their representatives certain of the old close boroughs where bribery was worst, the ministry was strong enough to defeat them.

William IV

563. George IV. — George III died in 1820 and George IV became king. The new monarch was a man of low principles and dissolute habits. He married a Roman Catholic lady in secret but disowned her in order to obtain the crown. Later he married a German princess in order to induce parliament to pay his debts, but he soon neglected and ill-treated her and finally sought a divorce. He was always deeply in debt and took little part in the government except occasionally to interpose his influence in opposition to reforms. He was of fine appearance and always dressed in the height of fashion and was therefore sometimes very unworthily called "the first gentleman in Europe." He was amiable and disinclined to severity in punishments; but taken all in all he was one of the sovereigns of whom England can be least proud in all the long line. In 1830 he died and having no children was succeeded by his brother William IV.

564. A Whig Majority. — The death of the king dissolved parliament and necessitated the election of a new one. The

elections for this new parliament took place in the summer of 1830. It was a critical time. The old Tory party had been much divided by the concessions of the ministry on Roman Catholic emancipation. Many of the strictest Tories who were borough owners, in order to punish their leaders, returned members who would in future be opposed to Wellington, who had become prime minister in 1828, soon after the death of Canning. Causes outside of England deprived the ministry of some more of their supporters. In June there had occurred a new revolution in France by which the old line of kings who had been restored after the downfall of Napoleon were now driven out and Louis Philippe, a more liberal king representing the middle classes, was put on the throne. The sympathy with this occurrence was widespread in England, and thousands of voters where they had a chance really to control the elections voted in favor of candidates who would oppose the duke of Wellington and his party. The old question of the reform of parliament was in the air, and every nerve was strained by those who felt that the time had at last come when it might be gained.

The result was a defeat for the Tory party, which had been in control now with one short break for forty-six years. When parliament gathered in the fall of 1830, and the question of reform was brought up, Wellington declared that no reform was needed or wanted and stated his intention of opposing it in every way. He also expressed his disapproval of the recent liberal revolutions on the continent and showed a general determination to use all the powers of the government to repress rather than to accede to the popular wishes. He was soon outvoted and with the whole Tory ministry resigned office.

565. **Introduction of a Reform Bill.** — Lord Grey became prime minister and a cabinet was formed which included most of the more liberal Whigs. A bill for the reform of parliament was immediately introduced. It was far-reaching in its character. It proposed to deprive the whole group of "rotten boroughs,"

including sixty small towns, of their separate representation in parliament, and to reduce from two to one the representatives of each of forty-six other boroughs which were somewhat larger but yet of less than four thousand inhabitants each. As Lord Russell, who introduced the bill, read the long list of these boroughs and explained that the ministry proposed to sweep away all their representation and transfer their members to the most populous counties and to the large manufacturing towns, the Tory members could hardly believe that the statement was meant seriously. But the ministry was quite serious and the bill as it had been submitted soon became a matter of intense interest to the whole country as well as to parliament. The popular cry, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill," rang out everywhere. Popular associations were formed in the usual way, delegates were elected to a national body representing these associations, riots broke out here and there, and attacks were made upon men who were prominent in their opposition to reform.

After long debate the majority of the House of Commons declared its opposition to the measure. The ministers advised the king to dissolve parliament and hold a new election on the one great subject of the time. This was done and the election took place in the midst of the most intense excitement. The result was that all those who had supported the bill were reëlected and that many of those who had opposed it were defeated and their places taken by reformers. When parliament met again the bill was introduced a second time and was now carried through the House of Commons by a majority of more than a hundred. But the House of Lords immediately defeated it by an adverse majority almost as large. The months following this defeat of the Reform Bill were marked by even greater popular excitement than before. When parliament met again in the winter of 1831 and the ministers introduced the bill for a third time, it passed the House of Commons by a still larger majority, and again the House of Lords showed their intention of voting against it.

566. Dispute between the Houses. — There was now a deadlock. The House of Commons passed resolutions of confidence in the ministers, requesting them not to resign, yet the House of Lords would not pass the bill which the ministry were pledged to carry. The excitement in the country rose steadily. Riots occurred and political associations numbering many thousand men sent offers to the ministry to march to their assistance if they were needed. At the meetings of these associations resolutions were passed in favor of the abolition of hereditary nobility and the House of Lords. For a time the country stood on the brink of civil war.

There was just one possible way by which the bill could be passed. This was for the king, on the advice of the ministers, to appoint enough new peers who were in favor of the bill to overcome the existing majority in the House of Lords against it. William, however, did not like the Reform Bill; the queen and other ladies connected with the court, many Tory noblemen, bishops, military officers, and others who were opposed to it pleaded with him against the plan, and he refused the request of the ministry to coerce the House of Lords in this way. The ministers immediately resigned and the king asked the duke of Wellington to form a Tory ministry. This action created still greater opposition in the country. The newspapers came out with broad black lines of mourning. Bells were tolled as if some national calamity had occurred. Petitions were sent to the House of Commons asking that no more appropriations should be made until the bill was passed, and the great northern political unions prepared to march in a body to the vicinity of London.

567. Passage of the Reform Bill of 1832. — Wellington was brave enough to undertake the task of forming an anti-reform ministry, but he could not find others to fill the remaining offices in the cabinet. He had reason also to believe that the troops would not obey orders if attempts should be made to dissolve the mass meetings by force. He reported, therefore, to the king

that he could not form a ministry and advised him to give way. William then recalled Earl Grey and the Whig ministers and promised to appoint fifty new members of the House of Lords, if they were needed to pass the bill. At the same time, however, he sent a letter to the peers who were opposing the bill, telling them of this agreement and suggesting that they remain away from parliament when the next vote was taken, so that such action should not be necessary. The duke of Wellington also exercised his influence in persuading the opposition lords to

Belvoir Castle : Country-seat of the Duke of Rutland

refrain from further resistance. About one hundred of them, therefore, absented themselves, the bishops ceased to oppose the bill, and early in 1832 it was passed, signed, and became a law.

The bill had been changed somewhat in its progress through parliament but in the main its provisions were the same. It took away the special right of representation from all boroughs with less than two thousand inhabitants and reduced the representation of others. It then gave more representatives to the large cities and the most populous counties, especially those in the north of England. It reduced the property qualification of voters for

knights of the shire so that all independent farmers and other well-to-do inhabitants in the country districts should have a right to vote, though laborers would not. In the towns all persons occupying houses paying a rent of £10 a year were given a right to vote. This right of franchise may be said roughly to have included all persons of the upper and middle classes, but not workingmen. The Reform Bill therefore took the control of parliament out of the hands of the narrow aristocracy, which had dominated it so long, and put it into the hands of the middle classes of England.

But the way in which the Reform Bill was carried was quite as important as the actual changes which it made in the law. It was forced by the people, led by a group of liberal ministers, upon a reluctant House of Commons, an opposing House of Lords, and a king who would have refused to sign it if he had had the power to do so. It was the political unions, the mass meetings, the petitions, the popular excitement, and even the riots, that strengthened the ministers and really obtained the success of the bill. It was a great popular victory over old established powers and privileges. Just as the Great Charter had been wrested by the barons from King John, just as the Petition of Right had been obtained by parliament from Charles I, just as the Bill of Rights had secured to parliament the supremacy over the king, so now the Reform Bill of 1832 gained for a much larger part of the people the supremacy over the small number that up to this time had alone been represented. It was the occurrence which came nearest to a real political revolution in the history of England, and it was the first step towards the attainment of self-government by the whole mass of the English people.

568. Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies. — The adoption of the Reform Bill of 1832 was followed by a wave of reform legislation. Although a decision given by the courts in 1772 had declared that slavery could not lawfully exist in England itself, and the moment a slave was brought into England he became

free, slavery still existed in the British West Indian colonies and in South Africa. The law of 1806 forbade the slave trade, so no additional slaves could be brought into those regions, but the race of negro slaves which was already there continued to exist. Many of the arguments which had been used against the slave trade could be used just as well against slavery itself, and as a matter of fact an agitation for its abolition had been carried on ever since 1806. In 1823 and 1831 a few rules for the more merciful treatment of slaves and for their instruction had been issued by the government; but not much was accomplished until after the passage of the Reform Bill. The parliament elected under the new law, however, passed, in 1833, an emancipation bill freeing under certain conditions all slaves owned by British subjects or in British dominions, prohibiting slavery for the future, and at the same time appropriating £20,000,000 to remunerate the former slave owners for their losses. The bill was received with great anger and opposition by the planters of the West Indies and the Boers of South Africa, but they had to submit.

569. The Factory Act of 1833. — Something of the same feeling of sympathy with those who were overworked and miserable led to the passage of another somewhat similar measure. This was a law prohibiting the employment in spinning and weaving factories of children below nine years of age, restricting the labor of those between nine and thirteen to eight hours a day, and of those between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day. Night work was also forbidden for all young persons, and certain requirements were made for holidays, education, and the cleanliness of the factories. Factory inspectors were appointed whose sworn duty it was to see to the enforcement of this law. There proved to be working in the factories more than one hundred and fifty thousand children who came under the general supervision of the factory inspectors.

Factory laws had been in existence for some years before this time, but they had not been enforced. Many more were adopted

in later years carrying the care of the government over children, young persons, and women much farther.

570. Reform of the Poor Law. — The next year, 1834, the old poor law of Elizabeth, with the many abuses which had grown up about it, was repealed and a new law was passed in its place. This law seemed harsh, as it put a stop to many forms of relief which had long been given to the very poor. But it was in reality an attempt to arouse a greater feeling of independence and a more earnest effort on the part of the laboring classes to support themselves and to make it more possible for them to do so.

Before this time people of the lower classes who moved from one place to another were liable according to the Law of Settlement to be returned by the authorities to the place from which they had come, for fear their support would fall on the parish in which they wished to settle. The Law of Settlement was repealed the same year and even the poorest people might now go freely wherever they wished or wherever they could find work. Before 1834 a great number of persons received entire or partial support in their own households. The new law required that paupers could only get relief by living in the poorhouse. In order to bring their wages up to a certain amount weekly payments from the poor funds had previously been made regularly to laborers in proportion to the number of their children. Wages were in this way kept low and men were made paupers who should have been independent workingmen. Such payments were now forbidden. Under the old system pauperism had become so general that one out of every six of the population of England was receiving entire or partial support from the community. The poor tax was not only growing to be an almost intolerable burden, but, worse still, it was destroying the manliness and self-respect of the lower classes, making them feel that they were dependent on the classes who paid the taxes, and destroying all inducements to thrift and self-control. The new bill in addition to the requirements already mentioned provided for a more centralized administration of the

poor laws under a national board. Its result was to lessen very materially the payments for the support of paupers and in some degree at least to reach the higher object of increasing the self-dependence of the lower classes.

571. **Municipal Corporations Reform Act.** — In 1835 a municipal corporations act was passed. This was intended to introduce much the same changes into the government of towns and cities as the Reform Bill itself had introduced into the government of the whole nation. It took away from the cities and boroughs the old charters by which such different governments had been established in them, and organized them all in the same general form. The control of the affairs of each city and borough was put in the hands of the whole body of the property holders instead of being exercised only by a small group of the citizens, as had been generally the case before, or by all the inhabitants, as had been previously the case in a few instances.

572. **Cheap Postage.** — At about the same time, through the influence of a member of parliament named Rowland Hill, the government introduced the system of cheap postage. Before this time postage on letters was charged in proportion to the distance they were carried, to their shape, and to the number of sheets they contained. The charge was always high, the average for all Great Britain being about 6*d*. From London to Scotland it was apt to cost a shilling or more, and even from London to the coast it cost 8*d*. Mr. Hill was struck with the unwisdom of this system and devoted much time to an examination of postal matters with a view to their improvement. In 1837 he proposed a scheme by which cheap postage should be introduced, the speed and frequency of mails increased, a uniform rate established, and prepayment secured by the use of stamps. He trusted to the increase in the number of letters to cover the expense. Against much opposition his plans were finally carried through parliament, 1*d*. per half ounce being charged to all parts of the kingdom. It was an immediate success, the profit from the post office becoming

much larger and the convenience to the public infinitely greater. After a short time no one doubted the superiority of the system of cheap postage, the number of letters sent each year increasing by many millions.

573. Accession of Queen Victoria. — In 1837 William IV died and a new reign began. As he had no children the crown went to Victoria, the only daughter of his next younger brother, the duke of Kent.[1] She was only eighteen at the time of her accession, and as her gray-haired uncles, the dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, the great duke of Wellington, Lord Melbourne, the prime minister, and other members of the privy council knelt before the young girl to take the oath of allegiance both they and she may well have been impressed with the responsibility of her position. Her reign was destined to be the longest in English history, grave questions were impending, parties were much embittered against one another, and difficult decisions would have to be made from the beginning to the end of the reign. At this time she was entirely unknown to her people, as she had been brought up in much seclusion; but her education and training had been good and her subjects soon learned to recognize her clear judgment, her moderation, her perception of the true position of the sovereign in the English system of government, and the thorough goodness of her character.

Royal Coat of Arms since 1837

In 1840 she married her cousin, Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who came to live in England but was given no recognized position

[1] The descent of Queen Victoria was as follows:

George III, 1760–1820

George IV 1820–1830	Frederick duke of York died 1827	William IV 1830–1837	Edward duke of Kent died 1820	Ernest Augustus duke of Cumberland	Adolphus duke of Cambridge
			Victoria 1837–1901		

in the government. In private he was, on the whole, a wise and impartial adviser of his wife, and his influence with her and with others was thoroughly good for England. By his refined tastes and intellectual interests he gave encouragement to the arts and to literature at a time when they received but scant recognition, and many public measures of usefulness received his steady and intelligent support.

574. **Liberals and Conservatives.** — The Whigs and those who acted with them during the contests on the Reform Bill and the other measures which were adopted soon afterwards gradually gave up the old party name and began to call themselves "Liberals." This name soon came to be the only one used and was regularly applied to the party of which Earl Grey, Lord Russell, Lord Brougham, and Lord Melbourne were the leaders. The name "Whig" went out of existence. The more moderate Tories, on the other hand, accepted loyally the results of the Reform Bill but insisted that further changes should be made only in a conservative and cautious manner. They came therefore to be known as "Conservatives." The party name "Tory" went out of use except as it was used to describe a man who was extremely and narrow-mindedly conservative. The most influential representatives of the Conservative party were the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. The latter especially was the real reorganizer and leader of the Conservatives after the adoption of the Reform Bill. He was prime minister for five important years, from 1841 to 1846. Yet in the main the Liberals kept control of the government till after the middle of the century, when they gradually became tired of a reforming policy. Their ambition in that direction had been satisfied and they believed that no further political changes should be made. They defeated measures for admitting Jews to parliament, for lowering the franchise, for introducing the ballot in voting, and for more frequent elections, and no further great reforms were to be put to their credit for many years.

575. Steamboats, Railroads, and Telegraphs. — Outside of parliament, however, there was much progress. The steam engines that had been invented and introduced into factories to furnish power for machinery were gradually applied to purposes of locomotion. Steamboats were brought into use on the rivers and coasts about 1812. In 1838 steam vessels began regularly to cross the ocean. In the meantime there had been much experimenting in the construction of engines for traveling on land. Finally a successful locomotive was invented by George Stephenson, a self-educated engineer in the mining regions. In 1825 the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened, on which his engines were used, and a much better and more famous road between Liverpool and Manchester was opened in 1829. On this road Stephenson's engines drew light trains at the respectable speed of thirty-five miles an hour. Nine years afterwards a road from London to Birmingham was opened and soon all parts of England were connected by rail. The old stage-coaches soon gave way to railroad trains for passenger travel, and just as fifty years before hauling of goods on horseback and by wagon had given place to transportation by canals, so now the railroads secured from these most of the freight traffic.

During the years between 1837 and 1842 the electric telegraph was being perfected and brought into general use. The English inventors whose names were most prominently connected with the telegraph were Cooke and Wheatstone, but the alphabet invented by the American, Morse, and his instruments were early introduced into England. Cheap postage, the railroad, and the telegraph made traveling rapid and the sending of messages and news quick and cheap.

576. Trade Unions. — England was becoming a vastly richer country, manufactures and commerce were becoming more extensive, and the whole character of life more active and energetic than it had been in the past. Nevertheless there was no less discontent than before. This was especially true of the grea

Early Railroad Trains

body of the working classes. There were many evils and disadvantages of their condition which they tried in various ways to overcome. Trade unions had been formed from an early period in the nineteenth century, but they were illegal. In 1824, among the other emancipating statutes of the time, the laws forbidding their existence were repealed. In 1825, however, parliament felt that it had gone too far, withdrew the emancipating law of the previous year and passed a much more moderate statute, which only legalized trade unions in a few of their aspects and under special circumstances. Nevertheless they continued to grow and their members took an active part in the agitations that led to the Reform Bill of 1832. In 1833 the first great national trade union was formed, and an effort was made to introduce an eight-hour day. The strikes for this purpose were unsuccessful and the efforts to present great petitions to parliament and to hold monster meetings of workingmen were met by threats to use military force against them, and by the prosecution and transportation of a group of country laborers under an old statute against the taking of oaths. The trade-union movement had a temporary setback, but nevertheless it continued to spread and in later years received legal recognition till the majority of workingmen in most of the higher industries were organized in this way.

577. **Chartism.** — Many of the leaders of the workingmen were not satisfied merely to form unions in their trades. They wished to obtain better representation in parliament for the mass of the people. There had been deep disappointment with the result of the Reform Bill. It had given votes only to the upper and middle classes, and the measures which had been passed by parliament since had been for the most part in the interest of those classes. The lower classes seemed to have received nothing but the more rigorous poor law.

The increased well-being of the country was not fairly distributed. There was still much hardship and dire misery. When bad times came suffering increased, and there were many who

felt that this was due to the failure of parliament to pass laws in the interest of the whole people. The agitation that had died down after the Reform Bill was therefore soon renewed and steadily increased. In 1837 at a conference among some of the more radical members of parliament and leaders of the workingmen the "People's Charter" was drawn up. This was a declaration in favor of six points of further reform: (1) universal suffrage; (2) a newly elected parliament every year; (3) vote by secret ballot; (4) abolition of the property qualification required of members of parliament; (5) payment of members of the House of Commons; and (6) the division of the country into electoral districts each of which should contain the same number of inhabitants.

For many years "The Charter" was the watchword of the discontented classes. A party known as the "Chartists" was formed, which contained but few voters but was strong in numbers and activity. Newspapers were established, pamphlets published, and mass meetings held. More than once Chartism became a serious threat to the government and prosecutions were brought against its leaders. In 1839 and 1842 national conventions of Chartist delegates met and drew up petitions to parliament for the adoption of the Charter, signed by several thousand names. Parliament, however, refused to consider these petitions on account of the disorderly manner in which they were presented. In 1848 there was a great meeting of twenty-five thousand Chartists in London, and a branch who called themselves "Physical-force Chartists" even proposed a violent attack upon the government. But troops were brought to London by the ministry and hundreds of special officers were sworn in to prevent the petitioners approaching the parliament house in any threatening numbers. A great petition for the passage of the Charter, which had been long prepared and which was said to have five million signatures, was presented to parliament by delegates from this meeting. When the petition was examined, however, it was found to contain

only something over a million names and many of these were fictitious. The same name was often repeated twenty or more times; the queen's name and those of many of the members of the House of Lords and other well-known opponents of Chartism had been signed to it as a practical joke, and even names of characters from the popular operas appeared. The whole affair was thrown into ridicule and the petition rejected amidst laughter and without debate. The movement had reached its culmination and failed. Soon afterwards the Chartist party broke up and some of its more violent members were prosecuted and punished by the government.

578. **Proposed Repeal of the Union with Ireland.** — In Ireland the excitement which O'Connell and other leaders had aroused in the agitation for Roman Catholic emancipation did not subside after their success in 1829. Very soon the demand arose that the union between England and Ireland carried by such objectionable means in 1800 should be repealed. All the familiar forms of agitation were made use of by those who desired this action. Immense meetings in Ireland at which the people were deeply stirred by O'Connell's wonderful eloquence were particularly prominent; but no English party gave any encouragement to the plan of repeal. Whatever may have been the circumstances under which the union had been originally obtained, it was now looked upon in England and Scotland as an absolutely permanent settlement. O'Connell and the other leaders continued to organize their immense gatherings, doubtless wishing to impress the government with the belief that they could throw Ireland into civil war at any time if they wished, and so gain their objects, as in 1829.

There is little doubt that a rebellion might readily have been precipitated, but O'Connell did not really intend to put the matter to the test. The agitation came to its conclusion in 1843. A great meeting which had been called together at Clontarf, an historic spot made famous by an old Irish victory over the Danes, was prohibited by the government on the ground of probable disorder. The people waited for the word of O'Connell,

holding themselves ready to resist if he so ordered. His decision came in the form of an appeal to them to obey the government. They did so and separated to their homes before the meeting was organized. But the magic of their leader's influence was gone. The people had believed that ultimately they were to fight against the English government, and felt that if they were simply to obey that government blindly, their agitation was meaningless.

579. **The Rebellion of the Young Ireland Party.** — Nothing was done towards repeal, and the agitation in this form soon afterwards died away. But a number of the younger, more highly educated, and enthusiastic men who had been followers of O'Connell in this movement now broke away from his peaceful influence and formed a society known as "Young Ireland." Their object was to awaken the national pride and sense of independence of the Irish people, then to gain their separation from England, and finally to form an Irish republic. This object they were willing to strive for, if need be, by rebellion. Before much of the preparatory work had been done, however, the series of revolts on the continent of Europe in the year 1848 set them an irresistible example and they were drawn into a foolish and hopeless outbreak. Nothing was accomplished except the capture and punishment by transportation of the most active of the leaders and the break-up of the Young Ireland party.

580. **The Irish Famine.** — The most serious occurrence in the history of Ireland during this period was, however, not a voluntary matter, but a terrible catastrophe due to natural causes. The custom of raising potatoes as their principal crop and relying on them almost entirely for food had grown up among the small farmers who formed the great bulk of the population. More food can be raised to the acre in the form of potatoes than in the form of any other crop which will grow in a temperate climate. More than a majority of the population of Ireland lived practically entirely on potatoes, and half the remainder relied on them for the greater part of their diet. This was a condition of great

risk. If anything should destroy the potato crop, the people would be left without food.

In the fall of 1845 this was what happened. In the midst of a long damp spell a disease attacked the potato plants and within a few weeks the greater part of the crop over most of Ireland rotted in the ground. The suffering was terrible and became worse the next year when it proved that the disease was so strongly intrenched as to destroy the crop a second time. Great efforts were made by the government and by charitable associations to relieve the sufferings of the famine-stricken people. Wheat and Indian corn were sent from America, from England, and from other countries, and relief work on roads was provided by the government so that wages could be earned. Finally soup kitchens were established where the famine was worst and the people too sick, poor, and weak to prepare food for themselves. But with all these efforts many thousands died of starvation and disease.

A great movement of emigration from Ireland to America and the British colonies began in 1846 and has continued with little abatement ever since. It has gradually reduced the population from about eight millions to less than five millions. Ireland is probably the only country in the world which has lost population during the last half century.

581. The Corn-Law League. — The Irish famine brought to a head a discussion which had long been in progress in England. This was the proposed abolition of import duties on grain, or what was known in England as the repeal of the corn laws.[1] For centuries a duty had been placed on grain imported into England in order to encourage its production by enabling the English farmer to sell his products at a good price and to avoid being undersold by grain brought from other parts of the world. During the wars against Napoleon the duty had been increased. But as England

[1] The word *corn* in England when used without any further description usually means wheat. What is called corn in America is not very largely used in England, and is known there as Indian corn or maize.

became more of a manufacturing country, not enough grain was raised to feed the people and some had always to be imported. The corn laws now seemed less reasonable, as they simply gave larger profits to one set of people, the farmers, while they made all other classes pay more for their food.

By this time, however, the rents which the farmers had to pay had become so high that they needed large profits on their crops to be able to pay them. The landlords who received the rent in their turn bore the burden of the enormous taxes for the poor, and they declared that they needed these high rents in order to be able to pay the taxes. The landlord class was by far the most influential in parliament, and men of that class were not likely except under great pressure to change the laws which favored their own interests.

In 1838 the "Anti-Corn-Law League" was formed at Manchester in the center of the manufacturing district, and an active movement was instituted to induce parliament to remove the taxes from grain. Richard Cobden and John Bright rose to fame in connection with the work of the league. They were both merchants, both gifted with great ability as speakers, and strongly convinced of the injustice of the corn laws and of the immense benefit that would come to English workingmen if their food could be made cheap. With these men and others as leaders, pamphlets and newspapers devoted to the subject were showered over the country, lecturers were trained and sent into every town to explain the principles of what came to be known as "free trade." "To buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest" was laid down as a general right and a general principle of action, and a condition of the law under which this could be done was treated as the ideal to which legislation should approach.

A great part of the people were gradually converted to these principles and to the belief that the old system of duties ought to be abolished. But not so much impression was made on parliament. Every year some advocate would introduce a measure

for the repeal of the duties, but it was always voted down by a majority that it seemed impossible to overcome. Eventually Cobden and Bright became members of parliament and pleaded for their views there, others took up the cause, one by one prominent members of the Liberal party and even some of the Conservatives accepted their principles, and it began to seem that at some time or other the corn laws would be abolished. The Irish famine suddenly brought the matter to an issue. It seemed absurd to be charging heavy import duties to keep out grain when it was so sadly needed to relieve starvation within the country. In 1846, therefore, Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative prime minister, introduced and against much opposition carried through a measure for the abolition of the duties on wheat and other grain. This action allowed the principal food of the people to be brought into England far more cheaply than before, reduced the price of the grain that was grown at home, and made bread cheap for the working classes.

582. **Introduction of Free Trade.** — With the corn laws went other forms of protection. Even before this abolition Peel, who had become converted to the entire system of free trade, had been instrumental in removing all duties on exports and diminishing or abolishing the duties on certain imports. The high duties on sugar imposed for the benefit of the sugar-growing British West Indies were reduced the same year that the corn laws were swept away. The Navigation Acts which had come down from the seventeenth century as a means of preserving English commerce to English ships were abolished in 1849, the vessels of all other nations being now allowed to come into and go out of English ports on the same conditions as vessels owned in England. Within a few years, between 1846 and 1849, protective duties were removed from some two hundred articles which had before been taxed. England thus gave up entirely her old policy of protection and established free trade in all articles of import and export. Only a few small import duties have since been collected

for purposes of revenue. In 1852 a formal vote was taken in the House of Commons by which four hundred and sixty-eight members, including Conservatives as well as Liberals, expressed their approval of the principles of free trade, against fifty-three who still opposed those principles. Since that time England has been distinctly a free-trade country. No measure which is based in any degree on the principle of protection to any branch of industry has had up to the close of the nineteenth century any chance of being adopted.

583. **The Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851.** — England was able to take this position because she was in advance of all other European countries in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. To display to her own people and to those of other nations the

Crystal Palace

fruits of this progress, and to induce foreigners to bring their productions to England for purposes of comparison and observation, the International Exhibition of 1851 was organized. It was first suggested by Prince Albert, and his constant efforts and great influence were needed to keep up the interest in the project and carry it into execution. He well explained its object in a public speech as being intended "to give the world a true test, a living picture, of the point of industrial development at which the whole of mankind has arrived, and a new starting point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions." It was the first of the series of world's expositions in various countries which have been so numerous in the last half century. It was held in a large building of iron and glass known as the "Crystal Palace," erected in Hyde Park, in the center

of the city of London, and it brought together the productions of nature, manufacture, and art from all parts of the world. It was a great success in every way. It not only paid all its expenses but also left a surplus which was used for the foundation of the South Kensington Museum and Art Schools. It was visited by more than six million people and awakened general interest and admiration both from Englishmen and foreigners. From it much was at the time hoped for in the perpetuation of peace and the substitution of rivalry in trade for rivalry in war, but this has unfortunately not been justified.

584. **Summary of the Period 1815–1852.** — The peace which had now lasted for almost forty years was a longer period of exemption from war than England had experienced for centuries. It made possible the devotion of attention to internal questions and a general settling up of many old matters of complaint. No period, therefore, has seen changes of more fundamental and more permanent importance than this. The most significant of these changes consisted in the transfer of control of the government from the aristocracy to the middle classes by means of the Reform Bill of 1832. The adoption of that measure made a great break with the past and made all later changes easier. Reforms that could never have been brought about under the old form of parliament were now carried out in rapid sequence. Not only those which have been described, such as the abolition of slavery, the factory laws, and the repeal of the corn laws, but also a vast number of minor reforms, were achieved. In 1835 the custom of forcing men into service in the navy was abolished; in 1840 the practice of sending boys up chimneys for the purpose of sweeping them out was forbidden; in 1848 the first "public health" act was adopted and a beginning made in the improvement of sanitary conditions and the establishment of parks in the crowded cities of modern times. Men began to look at public questions in a different way, and the duty of parliament to make laws for the benefit of the whole people was practically recognized.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, ceases to be of value in this period. MCCARTHY, *The Epoch of Reform* (Epochs of Modern History), is a good short account of the reforms. WALPOLE, *History of England since 1815*, 6 vols., is the fullest account of the period. MCCARTHY, *History of Our Own Times*, 3 vols. This work begins in 1837, at the accession of Queen Victoria, its first volume covering the period of the latter part of this chapter. It is the most interesting and vivacious account of the period. MOLESWORTH, *History of England since 1830*, gives the fullest account of the Reform Bill struggle of any of the general histories. PAUL, *History of Modern England*, is a new work in course of publication beginning with the year 1846. Among the best of the many biographies of prime ministers and other influential men are THURSFIELD, *Peel* (English Statesmen series); MORLEY, *Cobden;* STAPLETON, *Canning;* SANDERS, *Palmerston;* DUNCKLEY, *Melbourne*. GREVILLE, *Journal of the Reigns of George IV and William IV*, is an important and interesting record.

Contemporary Sources. — The debates in parliament and the laws that were passed during this period are accessible but they are mostly very voluminous. The larger histories of the time give long quotations from the speeches, and much of the real history of the period is to be found in the contemporary literature, such as essays, speeches, novels, and poetry. The collected speeches of Lord Ashley, earl of Shaftesbury, are particularly valuable. Interesting extracts concerning the Manchester Massacre, the Reform Bill, and the duke of Wellington are given in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 113, 116, and 117. The acts of 1828 and 1829 granting religious equality, the Reform Bill of 1832, and the act for the abolition of slavery are given in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, Nos. 260–264. Some speeches and notes concerning the reform movement and a valuable Chartist petition are given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 129–131. A number of documents of the emancipation and reform periods are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 210–224. A somewhat larger number and variety of documents is in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 405–434.

Poetry and Fiction. — KINGSLEY, *Yeast* and *Alton Locke;* the first deals with rural conditions, the second with the Chartist movement. GEORGE ELIOT, *Silas Marner* and *Felix Holt, the Radical;* DISRAELI, *Sybil, or The Two Nations*. Several of the novels of DICKENS illustrate the general reforming interests and efforts of the period, especially *Oliver Twist* and *Bleak House*. Mrs. GASKELL, *North and South*. Among the many poems which illustrate events or characters of the time, some of the best are TENNYSON, *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*, *Dedication of the Idylls of the King*, *Rizpah*, and many others, like *Locksley Hall*, which refer to social conditions; Mrs. BROWNING, *The Young Queen*, *Victoria's*

Tears, Crowned and Wedded, The Cry of the Children; THOMAS COOPER, W. J. FOX, WILLIAM MORRIS, and CHARLES MACKAY, various Chartist songs and poems.

Special Topics. — (1) The Great Writers of the Early Part of the Period, GARDINER, *A Student's History of England*, pp. 887–890; (2) Great Writers of the Latter Part of the Period, MCCARTHY, *History of Our Own Times*, Vol. I, chap. xxix; (3) Daniel O'Connell, *ibid.*, chap. xii; (4) The Young Ireland Party, *ibid.*, chap. xviii; (5) Factory Laws, CHEYNEY, *Industrial History*, pp. 244–260; (6) Trade Unions, *ibid.*, pp. 277–293; (7) Disappearance of the English Yeomen, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. VI, pp. 75–83; (8) Religious Conditions in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 133–150; (9) The Introduction of Railways, *ibid.*, pp. 199–210; (10) The Army and Navy in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 120–133 and 262–273.

CHAPTER XX

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY. 1852–1904

585. The Crimean War. — Soon after the middle of the century England's long period of peace came to an end and questions of internal policy gave place in public attention for a while to the problems of a serious foreign war. The War of the Crimea, into which England was now drawn as an ally of Turkey and France against Russia, arose from the general condition of affairs in eastern Europe. Russia and Turkey were ancient enemies, between whom conflicts had broken out time and again. Russia had now become so strong and Turkey so weak that there was danger that Russia would at some time seize all the remaining possessions of her rival in the eastern Mediterranean. If Russia should possess Constantinople, the entrance to the Black Sea, Asia Minor, and Syria, along with her other dominions, her power would be so great that England might find her road to India closed and the other countries of Europe made powerless to resist the overgrown might of the Slavonic Empire. It had therefore become the interest and the policy of the western nations of Europe, and especially of England, to support Turkey and prevent any aggression upon her by Russia.

In 1853 new disputes broke out between the two eastern powers which led to the invasion of Turkish territory by Russia and the destruction of the Turkish fleet in one of the Black Sea ports. England and France thereupon in 1854 allied themselves with Turkey and declared war on Russia. The war soon centered at the great Russian fortress of Sebastopol, in the Crimea, a long promontory jutting out from the north coast of the Black Sea.

Here English and French troops were gathered, a naval force concentrated, and a strong effort made to capture the fortifications and destroy the base of Russia's power.

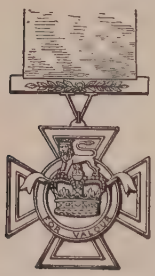
Sebastopol proved to be almost impregnable, and the allied armies finally settled down to a siege that lasted through the whole of one bitter winter and most of the next summer. Before the siege was begun and during its continuance there were several hard-fought battles with the Russian armies which opposed the landing of the allied troops and tried repeatedly to raise the siege. One of the battles, that of Balaclava, fought in October, 1854, was the occasion of the famous "Charge of the Light Brigade."[1] The general in command, seeing from his elevated position the Russians carrying off a small battery of cannon, sent orders to have them recaptured. This order was misunderstood by those who could not see so well, a dispute occurred, an officer lost his temper, and finally an order was given for the light brigade of cavalry, consisting of six hundred and seventy-three men, to charge a Russian battery at the end of a long valley and in a position where its cannon could not be held even if captured. With wonderful coolness and bravery the cavalry rode off on their hopeless mission. Through a valley two miles long, subjected to a steady fire from Russian artillery on both sides, they rode up to the fortifications and then returned, losing two hundred and forty-seven men, or almost one half their number. "It is magnificent, but it is not war," said a French officer as he watched them from a hill.

During the winter of 1854–1855 the sufferings of the English in their camp before the fortified city were terrible. The long period of peace which England had enjoyed since the battle of Waterloo had left the army badly disorganized. The food sent to it during the siege was insufficient and slow in arriving; there were few army nurses and the hospitals were poorly managed; useless red tape prevented different departments working together and delayed the distribution of supplies even after they reached

[1] The subject of Tennyson's well-known poem.

the Crimea. The officers, although brave in battle, showed poor judgment in managing the campaign and the siege. The unavoidable evils of climate and distance were added to those of mismanagement. The winter was a cold one, cholera broke out in the camp, and almost half the army was carried off by this and other diseases.

All these sufferings of the soldiers and blunders of the army authorities were reported in the home newspapers, this being the first war in which regular war correspondents were sent to the field. The tide of popular condemnation of the government rose higher and higher, until finally the coalition ministry of Lord Aberdeen, under which the war had been entered upon, was forced to resign and Lord Palmerston became prime minister.



The Victoria Cross, instituted in 1857 for Personal Acts of Bravery in Battle

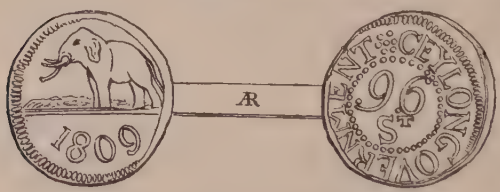
Under the new ministry energy was infused into the war operations and improvements were introduced into the military administration. Miss Florence Nightingale was sent out to Constantinople as superintendent of a group of volunteer women nurses. She proved to have great ability and good judgment and succeeded in introducing system and good management into the hospitals, as well as giving untold personal comfort and consolation to the miserable soldiers suffering from sickness and wounds. By the spring months of 1855 conditions had improved and in the fall of that year Sebastopol finally fell. In 1856 a peace was signed at Paris by which all captures made during the war were restored, ships of war of all nations were excluded from the Black Sea, Russia agreed not to fortify Sebastopol, the Danube River was opened to free navigation, and a guarantee of good treatment of her Christian subjects was given by Turkey. The one great point gained by England was the check placed at that time upon the advance of Russia; but even this has not been finally effective.

In the long run the war does not seem to have accomplished much. In 1870 Russia declared that she did not any longer intend to be bound by the Black Sea clause, and she has since established a powerful fleet there and rebuilt and fortified Sebastopol.

586. Affairs in India. — The Crimean War was hardly over when England had to face another conflict which in many ways came even nearer home to her, and which threatened the possession of her greatest dependency. The progress of English dominion in India had been one of steady acquisition of control over the native states. Soon after the time of Clive another great governor, Warren Hastings, whose administration extended from 1773 to 1785, by a series of extensions of the influence of the East India Company, brought a great part of northern and central India under its direct government. His despotic and oppressive actions against the native princes led to his impeachment by parliament in 1788, but he was finally acquitted and his acquisitions of territory were retained by the company. In 1784 parliament passed a law placing the control of the political affairs of India in the hands of a branch of the English ministry, leaving commercial affairs still in the unrestricted charge of the company.

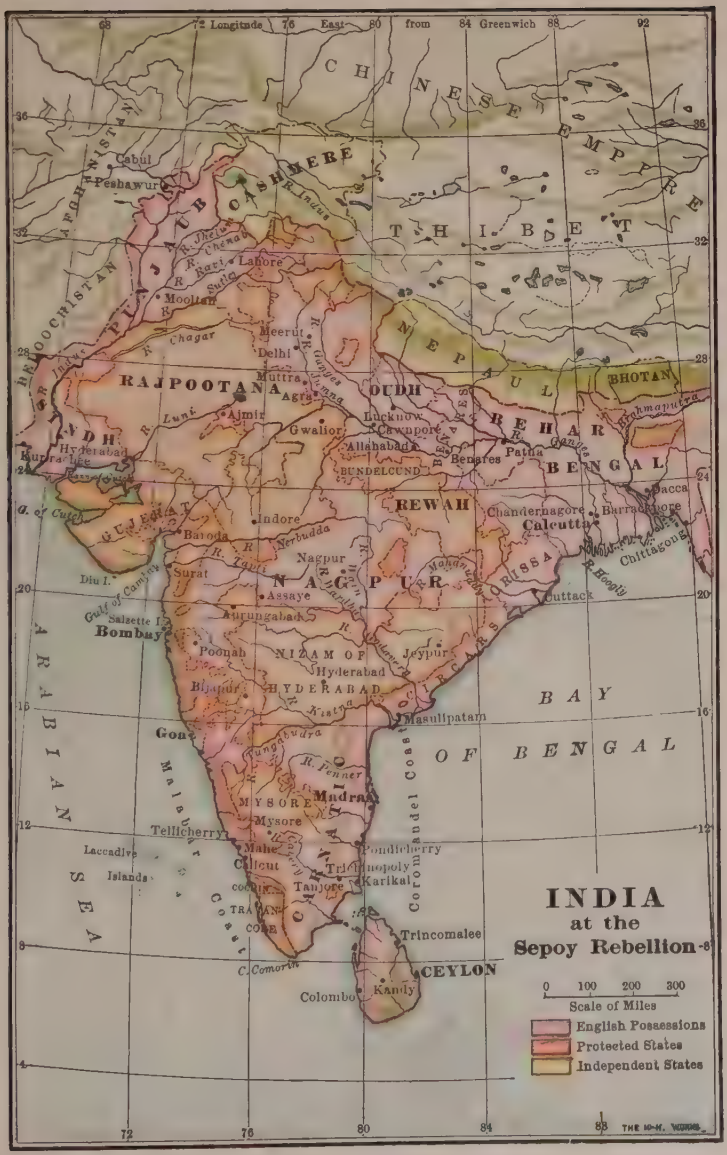
During the war against Napoleon, French influence led to much greater opposition on the part of the native princes. The English, however, carried on several successful wars and enforced a system of alliances by which several of the native rulers who were still reigning were allowed to carry on their internal affairs to suit themselves, but were each forced to receive an English resident who should direct foreign affairs. These were called "protected" states, or states "in dependent alliance." After 1815 there were a number of small wars in India by which either direct control or dependent alliances were forced upon the natives, and British influence was carried all the way to the northern and western borders. Between 1815 and 1856 there were nine separate wars of this description.

587. The Sepoy Rebellion. — Many of the inhabitants of India were dissatisfied with English rule, but it was not supposed that any widespread rebellious feeling existed until suddenly in 1857 the sepoy mutiny broke out. The native troops in the English service rose first at Meerut, refused to obey their officers, marched to Delhi, where they were joined by three other regiments of sepoys, and put a descendant of the old Moguls on the throne, thus trying to make the rising a national movement. Soon at almost every military station in the north of India a similar mutiny had taken place and the whole country was in the hands of the mutineers. The native troops and populace attacked the English officers, soldiers, officials, and merchants together with their families, and massacred men, women, and children. Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore were the most important centers of the revolt. It did not spread into the districts of Madras and Bombay, nor into the newly annexed district of the Punjab, but for a few weeks in June, July, and August, 1857, all northern India seemed to have fallen again into the possession of the native races. The English were either suffering siege and massacre or, scattered in small bodies, were confronting masses of revolted native soldiers vastly superior in numbers.



Small Coin struck in a Native Mint under English Protection

Yet the courage and the discipline of these bodies of English troops and the vigor and skill of their officers rapidly won back the territories that had been lost. A body of a few hundred in one place and a small army of a few thousand in another defeated the mutinous sepoys in engagement after engagement. English troops were brought from the loyal districts, and others who were on their way to China were turned aside to India when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Sepoy Rebellion
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REWAH
NAGPUR
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CIRCARS
NIZAM OF HYDERABAD
MYSORE
CARNATIC
TRAVANCORE
Malabar Coast
Coromandel Coast
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Cabul
Peshawur
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Mooltan
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Gwalior
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Aurungabad
Poonah
Jeypur
Hyderabad
Bijapur
Masulipatam
Goa
Madras
Mysore
Tellicherry
Mahe
Calicut
Pondicherry
Trichinopoly
Karikal
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R. Mahanuddy
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R. Tungabudra
R. Penner
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R. Ganges
Longitude East from Greenwich
THE 10-H. WORKS

they reached the Cape of Good Hope. Although in many cases these were too late to save the English women and children from being massacred under the most terrible circumstances, yet in other cases they came in time to succor the survivors and prevent further attacks from the rebels. In putting down the revolt the English inflicted severe punishment upon the mutineers. All who were suspected of participating in the massacres were put to death as ruthlessly and often with scarcely less cruelty than they had themselves used. Many were shot from the mouth of cannon.[1] Others after surrender were shot down in cold blood by English officers. Before the end of the next year, 1858, the revolt was completely stamped out.

588. **The Empire of India.** — In England the occurrence of the mutiny turned attention to the form of government of India. It was felt to be unreasonable that a great part of the British Empire, with many millions of people, should be governed so largely by the East India Company, a commercial organization. A bill was therefore passed in 1858 transferring the sovereignty and territory of the East India Company to Queen Victoria. A secretary of state for India was created, who is a member of the cabinet, and the governor general's title changed to that of viceroy. The company remained in existence, but only as a voluntary trading association carrying on commerce with India and having no share in its government and no monopoly of its trade.

Since the mutiny some of the protected states have come directly under British control, and two or three frontier districts, including the whole of Burma, have been either annexed or placed in the position of dependent states. Comparatively little fighting has been necessary for this purpose, although a large army of sepoys with English officers and a number of English regiments

[1] This was a form of punishment in which the victim was bound against the muzzle of a cannon which was then discharged. It was especially terrible to the Hindoos, who for religious reasons dread the destruction of the body.

have been kept up. The British dominion in India is in the main a great, peaceful administration carried on by about one hundred thousand soldiers, officials, merchants, missionaries, and others of English race, including women and children. Their power is exercised over some three hundred millions of the various native races; that is to say, there are about three thousand natives to one person of English birth in India. It was desired by the government to express in the title of the English sovereign this relation of England to India. The title formerly held by the sovereigns of Delhi was therefore revived, and in 1876 parliament passed an act adding to the other titles of Queen Victoria that of "Empress of India." January 1, 1877, she was proclaimed ruler of India under that title at Delhi and in every province of India.

589. **Petty Wars.** — England was not engaged only in the Crimean War and the great struggle in India. Her widespread colonial dominions have brought her into contact with so many nations and barbarous races that she has been drawn constantly into wars of small extent in which her overwhelming strength left no possible doubt of the result, but which have nevertheless been expensive in money and lives and have been opposed by the moral feelings of the country. In 1840 and 1842 there were such wars with Egypt, Afghanistan, and China. The last of these is known as the "Opium War," because the original dispute arose in connection with an effort on the part of China to prevent the importation of opium into her dominions. The opium trade was carried on by British merchants and by others under British protection; and the poppy from which the opium is derived was one of the most profitable products of British India. Therefore, although the dispute arose in an effort to prevent insult to the British flag, it resulted in forcing the opium traffic upon China in favor of English commerce. Although there was no clear settlement of the opium question its importation into China continued. As a further result of this war a number of Chinese ports were opened to commerce. Another

war broke out with China in 1856 and continued till 1858, when a treaty was made which carried still farther the opening of China to trade and intercourse with Europeans. Still a third war occurred in 1860. In 1862 there was a short war with Japan. Between that year and 1878 there were similar petty wars with Ashantee, Abyssinia, Afghanistan, the Maoris of New Zealand, and the Kaffirs and Zulus of South Africa. A still greater conflict was by that time threatening in South Africa, but its discussion can be better left till later.

590. **The Civil War in America.** — The civil war in America exercised a strong influence on England. The sympathies of the upper classes were on the whole with the South. The southern type of society and manner of life in America were much like those of the landed aristocracy of England. Commerce also drew England and the southern states closely together, many goods of English manufacture being taken to that part of the United States, and large amounts of cotton being brought thence to England. Relations had never been very cordial between the English and American governments and there had been frequent disputes on boundary and other questions. The civil war, for which the government at Washington was held responsible, brought heavy loss to England. The southern ports were blockaded by the national government and English goods could not be taken into them as usual to be sold, nor could the cotton which was so necessary as raw material for the English factories be obtained from thence.

The danger was therefore very grave that the sympathy of the English government with the South and its anger at the North would bring about a war with the United States. At the very beginning of the war an incident occurred which almost precipitated this calamity. Two southerners, Mason and Slidell, who were being sent out to represent the Confederate government in England and France, made their way to Havana and there embarked on an English vessel for Europe. On their voyage they

were overtaken by an American war ship which insisted on exercising the right of search and finally seized the two southern representatives and carried them off to New York. The English government immediately demanded their release and apologies for the indignity shown to the British flag. When the President hesitated to yield to this claim, troops were sent from England to Canada and all preparations made for war. The United States, however, gave way, acknowledged that the commander of their vessel had done wrong, and placed the southern commissioners again on an English vessel.

This crisis was passed, but others arose from time to time. The English government issued a proclamation of neutrality warning its subjects to take no part in the contest on either side. Although this seemed fair the North felt that it was an approach towards the recognition of the South as a separate power and resented it deeply. The cotton famine in Lancashire, where most of the factories were located, became the cause of great suffering. The cotton mills were almost all closed, thousands of laborers were thrown out of work, and many manufacturers failed. There was constant pressure on the government to acknowledge the southern states as an independent nation. This would have enabled England to open trade and intercourse with the South, though it would of course have led to war with the United States. Yet the government preserved its neutrality, though its friendliness to the South was apparent. One form which this took was the very slight effort made to prevent the building of southern cruisers in English ports. Several such vessels were built and launched in England. They were met afterwards at sea by southern commanders, equipped in other ports or countries, and proceeded to destroy many northern merchant ships. The most striking case of this kind was that of the "Alabama," built at Liverpool in 1862 and allowed to sail, notwithstanding the protests of the representatives of the American government. The responsibility of the English government in some of these cases was so evident that when the claims made

for losses by the United States were after long negotiations referred in 1872 to an international tribunal sitting at Geneva, Switzerland, the decision was given in favor of America, and England was ordered to pay to that country a sum of $15,500,000.

On the whole, however, the government kept faithfully to its principle of neutrality, and this against much pressure at home and provocation abroad. The great mass of the laborers in the cotton-manufacturing districts, who because of the closing of the factories were in reality the greatest sufferers from the war, bore their privations with patience and self-control. In contrast with the upper classes they were almost unanimously in sympathy with the North, because they looked upon the war as a contest for the destruction of slavery. This made their endurance easier to them, and liberal donations of money, food, and clothing from all classes helped to tide over the difficult period till the war came to an end in 1865.

591. **Lord Palmerston.** — The prime minister during this period, and the most prominent minister of England for many years, was Lord Palmerston. He was one of those men who had been originally moderate Tories under the influence of Canning, but who had afterwards drifted into the Liberal party during the agitation for the first Reform Bill. His service as minister in Tory cabinets had extended from 1809 to 1830; afterwards as foreign secretary and then as prime minister he was an influential member of almost every Liberal cabinet for thirty-five years, till his death in 1865. He had always adopted a high tone in foreign affairs, and many of the foreign disputes into which England had been drawn were largely a consequence of his policy. He had usually been able to win success for his party and his country in these contests, and he had thus become extremely popular and influential. To one object to which the Liberal party was becoming more devoted, however, he was steadily opposed. This was the further reform of parliament on the lines of the Reform Bill of 1832. He believed that the form of government established at that time should be final

and opposed actively or passively any efforts made to change it. He was in fact more interested in questions of external than of internal policy, and so long as he lived his party reflected this feeling. In 1858, however, he secured the admission of Jews into parliament.

592. Gladstone and the Revival of Parliamentary Reform. — Many other prominent men in the Liberal party, although they had refused for many years after 1832 to agree to any further reform and had opposed the efforts of the Chartists, came in time to believe that the right of voting should be extended more widely and that the districts which were represented should be made more nearly equal. This agitation began about 1852. The leader who best represented these views and who was most influential in carrying out further reforms was William Ewart Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone, who served altogether for more than sixty years in parliament, entered the House of Commons in 1833, the year after the adoption of the first Reform Bill. He was then a Conservative, though one of the moderate group which was under the influence of Sir Robert Peel, just as Palmerston and Peel himself had been under that of Canning. Gladstone was soon admitted to one of the Conservative ministries in an inferior office, and after that time for some years was a member of almost every ministry of that party.

His opinions, however, like those of Peel, gradually changed in a liberal direction. He became famous for his knowledge of the details of financial and commercial questions and for his skill in explaining them. In 1853 he became chancellor of the Exchequer and usually afterwards occupied that office when in the ministry. He introduced life and fire and eloquent interest into all his financial statements and into the defense of the principles upon which they were based. Often by his eloquence he held the House of Commons spellbound for hours at a time while he explained and advocated measures of the most commonplace financial character. In 1858 he became chancellor of the Exchequer in a purely Liberal cabinet and from that time forward was identified with the most advanced section of the Liberal party.

Gladstone was one of those who advocated further reform of parliament and for several years gave eloquent but unsuccessful support to the efforts that were made to obtain it before it became a party measure. Several bills for the purpose were introduced between 1853 and 1863 by private members of parliament and even by members of the ministry, and reform was advocated mildly in the queen's speech. But it was known that the prime minister, Lord Palmerston, was privately opposed to it; there was much division within the party on the question, and for some years no measure favorable to reform made its way through parliament. In 1865, on the death of Lord Palmerston, Gladstone became the unquestioned leader of the Liberal party, though Lord Russell, as the older and more prominent man, became prime minister. A reform bill was now introduced and heartily advocated by the Liberal ministry, but was defeated in the House of Commons notwithstanding the strong popular interest in reform which was showing itself in the country. The ministry then in 1866 resigned and a Conservative ministry came into office.

593. Disraeli and Acceptance of the Principle of Reform. — Although Lord Derby, a veteran statesman, became prime minister, the most prominent and influential member of this cabinet was Benjamin Disraeli. This able and active minister had entered parliament in 1837, four years after Gladstone, and remained a Conservative through the whole of a long and influential parliamentary career. He had few advantages of position, being of Jewish descent, though his father had become a Christian in religion, and having many peculiarities of manner and appearance that were distasteful to members of parliament; he was, however, brilliant in speech and far-seeing in policy, and long before 1866 had become the real leader of the Conservative party. Disraeli and Gladstone were opponents on almost all measures, and this antagonism continued throughout their lives.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Liberals had been defeated on the question of reform, the Conservatives felt that some kind

of a reform bill must be introduced and carried. The discussion of the subject had continued for such a long time and the expression of public opinion had been so strong that every one had come to feel that further reform of parliament must be made, and the only question was the form and extent of the change. Much had occurred to prepare the nation for it.

England was a very different country from what it had been in 1832. In the first place, intelligence was far more widespread. Cheap postage, the telegraph, rapid traveling by railroad, many newspapers, the spread of education, had all combined to awaken men's minds and to make every one acquainted with what was going on in the world. Secondly, the working classes, from whom the new voters would principally come if the suffrage were extended, had been rising in position. The factory laws had shortened hours of labor and improved the surroundings under which the laborers worked. The trade unions had done much to train them in self-government, and the number, order, and discipline of these bodies when they appeared in public processions made a great impression on those who saw them. The success of the North in the American civil war was in a certain sense a testimony to the good judgment of the English workingmen, for they had believed in that side, while the upper classes had generally anticipated its failure. But the great reason for the wide acceptance of the general principle of a bill for further parliamentary reform was the passage of time since the last measure of this kind had been adopted. A new generation had grown up which was familiar with the deficiencies of the existing system of representation and was not familiar with the extent to which it was an improvement on still older conditions. To this generation further reform seemed a natural and necessary step.

594. **The Reform Bill of 1867.** — The bill was introduced by Disraeli in 1867 as a very moderate measure. One amendment after another, however, was carried, introducing more liberal principles, till it was a far-reaching and thoroughgoing measure.

Houses of Parliament, built 1852

The Conservatives were in a yielding frame of mind, Gladstone and the other Liberal leaders urged them to further concessions, and the constant agitation going on outside of parliament during the debates carried both parties farther than they quite realized. The bill was finally carried through both houses by quite large majorities.

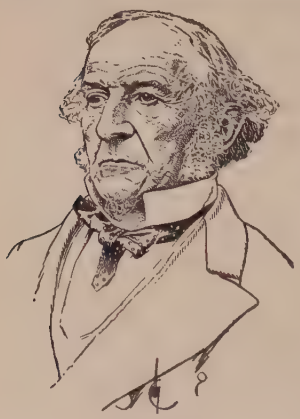
The bill of 1867 deprived eleven of the smaller towns of the representation which had been left to them in 1832. Thirty-five other towns having less than ten thousand population were each deprived of one of their representatives. These representatives were given to the great cities and thickly populated counties. The most important change was, however, in the right of voting. Household suffrage was introduced in the parliamentary towns. That is to say, after this year every man who was owner or tenant of any dwelling house and paid the usual taxes, or who occupied lodgings worth £10 a year, had a right to vote. In the country districts every one who held either as owner or life tenant a piece of land worth £5 a year or more, or who for a shorter term was a tenant of land worth £12 a year, and had paid the usual taxes, could vote for county members.

Thus in the towns almost every man would have a vote, for almost every man would either own or rent a house or occupy lodgings worth £10 a year. In the rural districts all the farming as well as the landowning class would have votes. The only large body who were excluded were the farm laborers, who held no land and whose cottages were too poor to reach the voting limit or to be assessed for taxes. After this year probably two thirds of the men of England had a right to vote. Mechanics and factory laborers as well as the wealthy and professional classes, farmers and storekeepers as well as landowners and merchants, indeed all except the farm laborers and those who had no domicile, could vote for members of parliament. For the first time in English history parliament was under the control of the mass of the people.

595. **Reform Administration of Gladstone.** — A number of reforms of various kinds were introduced in the years immediately

following the passage of the Reform Bill of 1867, as had occurred after the Reform Bill of 1832. The earliest and most important of these were carried out under the influence of Gladstone. The first election after the passage of the Reform Bill gave a majority to the Liberals. Disraeli therefore resigned and Gladstone entered upon a prime ministership which lasted from 1868 to 1874.

The first task to which he set himself was the disestablishment of the Irish church. At the Reformation the reformed church had been officially established in Ireland in the same form as in England. Ever since that time its support had been forced upon the Irish people and it was looked upon as the state church, though the great mass of the Irish were Roman Catholics, except in the north, where they were mostly Presbyterians. After a long contest in parliament in 1869 the official character was taken from the Irish church and it became a purely voluntary religious body.

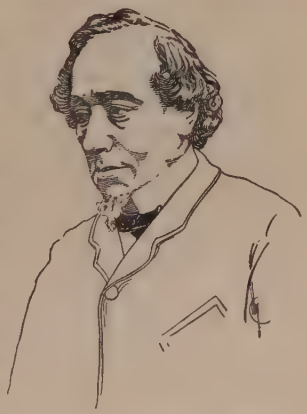


Gladstone

In 1870 a land law was passed for Ireland giving to the Irish tenants security from eviction so long as they paid their rents, compensation for the improvements they had made upon the land during the time of their tenancy, and an advance of money to enable them to buy their farms from their landlords. In the same year the first important act for the establishment of a national system of free elementary schools was passed, and in 1871, at the other extreme of the educational system, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to Roman Catholics and Dissenters by abolishing the religious tests which all students had formerly been required to sign. In the same year the use of the secret ballot in voting, instead of giving the vote by word of mouth, was introduced by

an act of parliament, temporarily at first but afterwards as a permanent system. This was one of the old Chartist proposals and had been frequently advocated in parliament since their time, but until 1871 had always been defeated either in the House of Commons or the House of Lords. In the same year an act legalizing trade unions was passed.

In 1870 and 1871 a reorganization of the army took place. The most interesting changes introduced were the abolition of the purchase system, by which officers had long been able to purchase promotion in the army, and the organization of all the regiments on the basis of the counties from which they were recruited. Shortly afterwards a reform was introduced into the judicial system according to which the four old courts of law and equity — King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and Chancery, whose organization dated back to the time of the Angevin kings — were united and became mere divisions of the "Supreme Court of Judicature." They were all established in one set of buildings in the heart of London, instead of sitting at Westminster in separate locations as before.



Disraeli

596. **The Imperial Policy.** — By this time most of the various reforms for which there was pressure at that time had been either adopted or introduced and defeated. Disraeli with his sharp tongue described the ministers, as they sat on the front bench in the House of Commons, as "a row of extinct volcanoes." In 1874 the majority turned against the Liberals, Gladstone resigned, and Disraeli became prime minister for the second time. He had always held high ideas of the proper position of England in foreign affairs and now proceeded to turn the attention of the

country in that direction and to carry to great lengths what is often called the "imperial" policy.[1] In 1875 he purchased in the name of the government a majority of the shares of the Suez Canal stock, thus bringing that great highroad under English control and checking the ambitions of France, under whose auspices the canal had been begun. He tried to prevent the war of 1877 between Russia and Turkey, even after a series of terrible atrocities committed by the Turks in Bulgaria had raised an outcry of horror over all Europe and America. After the close of that war, at the Congress of Berlin, Disraeli, who had just been made earl of Beaconsfield, stood in the way of Russian aggrandizement and secured for England the possession of the island of Cyprus. His policy was responsible for several of the petty wars already described, especially those in Afghanistan and South Africa. By 1880 this policy had become for the time unpopular in England, the Conservatives were defeated, the Liberals came back to power, and Gladstone became prime minister for the second time. In 1881 Lord Beaconsfield died, thus bringing to an end the curious rivalry by which he and Gladstone had alternately held the chancellorship of the Exchequer for twenty-five years and the prime ministership for thirteen.

597. **The Third Reform Bill.** — Gladstone was still, however, hale and hearty, and in 1884 entered upon a contest for a third reform of parliament. This was brought into practical discussion as early as 1872 by a strike for better wages among the farm laborers. In England there are three distinct classes connected with the land, — the landlords who own the farms, the farmers who rent them, and the laborers who work upon them for wages. When trouble arose between the last class and the employing farmers it came to be generally recognized how numerous they

[1] This has also sometimes been called the "Jingo" policy, from a popular song of the music halls of the time.

> We do not want to fight, but, by Jingo, if we do,
> We 've got the ships, we 've got the men, we 've got the money too.

were, how completely they were excluded from any share in the government, and how depressed was their condition. As a result an agitation sprang up to change the laws so that they also, like all other considerable classes in the country, should have the right to vote. Of this movement Gladstone made himself the leader, and in 1884 he succeeded, against much opposition, in carrying through parliament another reform bill which extended the franchise to the farm laborers and a number of other smaller classes which had not before been included. The House of Lords at first rejected the bill, but after being threatened, much as in 1832, they gave way and passed it.

Throne in the House of Lords

At the same time the process of depriving the smaller towns of their separate representatives in parliament was carried a long step farther, more than a hundred becoming for purposes of representation simply parts of the counties in which they lay. As in previous reform bills these representatives were transferred to the counties and the larger cities. At the same time all the counties and most of the large towns were divided into electoral districts of almost equal numbers of inhabitants. Each of these sends one member to parliament. This portion of the bill was separated from the part which referred to the franchise and was passed with little opposition in the year 1885. Thus universal suffrage, equal electoral districts, and vote by ballot, three of the old points of the Charter, were almost completely attained.

598. Reforms in Local Government. — In 1882 the "Municipal Corporations Act" was passed, giving the right to vote for city

officers to all the inhabitants of the cities, whether property holders or not. In 1888 "County Councils" and in 1894 "Parish Councils" were created by acts passed by parliament. These were representative bodies elected in each county and parish by universal suffrage, even women having a right to vote for them and to serve upon them. To these councils is given the charge of most matters connected with education, public health, the poor, and many other local interests, though their power is of course limited by the general laws passed by parliament on these matters. Thus many powers formerly exercised by appointed magistrates are now possessed by elected bodies, and government is brought close home to the mass of the people in England by allowing them to govern themselves in many everyday matters in their own localities.

England's form of government is now an almost complete democracy. National and local affairs are under the control of the whole body of the people. The ministers carry on the government in accordance with the wishes of the majority in the House of Commons, and if they are outvoted on any important question they immediately resign and the sovereign calls the leader of the opposite party to the prime ministership.[1] As the House of Commons is elected by all the people, parliament cannot for any length of time act in opposition to the will of the people, any more than the ministry can act in opposition to the will of parliament.

599. **Irish Home Rule.** — In 1886 Gladstone had his last great contest on a measure of reform, and he was defeated. For a number of years leading Irishmen had kept up an agitation for

[1] The plan by which the ministry is dependent upon the approval of its acts by the majority in parliament is called "responsible government." The resignation of office by the ministers when parliament refuses to pass the measures they recommend, adopts measures they oppose, or expresses its disapproval of their actions, has become so customary as to be practically compulsory.

what they called "home rule." By this they meant something like a return to the system in existence before 1800, when Ireland had a separate parliament of her own for her internal affairs. The leadership in this movement fell into the hands of Charles Stewart Parnell, an Irish Protestant member of parliament who showed considerable ability and vigorous leadership. Finally eighty-six of the one hundred members from Ireland became advocates of home rule, and it was desired almost universally in that country.

Many concessions had been made to Ireland in the latter half of the century in matters of landholding, religion, and education, but discontent was scarcely diminished and disorder was constant. Both Liberal and Conservative ministries repeatedly obtained from parliament extraordinary powers of keeping the peace, in the form of what were known as "coercion acts." These angered and alienated great numbers of the Irish people and the country was unhappy and unprosperous. Gladstone, though like other English political leaders he had long opposed the plans of the home-rule party, finally became convinced that it would be better to yield to their wishes and thus obtain peace and contentment than to keep up the opposition. In 1886, when he was prime minister for the third time, he introduced a bill to give Ireland a separate parliament for her own affairs, to sit at Dublin. But he could not carry his party with him. John Bright, Joseph Chamberlain, and a large proportion of the Liberals seceded, formed a new party, the "Liberal Unionists," and joined with the Conservatives to defeat the bill by a considerable majority. Parliament was then dissolved and new elections were held to test the feeling of the country on the question. Since these resulted unfavorably to home rule, Gladstone resigned office.

After the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, with Lord Salisbury as prime minister, had retained control of parliament for a period of six years, Gladstone, in 1892, although eighty-three years old, became prime minister again, being the only English statesman who had ever held that office four times. He now

carried by a small majority a modified home-rule bill through the House of Commons, but it was defeated in the House of Lords and the interest in it was so slight that the lower house did not pass it again. In 1894 Gladstone retired from parliament on account of ill health, and in 1898 died at the age of eighty-eight. Home rule was on his resignation dropped for the time by the leaders of the Liberal party. Later, however, county and district councils were created for Ireland by act of parliament, sundry land bills in favor of the Irish tenants were passed, and much was done towards giving the Irish people local self-government and prosperity. Nevertheless the question of Ireland and her future remained unsettled and troublesome.

600. British Colonies and Dependencies. — As the nineteenth century drew to its close, and as the twentieth century began its course, questions of the whole British Empire came into greater prominence even than internal questions or the relations between England and Ireland. Some statesmen, especially Joseph Chamberlain, called frequent attention to these questions, and in the jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria, in 1887 and 1897, festivities through all parts of the empire and deputations coming to England from its farthest parts increased the recognition of its importance.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to make a rapid survey of the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, and to describe the main occurrences in their recent development and in their relations to the mother country. Of the long list of British dominions in various parts of the world[1] many have been acquired

[1] The following is a list of the most important groups of British dependencies. The total number extends to almost if not quite a hundred.

Australasia	South Africa	Newfoundland
India	Nigeria	British Guiana
Ceylon	Gibraltar	Jamaica
Hong Kong	Malta	Barbadoes
Straits Settlements	Cyprus	The Bahamas
East Africa	Canada	The Bermudas

CANADA
in 1904
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
110 Longitude West from 100 Greenwich
THE M·N. WORKS.
DOMINION OF CANADA
ALASKA
YUKON
MACKENZIE
ATHABASCA
SASKATCHEWAN
ALBERTA
ASSINIBOIA
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
GREENLAND
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
UNITED STATES
Hudson Bay
Hudson Strait
Davis Strait
Baffin Bay
Mt. St. Elias
Yukon
Dawson
Fort Simpson
Fort Norman
Great Bear Lake
Great Slave Lake
Fort Resolution
Fort Liard
Fort Nelson
Fort Churchill
Fort Chipewyan
Fort Providence
Fort Smith
Fort St. John
Fort Vermilion
Fort Chippewa
Fort Factory
Edmonton
Prince Albert
Battleford
Regina
Moose Jaw
Medicine Hat
Calgary
Lethbridge
Banff
Winnipeg
Brandon
Rat Portage
Port Arthur
Fort William
Lake Superior
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Nipigon
Lake Athabasca
Lake Manitoba
Ft. Albany
Moose R.
Albany R.
Nelson R.
Churchill R.
Mackenzie R.
Peace R.
Athabasca R.
Liard R.
Yukon R.
Columbia R.
Fraser R.
Red R.
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Duluth
Minneapolis
St. Paul
Milwaukee
Chicago
Detroit
Toronto
Hamilton
London
Niagara Falls
Buffalo
Ottawa
Kingston
Montreal
Quebec
North Bay
Sudbury
Sault Ste. Marie
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
St. Lawrence R.
Ottawa R.
Saguenay R.
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Prince Edward I.
New Brunswick
Nova Scotia
Halifax
Sydney
Cape Breton I.
Sable I.
Banks of Newfoundland
St. John's
Cape Race
Belle Isle
Str. of Belle Isle
Hamilton Inlet
Hopedale
Big R.
Labrador
Ungava
Hudson Strait
Southampton I.
Mansfield A.
Baffin Land
Melville Sound
Prince Albert Land
Cockburn Island
Boothia Felix
Arctic Circle
Fox Land
Hall Pen.
Cumberland Sound
Frobisher Bay
Resolution I.
Julianehaab
C. Farewell
Upernivik
Melville Pen.
Lancaster Sd.
Prince Regent Inlet
Gulf of Boothia
Gulf of Georgia
Queen Charlotte Is.
Vancouver I.
Juan de Fuca Str.
Puget Sound
Seattle
Tacoma
Portland
Spokane
Helena
Yellowstone R.
Missouri R.
Columbia R.
Mt. Logan
Mt. Brooks
Mt. Hooker
Mt. Lefroy
Mt. Stephen
Mt. Wrangell
Malaspina Glacier
Muir Glacier
Sitka
Dixon Entrance
Chilkoot Pass
White Horse
Klondike
Dawson
Stikine R.
Lake Bennett
Lake Tagish
Lake Lindeman
Lake Marsh
Lake Laberge
Lake Teslin
Lake Dease
Lake Athabasca
Lake Claire
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Manitoba
Lake of the Woods
Lake Nipigon
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Champlain
Lake George
Lake Memphremagog
Lake Temiscouata
Lake St. John
Lake Mistassini
Lake Kippewa
Lake Abitibi
Lake Timiskaming
Lake Nipissing
Lake Simcoe
Lake Rosseau
Lake Muskoka
Lake Joseph
Lake Temagami
Lake Wahnapitae
Lake Kamanistiquia
Lake Nipigon
Lake Wabigoon
Lake Manitou
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Manitoba
Lake Dauphin
Lake Athabasca
Lake Claire
Lake Great Slave
Lake Great Bear
Lake Bennett
Lake Tagish
Lake Lindeman
Lake Marsh
Lake Laberge
Lake Teslin
Lake Dease
Lake Kippewa
Lake Abitibi
Lake Timiskaming
Lake Nipissing
Lake Simcoe
Lake Rosseau
Lake Muskoka
Lake Joseph
Lake Temagami
Lake Wahnapitae
Lake Kamanistiquia
Lake Nipigon
Lake Wabigoon
Lake Manitou
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Manitoba
Lake Dauphin
Lake Athabasca
Lake Claire
Lake Great Slave
Lake Great Bear
Portland
Boston
C. Cod
New York
C. Sable
Halifax
Sydney
Cape Breton I.
Sable I.
Banks of Newfoundland
St. John's
Cape Race
Belle Isle
Str. of Belle Isle
Hamilton Inlet
Hopedale
Big R.
Labrador
Ungava
Hudson Strait
Southampton I.
Mansfield A.
Baffin Land
Melville Sound
Prince Albert Land
Cockburn Island
Boothia Felix
Arctic Circle
Fox Land
Hall Pen.
Cumberland Sound
Frobisher Bay
Resolution I.
Julianehaab
C. Farewell
Upernivik
Melville Pen.
Lancaster Sd.
Prince Regent Inlet
Gulf of Boothia
Gulf of Georgia
Queen Charlotte Is.
Vancouver I.
Juan de Fuca Str.
Puget Sound
Seattle
Tacoma
Portland
Spokane
Helena
Yellowstone R.
Missouri R.
Columbia R.
Mt. Logan
Mt. Brooks
Mt. Hooker
Mt. Lefroy
Mt. Stephen
Mt. Wrangell
Malaspina Glacier
Muir Glacier
Sitka
Dixon Entrance
Chilkoot Pass
White Horse
Klondike
Dawson
Stikine R.
Lake Bennett
Lake Tagish
Lake Lindeman
Lake Marsh
Lake Laberge
Lake Teslin
Lake Dease
Lake Athabasca
Lake Claire
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Manitoba
Lake of the Woods
Lake Nipigon
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Champlain
Lake George
Lake Memphremagog
Lake Temiscouata
Lake St. John
Lake Mistassini
Lake Kippewa
Lake Abitibi
Lake Timiskaming
Lake Nipissing
Lake Simcoe
Lake Rosseau
Lake Muskoka
Lake Joseph
Lake Temagami
Lake Wahnapitae
Lake Kamanistiquia
Lake Nipigon
Lake Wabigoon
Lake Manitou
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Manitoba
Lake Dauphin
Lake Athabasca
Lake Claire
Lake Great Slave
Lake Great Bear

by conquest and have remained foreign communities under the British crown, being ruled primarily for the commercial or military advantage of Great Britain. Of this class of colonies India is the greatest example, as its history has shown,[1] though many of the smaller colonies, such as Hong Kong, Malta, and St. Helena, are still more characteristic examples.

Other colonies, however, were originally settled by English emigrants, or have been so largely occupied by Englishmen since their acquisition that they have become new branches of the English race and nation. The most important colonies of this character are Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and South Africa.

Queen Victoria

601. Canada. — When Canada came into the possession of Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 it was occupied by a French population spread along the lower waters of the St. Lawrence, around Quebec and Montreal, and in a few scattered posts along the Great Lakes, besides some English settlers in Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and in Newfoundland. At the close of the American Revolution some thirty or forty thousand Loyalists emigrated from the United States and were added to the English-speaking population of Canada. Most of these either settled in Nova Scotia or pushed on beyond the French part of the province and settled farther up the St. Lawrence River and to the north of the Great Lakes. Colonists soon began to come directly from England and Scotland, going likewise for the most part to the western part of the province. Thus there grew up, in addition to

[1] See pp. 565–571 and 649–652.

the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, two sections of Canada, one in the lower St. Lawrence occupied by the descendants of the French settlers, the other in the upper St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes occupied by English settlers. In 1791 these were organized by an act of parliament into two provinces known as "Upper" and "Lower" Canada, each of which was to have a council and assembly with quite limited powers. The governor and council were appointed by the British government, the assembly was elected by the people.

In both of the provinces there was contention between the governor and the assembly, especially in Lower Canada, where the French population felt that they were being tyrannized over by the English governor and council. This discontent became so serious that in 1837 and 1838 small rebellions broke out in both sections. As a result of these difficulties an act of parliament was passed in 1840 which united the two provinces and gave somewhat greater powers to the elected assembly. After this constitution was adopted the governor general of Canada, although still retaining the power due to his appointment by the crown, made a habit of appointing a ministry from the members of the party which had the majority in the assembly. This gave the people of Canada practical self-government, and the Canadian ministry soon came to govern the colony under the nominal control of the governor general, just as in England the ministry carries on the government under the king or queen.

602. **The Federal Dominion of Canada.** — After self-government had been thus attained the one remaining point of serious dissatisfaction was the discord between the French and the English races. Combined as they now were under one assembly and governor, the French Catholic inhabitants of Lower Canada felt that they were being interfered with in regard to their religion, laws, and customs. The English and Protestant inhabitants of Upper Canada, on the other hand, were continually increasing in numbers and were dissatisfied that the French minority still

retained so much power in the government. Partly to remedy this state of affairs, partly to attain still higher ends, a series of conferences was held by representatives of the two sections of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and it was determined to ask the home government to separate Upper and Lower Canada and then to combine all these states in a confederacy somewhat similar to the United States. This was finally agreed to by all the colonial legislatures, and a bill for the purpose was carried through the British parliament in 1867. Lower Canada took the name of Quebec, and Upper Canada that of Ontario, while the whole confederation, including Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, became known as "The Dominion of Canada."

Since 1867 there has been one federal government for general affairs, with its capital at Ottawa, with a governor general appointed by the home government, a federal ministry, and a parliament of two houses, the Senate and the House of Commons, elected by the whole Canadian people. Each state of the confederation has a somewhat similar government for its own internal affairs, a lieutenant governor being appointed for each by the governor general, but having, like him and like the sovereign he represents, scarcely more than nominal powers. Practically the Canadians govern themselves in all respects except in their relations with other nations.

In 1869 the Canadian government bought out the rights of the Hudson Bay Company to the vast domains to the westward and northward, and these have been since gradually settled and divided up into eleven new states and territories. The Dominion of Canada now occupies a territory about equal to that of the United States and in 1911 had a population of some seven and a quarter millions.

603. Colonization of Australia and New Zealand. — Founded later than Canada but more purely English, the first population of Australia was constituted of rather unpromising material. It was a body of about seven hundred convicts and their guards sent by the government in 1788 to Botany Bay, on that part of the eastern

coast which had been previously explored by Captain Cook and by him named New South Wales. In 1783 a law had been passed authorizing the ministers to form one or more penal settlements wherever they should think fit. At about the same time the colonization of the fertile and unoccupied shores of eastern Australia was being strongly advocated for commercial reasons. The two objects were now combined and the penal colony was established at the same time that free settlers were urged to emigrate thither. From 1788 onward the government continued to send large bodies of convicts, while at the same time independent colonists established themselves there in some numbers.

Every effort was made to encourage the settlement of a permanent population. All who chose to emigrate to Australia were given liberal grants of land, officers and soldiers who had fulfilled their terms of enlistment were encouraged to remain, and the convicts themselves, on the expiration of their sentences, which were usually for seven years, were given land and the opportunity to begin life anew among more favorable surroundings. Population thus gradually grew and spread and new settlements were formed. The original settlement was named Sydney and became a large city, the district of which it was the center retaining the name of New South Wales. The later settlements were in some cases offshoots of this, in others independent colonies established from England. Since Australia is about ten times the size of Great Britain and Ireland together, the vast distances necessarily made the more remote of these colonies practically independent of one another, and one after another they were organized as separate colonies. Tasmania, an island about two hundred miles in length and breadth, situated off the southern coast, was the first of these. Its settlement and organization were followed by the establishment of Queensland, Victoria, Western Australia, and South Australia. New Zealand, the other great Australasian[1] island group,

[1] The term *Australasia* is properly used to include the colonies on the mainland of Australia, the island of Tasmania, and New Zealand.

AUSTRALIA
AND
NEW ZEALAND
in 1904
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 1000
THE M-N. WORKS.
INDIAN OCEAN
CORAL SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Java
Surabaya
Lombok I.
Sandalwood I.
Flores I.
Banda Sea
Timor I.
Timor Sea
Arafura Sea
Aru Is.
(Netherlands)
New Guinea
(Gt. Brit.)
Papua Gulf
Torres Str.
Thursday I.
Somerset
C. York
Gulf of Carpentaria
Melville I.
Coburg Pen.
Pr. Darwin
Palmerston
Arnhem Land
Pine Creek
C. Londonderry
Collier Bay
Kings Sound
C. Leveque
Broome
Kimberley
Gt. Sandy Desert
Mt. Bruce
L. Macdonald
Dampier Archipelago
Roebourne
North West Cape
Condon
Sharks Bay
Steep Pt.
Geraldton
Moore L.
Barlee L.
Desert
Perth
Fremantle
Geographe Bay
Bunbury
C. Leeuwin
Albany
King George Sd.
Coolgardie
Northam
L. Lefroy
Great Australian Bight
Arid Cape
Eucla
Port Augusta
Spencer Gulf
Kangaroo I.
Encounter Bay
Adelaide
Kingston
Portland
Melbourne
C. Otway
C. Wilson
Bass Strait
TASMANIA
Launceston
Hobart
Wellesley I.
Normanton
Cloncurry R.
Georgina R.
Barkly R.
Kimberley
Goldfield
NORTHERN TERRITORY
Murchison Range
MacDonnell Ranges
Alice Springs
Stuart
Peterman Range
Mt. Morris
Oodnadatta
Finke R.
Macumba R.
Cooper
L. Eyre
L. Blanche
Flinders R.
Darling R.
Murray R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Lachlan R.
Bourke
Broken Hill
Cobar
Darling Downs
Moreton Bay
Brisbane
Ipswich
Roma
Charleville
Mitchell R.
Barcaldine
Longreach
Thomson R.
Cooper
Diamantina R.
Georgina R.
Hughenden
Mackay
Copperfield R.
Townsville
Charters Towers
Cairns
Cooktown
Great Barrier Reef
Rockhampton
Sandy Cape
Great Sandy I.
Maryborough
Gympie
Tropic of Capricorn
QUEENSLAND
NEW SOUTH WALES
Sydney
Newcastle
Maitland
Parramatta
Bathurst
Goulburn
Tumut
Murray R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Lachlan R.
Darling R.
Grafton
New England Range
Kempsey
Lord Howe I.
Norfolk I.
VICTORIA
Ballarat
C. Howe
Gippsland Lakes
Gippsland
Tasman Sea
C. Maria Van Diemen
Auckland
North I.
NEW ZEALAND
Nelson
Wellington
Cook Str.
Mt. Cook 3,760
Christchurch
South I.
Dunedin
Stewart I.
Louisiade Archipelago
Solomon Is.
Isabella I.
Choiseul I.
Bougainville I. (Germany)
Moresby I.
Sta. Cruz Is.
Merena
New Hebrides
New Caledonia (Fr.)
Numea
Loyalty I.
Lord Howe I.
Longitude East from Greenwich
120
130
140
150
160
170
10
20
30
40

which lies twelve hundred miles to the eastward of Australia, followed a somewhat similar course, its regular settlement being begun in 1833, although a wild population of shipwrecked sailors, escaped convicts, and other outlaws had occupied one spot on the coast for some years before, and the Maoris, the native race, were a numerous and vigorous people.

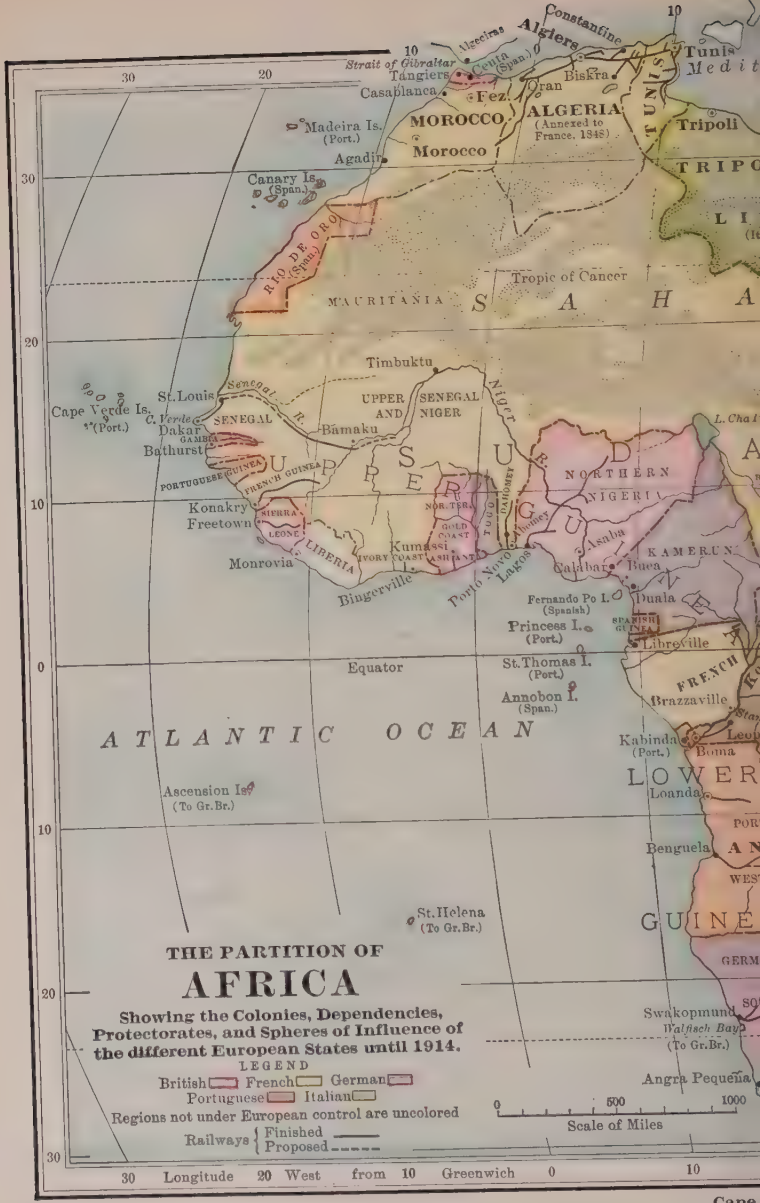
The earliest and most permanent industry of the people of both Australia and New Zealand was naturally agriculture, but in 1797 coal was discovered in Australia and extensively mined, and soon afterwards the inland districts were explored and proved to have vast plains suitable for sheep and cattle raising, so that Australia has become the greatest wool-producing country of the world. In 1851 gold was discovered in New South Wales, and soon afterwards in Victoria, Queensland, and New Zealand. The gold fever now brought in suddenly a great wave of immigration from all parts of the world. This increase of numbers has continued in a greater or less degree, until in 1911 the population of the seven Australasian colonies amounted to about five and a half millions. With this increased population manufacturing and more varied industries have been introduced, so that these colonies now provide for all their needs as completely as any other civilized country.

As the free population increased and the prosperity and self-respect of the colonists became more highly developed, the opposition to the transportation of convicts to their shores became greater and greater, and the home government felt compelled to yield to their wishes. In 1840 transportation to New South Wales was given up, and in 1865 it was totally abolished as respected the whole island.

604. Australasian Self-government and Confederation. — At first the Australian colonies were ruled almost absolutely by the governors appointed by the home government. In 1823, however, a constitution was granted by act of parliament to the two colonies which then existed, New South Wales and Tasmania, giving them each a council, the members of which were, however,

appointed by the governor. These rights were added to in later constitutional grants, a council elected by the colonists in New South Wales being authorized in 1842 and extended in 1850 to the other colonies then in existence. This was the beginning of self-government, and in 1855 the four colonies, with the permission of parliament, laid before the home government new constitutions drawn up by themselves and in accordance with their own wishes. They were approved and each of the Australasian colonies became a self-governing state with only the same general supervision exercised over it by the British government as has been described in the case of Canada. Universal suffrage and the ballot were early introduced, and in each colony the ministry is dependent on the majority in the colonial legislature. Thus an almost complete democracy, similar to that of the mother country and indeed in some respects in advance of it, has been introduced in these distant colonies. Ever since the attainment of full self-government in 1855, there has been an effort to bring about a closer union among the seven Australasian colonies. Nothing was accomplished till 1883, when a "Federal Council for Australasia" was formed, though with very limited powers. In 1891 a convention met at Sydney and drew up a plan for a closer union much like that of Canada or the United States, with provision for a parliament of two houses, for federal courts, and a governor general to be appointed by the crown. The separate colonial governments were to remain as before except for those powers which they must turn over to the central government. After much discussion this federal constitution was adopted by all the colonies in 1900, and with the approval of parliament the name "Commonwealth of Australia" was adopted for the new confederation. The circumstances of their origin brought it about that the central government in Canada is much stronger, in Australia much weaker, than the state governments.

605. South Africa. — Just as Canada was a French colony captured by England in 1763, so Cape Colony was originally a Dutch


THE PARTITION OF
AFRICA
Showing the Colonies, Dependencies, Protectorates, and Spheres of Influence of the different European States until 1914.
LEGEND
British French German
Portuguese Italian
Regions not under European control are uncolored
Railways Finished Proposed
Scale of Miles
0 500 1000
Longitude 20 West from 10 Greenwich 0 10
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Equator
Tropic of Cancer
Strait of Gibraltar
Algeciras
Tangiers
Ceuta (Span.)
Casablanca
Fez
Oran
Biskra
Constantine
Algiers
Tunis
Tripoli
MOROCCO
Morocco
ALGERIA (Annexed to France, 1848)
TUNIS
Madeira Is. (Port.)
Agadir
Canary Is. (Span.)
RIO DE ORO (Span.)
MAURITANIA
Timbuktu
St. Louis
Senegal R.
Cape Verde Is. (Port.)
C. Verde
SENEGAL
Dakar
GAMBIA
Bathurst
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
FRENCH GUINEA
Bamaku
UPPER SENEGAL AND NIGER
Niger R.
NORTHERN NIGERIA
Konakry
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
Monrovia
Bingerville
IVORY COAST
Kumassi
ASHANTI
GOLD COAST
NORTERA
TOGO
DAHOMEY
Abomey
Porto Novo
Lagos
Asaba
Calabar
Buea
KAMERUN
Duala
Fernando Po I. (Spanish)
Princess I. (Port.)
SPANISH GUINEA
Libreville
St. Thomas I. (Port.)
Annobon I. (Span.)
FRENCH
Brazzaville
Kabinda (Port.)
Boma
LOWER
Loanda
Benguela
Ascension Is. (To Gr. Br.)
St. Helena (To Gr. Br.)
Swakopmund
Walfisch Bay (To Gr. Br.)
Angra Pequeña
Cape
C. of

40
50
60
70
30
20
10
0
Beirut
Damascus
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Port Said
Cairo
EGYPT
Tributary of Turkey
c. 1-14
A S I A
INDIA
Assouan
1st Cataract
Wadi Halfa
Madina
Mecca
ARABIA
Red Sea
Port Sudan
Suakin
Kassala
Massawa
Asmara
ERITREA
Arabian Sea
Bombay
Omdurman
Khartoum
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
DARFUR
El Obeid
Fashoda
Aden
Sokotra
(To Gr.Br.)
C. Guardafui
FRENCH SOMALI COAST
Djibuti
Berbera
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Adis Ababa
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
Albert Nyanza
UGANDA
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Port Florence
Victoria Nyanza
Equator
CONGO
Lake Tanganyika
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
Mombasa
Zanzibar (British)
Dar-es-Salaam
Seychelles Is.
(To Gr.Br.)
Amirante Is.
(To Gr.Br.)
INDIAN OCEAN
Lake Nyasa
Comoro Is.
(Fr.)
Mayotte
Mozambique
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
Salisbury
Beira
Sofala
MADAGASCAR
To France
Tamatave
Tananarivo
Rodriguez I.
(To Gr.Br.)
Reunion I.
(Fr.)
Mauritius I.
(To Gr.Br.)
Tropic of Capricorn
Comparative Area
PENN
45,215 Square Miles
TRANSVAAL
Delagoa Bay
Lourenco Marquez
MAJUBA HILL
NATAL
Pietermaritzburg
Durban
Port Elizabeth
Longitude 50 East from 60 Greenwich 70

settlement which came into the final possession of the British by conquest in 1806, during the wars against Napoleon. The colonists, who had mostly emigrated from Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were a hardy and independent race of farmers and stock raisers who were known as "Boers."[1]

They showed themselves quite unwilling to adopt the new language, customs, form of religion, and ideas which the English governors of the colony tried to introduce. They were also deeply aggrieved by the abolition of slavery, which occurred in South Africa, as in all the rest of the British dominions, in 1833. The result of this was that between 1836 and 1842 great numbers of the Boers "trekked," or emigrated, from Cape Colony northward into the wilderness. There they formed two separate states, — the Orange Free State, and still farther north the Transvaal, or country across the Vaal River. In 1852 and 1854 the independence of these two states, at least in their internal affairs, was acknowledged by the British government.

The native races of South Africa were numerous and warlike and both the English and the Dutch colonists had many conflicts with them. As population increased and new immigrants arrived from England, as the boundaries of the old colonies were extended and new and ambitious chieftains arose among the natives, these conflicts became more frequent. They led to several prolonged wars, to the annexation of new territory by the British, and to the formation of several new colonies, the most important of which was Natal, regularly organized in 1856. In 1870 the great diamond fields at Kimberley, north of Cape Colony, were discovered and were soon taken possession of by England.

In 1877 the British government, hoping to establish a barrier against the natives, attempted to form a confederation among all the South African colonies, Boer and British. When the inhabitants of the Transvaal resisted this effort their country was by proclamation annexed to Cape Colony. In 1880, however, the

[1] The word *Boer*, pronounced *boor*, is the Dutch for "farmer."

Boers of that state revolted, declared their independence, and gained several victories over British troops. Negotiations soon took place and independence was granted to the Transvaal, except that the Boers agreed to recognize the suzerainty of Great Britain in their foreign affairs and in their relations with the native races. In 1884 there were some modifications of these arrangements but they do not seem to have been generally understood.

606. The Boer War. — In 1886 gold was discovered in the territory of the Transvaal, or "South African Republic," as it had been called since 1884, and soon this became one of the greatest gold fields of the world, producing more than one fourth of the total annual supply of gold. As a result much English and other European population and capital poured into the Transvaal, and a whole nation of "Outlanders" grew up, having no share in the Boer government, although they paid by far the greater part of the taxes.

During the same period the boundaries of the English possessions on the northwest were being pushed almost a thousand miles farther, mainly by the energy of Cecil Rhodes, a wealthy mine owner, a man of far-reaching ideas, and the prime minister of Cape Colony. The two semi-independent Boer republics were thus almost entirely surrounded by British territory and at least partly populated with British subjects. Disputes now became almost constant, until in October, 1899, the Transvaal, in alliance with the Orange Free State, declared war against Great Britain.

The two Boer republics made but a small nation compared with Great Britain, but they were well fitted by character and training for warfare, their governments during the whole course of the disputes with England had been drawing from Europe immense supplies of the most improved cannons, rifles, and ammunition, and the nature of the country was favorable to defense against attack. The war, therefore, to the astonishment of the whole world, was begun by an almost unbroken series of victories for the Boers. All through the early winter of 1899 and 1900 they defeated the

British in engagement after engagement. The English government sent all its available troops to South Africa, called out the reserves, accepted the services of volunteer militia regiments and of troops offered by the colonies, until it had two hundred and fifty thousand men in the field, more than in any previous war in which England had been engaged. The commander in chief of the British army, Lord Roberts, took command and gradually the Boers were overwhelmed. After a year of warfare serious resistance came to an end, the capitals and all the important points of the two countries were occupied by British troops, and the governments of the two republics were dissolved. An embassy was sent by the Boers to the various governments of Europe and to the United States seeking intervention, but they received no encouragement. Then ensued a year and a half more of guerilla warfare, until in May, 1902, all hostilities were suspended and the remaining Boer troops agreed to give up further resistance.

In the meantime the British government had annexed the two republics to the empire under the names of the "Transvaal Colony" and the "Orange River Colony." All the inhabitants were forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the English king. At the same time the British government announced that the Dutch language would not be disturbed, that civil government would be substituted for military authority as soon as possible, and that representative institutions would be introduced, leading up in the future to the position of self-governing colonies of the British Empire. At the same time a large amount of money was loaned by the British government without interest to the Boers for the restocking of their farms. Self-government was restored to the two colonies in 1906.

607. South African Federation. — Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State have thus been granted the same degree of self-government that has been attained by Canada and Australia. Population has steadily increased until, including that of the recently annexed colonies, it approaches nine millions.

It was repeatedly proposed that some such scheme of federation as existed in the two groups of colonies last described should be introduced. This was finally done in 1910, the four colonies being united under the name "The Union of South Africa," with four dependent territories, which are being settled by English colonists.

608. Imperial Federation. — During the war in South Africa, as has been mentioned, India, Canada, and the Australian colonies sent bodies of volunteer troops to help the forces of the mother country and of Cape Colony. These troops were very welcome and the action of the colonies sending them called forth great enthusiasm. Yet the incident brings up one of the gravest problems in the life of the British race. How far is merely voluntary action, based on patriotic sentiment, a strong enough bond to hold together a vast empire? Many parts of the British Empire, as has been seen, now govern themselves in almost entire independence; they have been allowed by the mother country to introduce democratic institutions; they are rapidly approaching her in numbers, wealth, and enterprise; and they have every capacity for existence as separate independent nations. Will they want to become such, and if so will Great Britain be willing to let them go?

Edward VII

Sentiment at the present time both at home and in the colonies is strongly in favor of holding the mother country and all these daughter lands together, but the bond which unites them has become a very slender one. How to make it stronger has become a matter of much interest and effort. "Imperial Federation,"

Grant Land
ARCTIC OCEAN
Pr. Patrick I.
Parry Islands
North Devon
Banks Land
Victoria Land
Baffin Land
ALASKA
Arctic Circle
DOMINION OF CANADA
Vancouver I.
Vancouver
Quebec
Montreal
NEWFOUNDLAND
St. John's
Halifax
Chicago
UNITED STATES
San Francisco
Washington
New York
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Bermuda Is.
Midway Is.
New Orleans
Bahama Is.
Tropic of Cancer
Porto Rico
Hawaii
Jamaica
Barbados
Trinidad
PACIFIC OCEAN
British Honduras
Howland I.
Baker I.
Fanning I.
Equator
Phœnix Is.
Union Group
Samoan Is.
Tonga Is.
Tropic of Capricorn
Kermadec Is.
Chatham I.
Falkland Is.
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
South Shetlands
Graham Land
180 160 140 120 100 80 60 40 20
80 60 40 20 0 20 40 60
Longitude West from Greenwich

ARCTIC OCEAN
Arctic Circle
GERMANY
Hamburg
Malta
Cyprus
Port Said
EGYPT
Bahrein
BALUCHISTAN
INDIA
Calcutta
BURMA
Wei-hai-wei
Kiao-chau
Shanghai
PACIFIC OCEAN
Marcus I.
Tropic of Cancer
Hongkong
Philippine Islands
Manila
Ladrone Is.
Wake I.
Guam
Marshall Is.
Caroline Islands
Pelew Is.
Kuria Muria Is.
Aden
Socotra I.
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Andaman Is.
Nicobar Is.
Ceylon
Malaya
Singapore
Maldive Is.
Equator
Seychelles Is.
Zanzibar
Amirante Is.
INDIAN OCEAN
Mauritius Is.
Tropic of Capricorn
Bismarck Archipelago
Solomon Is.
Ellice Is.
Santa Cruz Is.
New Hebrides
Fiji Is.
Brisbane
Norfolk I.
Perth
Adelaide
Sydney
Melbourne
Auckland
Tasmania I.
Hobart
Wellington
Auckland Is.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
Port Elizabeth
Town
TERRITORIES OF
GREAT BRITAIN
UNITED STATES
GERMANY
0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000
Scale of Miles along the Equator
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
20 Longitude 40 East 60 from 80 Greenwich 100
120
140
160
180

hat is to say, a plan to organize a closer, more permanent, and nore equal union among the different parts of the British Empire, nas been much discussed. With this view five successive con-ferences of prime ministers of the various colonies have been called by the British foreign secretary, although not much has been so far accomplished by them.

The "diamond jubilee" of Queen Victoria, which occurred in 1897, was celebrated with the greatest heartiness in all parts of the empire. To England itself came representatives of all the colonies and of all the races living under the British crown, and a new realization of the significance of the widespread empire came over British statesmen. Poets like Kipling, as well as ministers like Chamberlain and colonial men of enterprise like Cecil Rhodes, have devoted themselves to the extension of the ideal of imperial unity. When Victoria's long and useful reign finally came to an end in 1901, and the prince of Wales succeeded to the throne as Edward VII, the same idea of the importance of the empire as a whole led to the adoption of a new form of the title of the sovereign. This was declared by a royal proclamation issued November 4, 1901, to be "Edward the Seventh, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of all the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India."

609. Summary of the Period 1852–1904. — This half-century of English history saw more of war than either the interests, the wishes, or the moral feelings of the nation approved. The Crimean War of 1853–1856, the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 and later wars in India, the three wars with China, and many others in New Zealand, Asia, and Africa, culminating in the terrible Boer War of 1899–1902, made up a list of hostilities which were felt as a humiliation rather than a glory by most thoughtful Englishmen. Into these wars England was drawn for the most part by occurrences connected with her widespread colonial dominion, and they are often spoken of as part of the "cost of empire."

The most marked internal change was the development of self-government by the people, both in England and in the colonies which have sprung from England. The years 1867 and 1884 are important dates not only in this period but in all English history. As a result of the reform bills passed in those years and of the measures of local government which have been described, the people became self-governing; and, notwithstanding the survival of many royal and aristocratic forms, England became an almost complete democracy with nearly universal suffrage and full control of the government by the majority of the population.

This popular form of government undertook many services directed to the improvement of the condition of the people, some of which have been described in this chapter, but many of which, such as fuller provision for the public health, laws for the well-being of the working classes, and others, will be treated more fully in the next chapter. The government has come more and more to act on the principle that its duties are not merely military and political, but that it must do what can be done to make the people happier and more comfortable.

General Reading. — McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, Vols. II and III, although rather superficial, contains the most inclusive account of the general affairs of England during this period. Bright, *History of England*, Vols. IV and V, contains a detailed and impartial narrative of events from 1837 to 1904. Among the many and important biographies of public men of this period may be mentioned Morley, *Gladstone*, 3 vols.; Russell, *Gladstone;* Froude, *Earl of Beaconsfield;* Reid, *Lord John Russell;* McCarthy, *Sir Robert Peel;* Bulwer, *Palmerston;* Lee, *Queen Victoria.* Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, contains a number of excellent short accounts of prominent men of the period. Several of the biographical works referred to at the conclusion of the previous chapter extend into this period. Malleson, *The Indian Mutiny*, and De Wet, *The Three Years' War*, describe the Sepoy Rebellion and the Boer War respectively. Rose, *Rise and Growth of Democracy in Great Britain*, is good. Among works concerning the colonies some of the best are Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain;* Seeley, *The Expansion of Britain;* Jenks, *The Australasian Colonies;* Bourinot, *Canada;* and Johnston, *The Colonization of Africa.*

Contemporary Sources. — Almost all recent writings, whether government documents, speeches, biographies, statistics, newspapers, or even novels and poetry, are in a certain sense the sources for the history of the period of this chapter, since they are the only materials for our knowledge of it and they are practically contemporary with the events they describe. Material under this section is therefore hardly to be distinguished from that included under General Reading and Poetry and Fiction. A number of documents concerning Australia and the Transvaal are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 225–235; relating to Irish home rule, the third reform bill, the Sepoy Rebellion, the American War, and the empire, in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 132, 133, 138, 140–151. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 435–457.

Poetry and Fiction. — KIPLING, *Jungle Book*, *Kim*, *Corporals Three*, and *The Day's Work*, give a realistic impression of British and native India as it is at the present time, and his *Seven Seas* and *Five Nations* reflect much of the prevailing imperialistic sentiment. Mrs. STEELE, *On the Face of the Waters*, is a story of the Sepoy Rebellion. BESANT, *Children of Gibeon*, is a story of labor conditions in London.

Special Topics. — (1) Exploration of the World by Englishmen, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. VI, pp. 656–681; (2) Literature at the Close of the Century, *ibid.*, pp. 510–520; (3) The English Military and Naval System, *ibid.*, pp. 482–509; (4) Transatlantic Navigation, *ibid.*, pp. 392–404; (5) The Sepoy Rebellion, MCCARTHY, *History of Our Own Times*, Vol. II, chaps. xxxii–xxxv; (6) The "Alabama," *ibid.*, chaps. xliv and lx; (7) Fenianism, *ibid.*, chap. liii; (8) The Home-Rule Bill, *ibid.*, Vol. III, chap. x; (9) English Opinion on the Trent Affair, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 145; (10) English Opinion on Lincoln, *ibid.*, No. 146.

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL CHANGES AND THE GREAT WAR

610. Combined Conservative and Liberal Unionist Parties. — Except for one short interval, the party made up of a combination of the old Conservatives with the Liberal Unionists had a majority in parliament for the twenty years following the defeat of the Liberal party in 1886. Lord Salisbury was prime minister during the early part of this period, Arthur Balfour during its later part. This was the period of land and local government reform in Ireland, the Boer war, the early stages of imperial federation, the golden and diamond jubilees of Queen Victoria, and the accession of Edward VII, which have been described in the last chapter. By 1906, however, the party in power was becoming less popular. This was due in large measure to its unwillingness to pass satisfactory measures of social reform which had come to be desired by a great body of the people and were constantly advocated by its political opponents. The decreasing popularity of the party was due also in part to its unalterable opposition to home rule, which was still demanded by the great majority of the people of Ireland, and which a considerable number of Englishmen were now willing to grant.

611. The Liberal Party and its Allies. — There were three parties in existence which held more popular views on social questions and on Irish home rule than the party in power — the Liberals, the Labor party, and the Irish Nationalists. The old Liberal party of Mr. Gladstone's time had been much influenced by the growing up of younger men more interested in improving the position of the great mass of the people and more willing to seek this end through laws passed by parliament. The Independent Labor party

had been founded some years before to obtain representation in parliament, not merely for the strongly organized trade unions which had already succeeded in electing some of their members to parliament, but for the rank and file of the laboring classes. With this end in view, it had adopted a socialist policy and combined with the Social Democratic Federation and other similar bodies. The Nationalists were, of course, pledged in the first place to home rule for Ireland, but they were quite ready to help in adopting measures for social reform and for the advantage of workingmen in return for the passage of a home rule bill. These three parties, therefore, agreed to act together at the next elections and in parliament.

When a ministry in England feels that it is losing its hold on its party or on the people, it either advises the king to dissolve parliament and order a new election to test the wishes of the whole nation, or else it resigns and advises the king to appoint a ministry from their opponents, believing that the new ministry will soon be forced by opposition in parliament to advise a dissolution. In either case, the old ministry hopes that as a result of the election they will themselves be recalled to office. The king always accepts the advice of the ministry and does what it asks. Thus from time to time the people have an opportunity to express their wishes and decide which party and what ministry shall carry on the government.[1]

The Conservative-Liberal Unionist ministry, finding its difficulties greater and greater, resigned in December, 1905, and a Liberal ministry was formed. They dissolved parliament and held new elections in January, 1906. The result was an overwhelming victory for the group of progressive parties, 378 Liberals, 83 Nationalists, and 53 Labor members being elected. This gave 514 supporters to the ministry, with only 156 opponents. This ministry, at first under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as prime minister and later under Mr. Asquith, is still in office at the time this chapter is written, April, 1915, although its supporters have been diminished

[1] See page 664.

in numbers by the results of later elections. Its most prominent members, in addition to the prime minister, have been David Lloyd George, during most of the time chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Grey, foreign secretary, Winston Churchill, Herbert J. Gladstone, son of the great prime minister, James Bryce, later ambassador to the United States, John Burns, a Labor member, John Morley, and Sydney Buxton.

612. Workmen's Compensation. — The first important measure to be taken up and passed by the new parliament was one to which there was little or no opposition on party grounds and on which the differences of opinion were merely on questions of detail. This was an act by which the principles of the employers' liability act of 1880 and the workmen's compensation act of 1897 were carried further. Before the passage of the first of those acts each workman injured in the course of his employment, if he wished to seek damages, had to sue separately, and there were so many legal obstacles in the way that he could seldom obtain a favorable verdict. The principle introduced by those laws was that the loss of time, health, limbs and life resulting from the vast number of accidents continually occurring in the ordinary business of the country should be paid in the first place by those in charge of this business; that is, by employers. Ordinarily employers will take out insurance to cover such payments, and the expense of this insurance will become part of the general cost of production and be paid in the long run by the community in the form of higher prices for goods.

David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer

The law passed in 1906 introduced no new principle, but was much more liberal and inclusive. It provided that any workman injured in the course of his work, or suffering from certain diseases as a result of his work, should receive from his employer as long as the results of the injury or the disease continued an amount equal to about half his previous earnings. In the case of an accident causing death, an amount equal to three years' wages must be paid to his widow or other dependents. This law doubled the number of persons subject to the provisions of the earlier acts, so that more than seven million working men and women are now under its protection.

613. Legislation in Favor of Trade Unions. — After the legalization of trade unions in 1871 they grew in numbers and strength until, by 1906, there were more than a thousand organized unions, with more than two million members. They had come to be recognized by most people as permanent and useful organizations, and they exercised much influence in the community. The prevailing opinion was expressed by Sydney Buxton, president of the Board of Trade, in a debate in the House of Commons in which he said, "I believe it is the opinion of the House now that it is not only in the interest of labor itself but in the interest of employers as well that these trade unions should be strong, representative, and independent." They had large sums of money in their treasuries, accumulated by dues from their members, some intended for sickness and death benefits, some for help to their members in time of unemployment, some for general expenses during strikes and for other purposes.

A decision of the courts in 1901, known as the Taff Vale decision because it was given in a suit between the Taff Vale Railway and a miners' union, showed that these funds were in considerable danger of being lost by the unions. The court decided that if men who could be considered as representing a union caused loss to another person by any illegal action the person suffering the loss could sue the union and obtain compensation from its general funds.

"Illegal" as used in this decision is a broad word. Many actions of workingmen in their disputes with employers were probably illegal, although since the laws of 1871 and 1875 they were no longer criminal. Though the men could not be punished for them they might possibly still be sued for damages. Such were "picketing," that is personal persuasion of other workmen to join in a strike, and "boycotting," that is appealing to people generally not to deal with employers against whom a strike is being carried on. If the unions as organizations, as well as their members separately, could be sued in such cases, any strike in which picketing or boycotting occurred was likely to cause a union to lose its funds through damage suits.

Both parties agreed that there should be some change in the law in this respect, and the Conservatives in 1905 tried to pass an act on the subject but could not agree among themselves on its terms. A measure was now introduced by the ministry, amended through the influence of the Labor party members, and, notwithstanding much opposition, carried by a large majority. It was known as the Trade Disputes Act of 1906. It legalized picketing and boycotting during strikes so long as these actions were peaceful. It prohibited suits in the courts against trade unions for damages caused by the action of members of the trade union. Trade unions as organized bodies were thus given the same protection against civil suits that their members already had against criminal suits.

614. Old Age Pensions. — The support of old people had long been a difficulty for which no satisfactory solution had been found. Wages were so low that it could not be expected that laborers should save enough for old age, or that younger people could support their parents when they became too old to work. It was calculated in 1886 that average wages were only about $6 a week, and many were receiving very far below that sum. The provisions of the poor laws for old people were unsatisfactory. Conservatives and Liberals had both sought a more satisfactory plan, and various measures had been introduced into parliament

but failed because of a lack of agreement of parties or of apparent means to carry out the proposed projects. Finally, in 1908, an Old Age Pension Act was passed. It provides that every man or woman who has reached the age of seventy years and whose means of support do not amount to more than £31 10s. (about $155) a year shall receive a pension from the national government. This pension varies in amount from one to five shillings a week according to the income which the person receiving the pension has from other sources. Claims for a pension can be made, and the pension is paid, through the nearest post office. Within five years of the passage of the act almost a million old men and women were receiving government pensions, nearly all of them the maximum amount, that is to say five shillings a week.

The debate on the pension bill brought up discussion of many similar questions. The Labor members claimed that aged working people ought to be looked on as "veterans of industry," whose labor had been the chief factor in the winning of England's wealth, and who could therefore claim support in their old age as a right, not merely as a charity. If this were so, their pensions should be much larger, but for this the majority in parliament was not ready. Mr. Asquith, however, who had just become prime minister, said concerning the act, "beyond this there lies the whole still unconquered territory of social reform." Soon afterward, in 1909, a commission on the poor laws which had been making investigations and taking testimony for the preceding three years made its report. It recommended a large number of changes in the law, and the minority of the committee made a separate report, urging still more extensive reforms. This "Minority Report" has become a sort of program of projects for social betterment.

615. **Help in Obtaining Employment.** — One of the first of the more moderate reforms to be carried through was the adoption of a plan for aiding workmen to get employment. It is a sad fact that a vast number of workmen, ready and willing to work, are thrown out of employment from time to time, in the ups and

downs of modern industry, from causes entirely beyond their own control, and notwithstanding all their efforts are often unable to get work for weeks and months. Their savings are exhausted, they necessarily run into debt, regularity of habits is destroyed and hope lost. An Unemployed Workmen Act was passed in 1905, but did not solve the problem. By the law which was passed in the fall of 1909 the ministry was authorized to establish a system of "labor exchanges." These were offices intended to bring together workmen needing positions and employers needing workmen,

A Government Labor Exchange

to aid workmen to reach places where their services were in demand, to give information about opportunities for work, and for other similar purposes. The government made immediate use of this authorization and of the appropriation granted at the same time. Within six months some eighty of these government intelligence offices were opened in various cities, and by the end of two years there were about eighteen hundred with their branches in large and small towns. They are carefully organized. The whole country is divided into ten districts for their administration, each with a central office, and there is a main central office in London. Their officials are assisted by voluntary local committees, and they work as far as possible in connection with trade unions and similar

bodies. Much attention is given to placing such children and young persons as come under their charge in positions where they will obtain industrial training. In 1912 there were about a million and a half applications for positions by working people, a million offers of positions by employers, and half a million vacancies filled.

616. Trade Boards for Settling a Minimum Wage. — It has long been a matter of observation that there are certain occupations in which wages are deplorably low, hours of labor excessive, and general working conditions very bad. These are the so-called "sweated" industries — occupations in which no trade union exists, usually carried on on a small scale by subcontractors, in which the employees are largely foreigners or women, and where the usual standards of living are not conformed to.

As a means of partially overcoming these evils, a measure was passed by parliament in 1909 providing for the appointment of what are called Trade Boards. These boards consist of members representing the employers, the workmen, and the government, and they have the power of settling minimum rates of wages in the particular locality and trade each board represents. This rate of wages for a while is voluntary only, but after it has been established for a certain length of time it becomes compulsory, and any employer who pays less is subject to a fine and must make up to the employee the deficiency in his wages. In the act these boards were authorized only for the ready-made clothing trades, paper-box making, lace making by machinery, and chain making, but the ministry was empowered to add other industries to these from time to time as need was shown. Trade Boards have since been established in several other branches of hand labor.

617. Wage Boards for Coal Mines. — The law just described almost amounted to government regulation of wages, and was a partial return to the old statutes of laborers and act of apprentices, except that their object was in the main to keep wages down while the object of this law is to keep wages up.[1] This principle,

[1] See pp. 244, 338.

having been introduced in the "sweated" industries, was almost sure to be extended to others. This occurred three years afterward. In 1912 there was a great strike of coal miners, who demanded from the employing mine owners the establishment of a minimum rate of wages as a matter of union agreement. After this strike had lasted some weeks and caused much loss and suffering, the ministry introduced into parliament and carried, against much opposition, a bill declaring that a rate of wages should be established under the authority of the government below which no one could be legally employed in coal mines. The Labor party members tried hard to have the rate named in the bill, but this was defeated. Instead of this, a board was established in each coal district, consisting of appointees of the owners, the miners, and the government, to settle a rate as the lowest which could legally be paid in that district. These boards within the next few weeks established legal minimum rates in the different coal regions of England, Scotland, and Wales.

618. National Insurance. — Just as government regulation of wages was extending, so was the principle of old-age pensions. The next step was taken in 1911. After several years of discussion and a year's active debate in parliament the National Insurance Act was passed. Earlier measures gave relief in old age, compensation for losses from accident during work, and help in finding employment. The National Insurance Act went on to provide for support during illness, free medical attendance, treatment of consumptives in sanitariums, and care of women at childbirth. Allowances were also made in some trades for support during unemployment. Instead of imposing the whole cost upon the government, as in the case of old-age pensions, these benefits were to be paid from a fund made up by requiring the contribution of a certain amount each week by the workman, a certain amount by the employer, and a certain amount by the government. These payments were compulsory for all members of the working classes and their employers. They were made by the purchase of stamps at the

ENGLAND AND WALES
ENGLISH MILES.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Sites of Battles.
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
Firth of Forth
Dunbar
Berwick-upon-Tweed
HOLY I. OR LINDISFARNE
EDINBURGH
Glasgow
Greenock
Paisley
Clyde
Tweed
Ayr
Firth of Clyde
ARRAN
CANTIRE
North Channel
Belfast
Dumfries
Solway Firth
Carlisle
Cumbrian
Skiddaw
Keswick
St. Bees Hd.
Scaw Fell
Mts.
Coniston
Windermere
Helvellyn
Hills-water
WESTMORELAND
Cross Fell
Cheviot Hills
Aln
Coquet
NORTHUMBERLAND
Tyne
Newcastle
North Shields & Tynemouth
S. Shields
Sunderland & Wearmouth
Durham
Wear
Hartlepool
DURHAM
Tees
Whitby
Richmond
North York Moors
Scarborough
N. Allerton
Ripon
Flamborough Hd.
YORK
Harrogate
York
Marston
Stamford Br.
Beverley
Hull
Humber
Grimsby
Towton
Leeds
Bradford
Halifax
Preston
Blackburn
Rochdale
Calder
Wakefield
Huddersfield
Pontefract
Okham
Doncaster
Manchester
Scrooby
Sheffield
The Peak
Mers R.
Warrington
LIVERPOOL
Birkenhead
Gt. Ormes Hd.
Llandudno
ANGLESEY
Holyhead
Beaumaris
I. OF MAN
Castletown
Douglas
Barrow
Morecambe B.
Lancaster
Ribble
Aire
Ouse
Derwent
The Wolds
Lincoln

Barmouth
Cardigan B.
Shrewsbury
Stafford
Burton
Lichfield
Leicester
Bosworth
Wolverhampton
Birmingham
Coventry
Nuneaton
Rugby
Warwick
Worcester
Evesham
Stratford
Northampton
Huntingdon
Peterborough
Kings Lynn
Norwich
Yarmouth
Bury St.Edmunds
Newmarket
Ipswich
St.George's Channel
Aberystwith
Llandovery
Builth
Radnor
Mortimer's Cross
Leominster
Hereford
Ross
Monmouth
Tredegar
Merthyr Tydvil
Chepstow
Caerphilly
Cardiff
Swansea
Swansea B.
Milford Haven
St. Bride's B.
Pembroke
Caermarthen
Brecknock
Glamorgan
Bristol Channel
Severn
Gloucester
Cirencester
Cheltenham
Oxford
Berkeley
Cotswolds
Bristol
Wantage
Aylesbury
Bedford
Cambridge
Buckingham
Hertford
Colchester
Harwich
The Naze
Thames
London
Windsor
Reading
Basingstoke
Devizes
Kingston
Richmond
Croydon
Epsom
Rochester
Margate
Chatham
Maidstone
Canterbury
Deal
Dover
Str.of Dover
Folkestone
C.Gris Nez
St.Leonards
Hastings
Pevensey
Eastbourne
Boulogne
R.Somme
Ilfracombe
Barnstaple B.
Exmoors
Bridgewater
Sedgemoor
Wells
Mendip Hills
Bath
Weston
Taunton
Salisbury
Stonehenge
Winchester
Guildford
Tunbridge Wells
Lewes
Brighton
Chichester
South Downs
Bognor
Selsey Bill
Beachy Hd.
Portsmouth
Southampton
New Forest
Isle of Wight
Ryde
Newport
Ventnor
I.of Purbeck
I.of Portland & Portland Bill
Weymouth
Bridport
Dorchester
Lyme Regis
Exeter
Dartmoor
Teignmouth
Torquay
Torbay
Plymouth
Dartmouth
St.Ives B.
Truro
Falmouth
Eddystone L.H.
Penzance
Mounts Bay
Lands End
The Lizard
ENGLISH CHANNEL
MATTHEWS NORTHRUP & CO., BUFFALO N.Y.
West Longitude
East Longitude

post-office, which were placed each week on a card. The money received by the government for the sale of the stamps was retained, and, along with the government's contribution, made up the insurance fund. Within a year after the passage of the act fourteen million persons were being insured by this means against sickness and two and a half million were being insured against unemployment.

619. General Legislation. — In 1912 there was a further extension of the old factory acts. A law was passed which required all retail stores, — called in England shops, — all restaurants, and similar establishments, to close one half day in each week besides Sunday. It also limited the hours of employment in such establishments to sixty hours a week, and made various other provisions about time of closing, comfort of employees, and such matters.

A number of other measures of this general character were either carried through parliament or introduced for discussion. Many of these were connected with education — the provision of free meals and free medical attendance at school for poor children, reformatory treatment of youthful ill-doers, vocational training, and a reorganization of the university system. Others were connected with the overcrowding and unhealthy building up of towns, government encouragement of the improvement of land, and an effort to break up the aristocratic monopoly of the ownership of land. With the exception of this last project, which has deeply exasperated the Conservatives, it is a notable fact that there has been very general agreement of both parties on measures of social reform. Differences of opinion have been for the most part merely on the details of the measures. Even if the party in power had been defeated and a new ministry had come into office, most of the same measures would have been carried, although no doubt in a different form. A prominent member of the Conservative party said in the debate on the National Insurance Bill, "I will say that, believing as we do that you are animated by the sole desire to confer a lasting benefit upon all classes of the community, so we will aid you in the perfecting of the details of the scheme." A Labor

member, in the same debate, declared that the Insurance Bill "marks a fundamental change in public opinion. . . . The old assumption . . . by which state aid and state organizations were regarded as something which ought to be suspected by every wise man has been thrown over . . . by everybody."

Another characteristic of this group of laws was the growing opinion during these years before the outbreak of the great war that such legislation was the most important part of the work of government. Mr. Asquith, the prime minister, declared, "There is nothing that calls so loudly or so imperiously as the possibilities of social reform. . . . Political machinery is only valuable and is only worth having as it is adapted to and used for worthy social ends."

620. The New Taxes. — Social reforms, however, could not be carried through without raising other questions. One was the question of taxation. Many of these new laws, especially the Old Age Pension Act, required the expenditure of a great deal of money by the government. At the same time more was being spent for education, public buildings, and like purposes, and the army and navy, especially the latter, were constantly becoming more expensive. In 1909 the government had to face an expenditure of $80,000,000 more than its yearly income. In forming his budget, or statement of probable expenses and the taxes proposed to meet them, for that year, David Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer, and one of the most vigorous and influential of the ministers, adopted quite a new plan.

Instead of raising the old taxes much higher, he proposed a new series of taxes which he considered would both increase the revenue and make the wealthy and landholding classes pay a more just proportion than before. The budget therefore became itself a plan for further social reform. In presenting it, Mr. Lloyd George declared the necessity and the rightfulness of improving the condition of the working classes. He pointed out also the desirability of carrying out government schemes of planting forests and otherwise improving barren lands, and of education and experiment on industrial

and agricultural lines. He claimed that it was only fair that the wealthy classes of the country should pay a larger share of these national expenses than they had in the past. Finally he said, "This is a war budget. It is for raising money to wage implacable warfare against poverty and squalidness. I cannot help hoping and believing that before this generation has passed away we shall have advanced a great step toward that good time when poverty and wretchedness and human degradation which always follow in its camp will be as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests."

The taxes which were either new, or so much increased as to be practically new, were as follows: a tax of 20 per cent was placed on all increase in the value of land due to its nearness to towns or other general improvement of the neighborhood, not to any improvements placed on the land by the owner, — what is commonly called "the unearned increment." That is to say, whenever by sale, the death of the owner, or a periodical valuation it should be learned that land had increased in value, one fifth of this increase should be paid to the government as a tax. A small tax was laid on lands lying unused, a larger tax on the income from mining lands. Duties paid on estates of persons dying were to vary in amount from 1 per cent on estates of $500 to 15 per cent on estates of $5,000,000 and above. The ordinary income tax was increased, and a supertax, or additional tax, was placed on all incomes above $25,000 a year. Finally, there was a large increase in the taxes on liquor, liquor licenses, and tobacco.

These taxes were very unwelcome to many business men, to financiers, to liquor dealers, to wealthy people generally, and above all to owners of large landed property. These classes, especially the last, had long been the most influential classes in England, and strong opposition to the new taxes was therefore to be expected. Nevertheless the budget passed the House of Commons. In the House of Lords, however, there was a long conflict resulting in its defeat by a large majority.

621. Antagonism to the House of Lords. — The control of the House of Commons over taxation had been complete for centuries. Resolutions were therefore passed by that House declaring that the House of Lords had acted unconstitutionally in defeating the budget. On the other hand, the leaders of the House of Lords claimed that they were only exercising their right to force the ministry to have a new election before introducing great changes which had not been proposed when parliament was elected. The ministry ordered the temporary collection of the new taxes, just as if the House of Lords had not defeated the bill, and announced that parliament would be immediately dissolved and a new election held. If the same party was in a majority in the new parliament, the same budget would be reintroduced. The ministry also made the important announcement that they would soon introduce into parliament a bill making it impossible in the future for the House of Lords to oppose itself successfully to the deliberate will of the House of Commons.

622. Opposition between the Two Houses. — This brought up another question, and a very serious one. There had been many conflicts between the two houses, especially when there was a Liberal majority in the House of Commons. The House of Lords, being made up of hereditary noblemen, bishops, and prominent men raised to the peerage comparatively late in life, naturally looked at questions from a conservative point of view, and were much influenced by considerations of large property and high social position. They had therefore opposed and frequently defeated measures of reform passed by large majorities in the House of Commons. It was claimed by many Liberals that whatever change of majority occurred in the House of Commons, there was always a Conservative majority in the House of Lords. The powers of that House seemed to them a permanent obstacle to the passage of acts for the good of the mass of the people, and real progress seemed impossible until this barrier had been removed.

Moreover, the House of Commons being elected and the House of Lords being made up for the most part of those who inherited their position, it seemed intolerable that the will of the people should be opposed by those who did not represent the people. This difficulty had come up frequently before, but in serious cases the House of Lords had usually given way, and the question had never been brought to a settlement. In 1907 the House of Commons had adopted a statement of principle, "that in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail." Nothing was then done to enforce this principle. The defeat of the budget, however, now brought it up in a definite form.

623. The Parliament Act. — The new elections were held in January, 1910. The Liberals again obtained a majority: not so large as in the last parliament, yet still, with the Irish Nationalists and the Labor party, they had a solid majority of more than a hundred. The budget was therefore brought in again, and this time it was passed by both houses, though grudgingly by the House of Lords.

Then the larger question came up. The ministry introduced into the House of Commons a bill which, if passed into law, would give that House complete supremacy over the House of Lords. It was debated in parliament and discussed in a series of conferences between the leaders of the two parties during the whole year, but no compromise satisfactory to the two Houses could be agreed upon. Parliament was therefore dissolved in December, 1910, and new elections were held virtually on this one question. The majority was practically the same as before, and the ministers promptly reintroduced the same bill into the House of Commons. It was carried there without great difficulty. It had however to meet its greatest opposition afterwards in the House of Lords.

That body would be deprived of most of its powers if this law passed, and could not therefore be expected to agree to the proposed change without a struggle, even though a popular vote seemed to have declared in favor of the new law. The contest was a hard one, and, although the bill was not directly defeated by the House of Lords, amendments were adopted which would have changed the nature of the bill completely and defeated the objects which the majority of the House of Commons had in view.

There was, however, one method by which the House of Commons could still have its way. Three times before in the past two centuries the king had, on the advice of the ministers, either made enough new peers to change the majority in the upper house, or agreed to do so if it was necessary.[1] The ministers now once more secured the promise of the king to do the same thing if the opposition in the House of Lords should continue. There was a sharp conflict among the peers as to what action they should take, but they finally gave way, and, under the threat of having their numbers increased by a large number of new appointees favorable to the ministry, dropped their amendments and passed the bill as it was sent to them from the House of Commons. It is known as the Parliament Act of 1911. According to this law the budget, or any other money bill passed by the House of Commons, after it has been before the House of Lords for a month is to be signed by the king and become law whether the House of Lords approves it or not. Any other bill which has been passed three times by the House of Commons in three separate annual sessions and presented to the House of Lords each time is to be signed by the king and become a law, even if the House of Lords has disapproved it each time.

In the same act the longest time for which parliament can sit without holding a new election was reduced from seven years to five years. It was an old plan of the radical political reformers to shorten the term of parliament in order to give the people more

[1] See pp. 541, 626, 663.

frequent opportunity to express their will. The Chartist proposal had been to have a new parliament elected each year.[1] This was an approach to that term, especially as parliament is often dissolved and reëlected for one reason or another before the expiration of its full possible term.

624. Payment of Members of Parliament. — In the same session another old proposal of the reformers was adopted. This was the payment of salaries to members of the House of Commons. It was an honor and distinction to be a member of parliament, and men of the well-to-do classes had therefore for two or three centuries been willing and anxious to serve without pay. The result was that the practice of paying them for their services had gone entirely out of use, and the House of Commons was consequently, for the most part, made up of men of means. Many believed, however, that the people would be better served if it were possible for men without wealth or independent fortunes to be their representatives in parliament. A number of the members of the Nationalist and Labor parties were supported by the funds of organizations interested in their membership; but in 1909 the courts decided, in what was known as the Osborne judgment, that trade unions could not use their general funds for this purpose. To meet this difficulty and carry out the idea of the reformers, the measure referred to above was passed. It provided for the payment to each member of the House of Commons of a salary of about $2000 a year.

625. Further Reform of the Franchise. — Notwithstanding the changes in voting introduced by the earlier reform bills, there were still numerous irregularities. There were restrictions on some men, special privileges possessed by others. Some men could deposit several votes for members of parliament, due to their possession or occupation of property located in different districts, or to being a graduate of one of the universities. In 1906 the House of Commons passed a bill against "plural voting," but it was defeated in the House of Lords. Now that the House of Lords could not any

[1] See pp. 603, 636.

longer permanently resist such measures, the ministry, after introducing, but later withdrawing, a more general franchise act, in 1913 reintroduced the bill of 1906 restricting each man to one vote. This was carried in the House of Commons, immediately rejected in the House of Lords, carried again in the Commons in June, 1914, and defeated in the House of Lords in July. This being the third time of passage by the House of Commons, in September it was signed by the king and became law, notwithstanding its rejection by the House of Lords.

626. Women's Suffrage. — The parliament act, the payment of members act, and the act against plural voting, all carried between 1911 and 1914, made up a sort of fourth reform bill, carrying on the work of the acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884–1885. They bore the government much further toward complete democracy. Another step in the same direction was now being advocated with increasing zeal. This was the proposal to extend the right of voting for members of parliament to women. Even though every man were given the franchise only one half the people of England would have the right to vote; the women were still excluded.

This was an old subject of interest, going back at least to the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a matter of practical proposal it dates from the time of the second reform bill, 1867. When that bill was under discussion John Stuart Mill, one of the clearest thinkers and most influential writers on political and economic questions in the nineteenth century, introduced a resolution to change the word "man" in the bill to "person," so as to include women. He had already declared, on his election in 1865, that he believed women should be represented in parliament, and in 1866 had introduced a petition for the suffrage signed by fifteen hundred women. His proposed amendment was defeated, but it received seventy-three votes, and from that time onward the matter was frequently brought up in parliament. Thirteen successive bills were introduced, and it was brought up for serious debate some twenty times in the next half century. It frequently received large votes,

even a majority at some stages of its progress, but always ultimately failed of adoption. When the Reform Bill of 1884 was under debate Mr. Gladstone, although himself apparently not opposed to women's suffrage, would not risk the bill by adding that subject to it, and proposed amendments for the purpose were opposed by him and defeated by large majorities.

Back of the effort to carry bills for women's suffrage through parliament was the agitation for it throughout the country. The first women's suffrage society is said to have been founded at Sheffield in 1857. After that time they were rapidly formed in various cities. In addition to these a Women's Freedom League, Men's League for Women's Suffrage, Church League, Artists' League, Cambridge University Men's League, and a score or more of similar bodies were formed for the promotion of the cause. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was early formed to unite these, and now claims some four hundred branches and more than sixty thousand members. These societies worked for their object by arguments, speeches, meetings, the issue of newspapers and pamphlets, by appealing to candidates at elections to declare themselves on the question, by throwing their influence on the side of candidates favorable to the cause, by sending petitions to parliament, and by inducing other organizations and local governments to do the same. As a result of this agitation, the subject became a familiar one, many men and women of prominence expressed their approval of it, and a large proportion of the members elected to each successive House of Commons were more or less favorable to it.

627. Militancy. — In 1903 a new organization, The Women's Social and Political Union, was formed with the object of introducing a more vigorous policy into the agitation for women's suffrage. In 1905 they took means to bring the whole question into greater notice. They attended political meetings and interrupted speakers to call attention to their demands; they went to the House of Commons and cried "Votes for women!" from the gallery

during the debates; they stopped members on their way to the House in an endeavor to secure pledges of interest in their plans; to avoid being removed from the parliament house, they chained themselves to the seats and the pillars in the gallery, then until the chains could be filed apart they screamed and prevented debate. As time went on these "militants," as they came to be called, adopted still more violent measures, turning their attacks from parliament to the general public in their determination to obtain attention to their demands and to make life so uncomfortable to the community that their desires would be granted for the sake of peace and quiet. They poured acid into letter boxes to destroy the mails, broke the windows of offices, stores, and public buildings with hammers and stones, interrupted service in the churches by crying "Votes for women" and chanting parodies on the litany. A series of isolated outrages of a still more serious nature followed. In several places bombs were exploded, destroying parts of buildings of historic interest, pleasure buildings and country houses were burned, old paintings in the art galleries were slashed with knives, the prime minister and some of his colleagues were set upon and beaten, a hatchet was thrown at the prime minister in his carriage, and in Dublin an attempt was made to burn a theater. They tried to reach the king on the race course, in Buckingham Palace, and as he drove in the streets, demanding that he interpose in the matter.

Punishment for their disorders proved to be difficult. At first they were arrested and immediately discharged, then fined or sent to prison for short terms; then, as the offenses became more serious, they were sentenced to the full measure of the law. They tried to defeat the carrying out of the sentences by "hunger strikes." These were met by forcible feeding, a barbarous procedure, but apparently unavoidable, unless they were to be allowed either to die or to outwit the law by securing an immediate discharge.

Militancy was disapproved of by much the greater number of suffragists. It was the policy of a small but extremely active,

determined, and self-sacrificing minority. In 1908 and from time to time afterward the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the oldest and largest body favoring the cause, issued protests against the use of violence, and declared their belief that their end could be reached by the usual forms of agitation. In 1912 some of the more influential members of the Social and Political Union split off, believing that the policy of violence was going too far. The populace also was generally opposed to the activity of the militants, and frequently it was only the interposition of the police for their protection that prevented them from being beaten, thrown into the water, or otherwise ill treated by angry crowds. In 1914 other events, which are to be described later, led to a suspension of violence.

628. The Anti-Suffragists.— In 1889 appeared the first organized opposition to women's suffrage, in the form of a protest against its grant drawn up by a number of prominent women and published in one of the magazines. A society for the same purpose was formed in 1908 under the name National Anti-Suffrage League, and a Men's League was formed in the same year. These two were soon joined into the large and influential National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage. The object of this society is to oppose the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women while at the same time encouraging their activity in local government, school boards, and "other bodies concerned with the domestic and social affairs of the community," as it is expressed in their program. This refers to the right to vote for various local bodies, given from 1870 onward to women property owners and in some cases to all women residents, a right of which not much use had been made.

629. The Liberal Party and Women's Suffrage. — In England reforms are usually brought about only when one of the great political parties takes them up as part of its regular program. There are so many matters always clamoring for attention in parliament that adequate time for debate and satisfactory arrangements

for a final vote are usually made only for those measures which the ministry and majority party have settled upon as party measures. Women's suffrage has never been looked upon as a party question, its supporters being drawn from both the Liberals and Conservatives, though more largely from the former. When the Liberal party came into power in 1906 those interested hoped that along with other social and political reforms this would be taken up by the government. Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey, and other ministers were strongly in favor of women's suffrage, and had declared personally in its favor in their election speeches. The prime minister, Mr. Asquith, and several other members of the ministry, on the other hand, were opposed to it. It could not therefore be taken up and carried through like measures to which the ministry as a whole was pledged. Any attempt to treat it as a party measure would cause some members of the ministry to resign and thus would break the party strength. The most that could be obtained by the advocates of the measure was a promise from the prime minister that if the suffragists in parliament could carry an amendment to the proposed franchise bill, the ministry would accept it and incorporate women's suffrage in that bill. Such an amendment was later introduced, but in February, 1913, as already stated, that bill, on notice from the speaker that the amendment would make it a new bill and therefore endanger its passage against the opposition of the House of Lords, was dropped, and women's suffrage for that time dropped with it.

630. The Conciliation Bills. In the meantime, a new plan for getting women's suffrage through parliament was tried. A body known as the "conciliation committee" was formed, including all suffragists in the House of Commons, no matter to what party they belonged. This committee drew up a compromise bill and introduced it independently of the government. More than a majority of the members had before election pledged themselves to vote favorably on a bill if it was placed before them, and it was hoped that if these could all be drawn together the bill could be

carried by mere weight of numbers, without regard to party tactics or interests.

This bill was in fact carried through its second reading in 1910 by a large majority, and a similar bill the next year came still nearer to final passage by a still larger majority. Yet when a final vote was actually taken in March, 1912, the bill was defeated. Several private bills have since been introduced and carried part way through their course, but none has reached a final vote. Impressive demonstrations in 1911 and 1912, including a procession of women four miles long passing through London and a gathering in Hyde Park said to have numbered half a million people, showed the continued interest of its advocates, but no further parliamentary steps have been taken since the failures of 1912 and 1913.

631. Labor Unrest. — Notwithstanding the many measures that were carried through parliament intended to improve the position of the mass of the people, there was still great dissatisfaction among workingmen. They very generally believed that their share of what was produced was too small and ought to be increased. They saw that on the contrary wages were remaining very nearly stationary while the cost of living on the whole was steadily rising. The only way to change this condition of affairs was to use their combined strength to force employers to pay better wages, leaving them to settle the success of trade as best they might. As a result there were many detached strikes. Since these were frequently in trades where the unions were not yet recognized, the men asked the employers to give recognition to their unions and to agree not to employ any but members of the unions, — the policy known as the "closed shop." The men believed that only in this way could they be sure of securing good working conditions. This was moreover in the general direction of business development. Combination and organization in industry has been widespread among employers and managers of industrial enterprises. The men have been subject to the same influences and have in the same way striven to control through organization the conditions of their labor. This extension

of close combination among workingmen, has, however, been opposed by employers, both on their own account and in what they have believed to be the interest of non-union laborers. The result has been extreme bitterness in the struggles and much disorder during strikes. A "Conciliation Act" was passed in 1896 and in 1908 the government began the creation of permanent "Conciliation Boards," or courts of arbitration, consisting of three or five persons, but their influence has not as yet been very extensive.

632. The Great Strikes of 1911 and 1912. — In the years 1911 and 1912 occurred three great strikes which disturbed England more than any earlier labor struggles, and while they lasted brought much of the industry of the country to a standstill. The first was the great railway strike. The four important railway unions merged their interests and grievances and agreed to act together. More than two hundred thousand men went out and for a few days scarcely a train ran in England or Scotland. There were serious riots, the troops were called out to keep order and protect property, and several persons were shot and killed. The ministry then intervened, and a series of compromises, almost forced upon both parties and more or less unsatisfactory to both, gradually brought the strike to an end.

In February and March of the next year, 1912, occurred the great coal strike, of more than a million miners, which has already been described.[1] Notwithstanding the intervention of the government and the establishment of wage boards in the coal-mining industry, much dissatisfaction with the rates settled upon by the joint boards continued to exist among the men. An increase of wages for many of the workmen was obtained by negotiation some months later, but there still remained much dissatisfaction.

The third of this group of strikes, although considered a national strike, was in the main restricted to the one great port of London. Here the Transport Workers' Federation, uniting all branches of labor connected with the loading and unloading of ships and the

[1] See p. 688.

hauling of the goods from the wharves, struck in May, 1912. More than eighty thousand men went out. A commission was appointed by the ministry to examine into the circumstances. This committee reported that, although both parties had broken the engagements they had formerly entered into, yet the men had substantial grievances. But the government declined to go further and to intervene in any compulsory manner, as it had in the case of the miners' strike. In order to prevent suffering of the community for lack of transport of the necessaries of life, the ministry provided police protection to the employers and their non-union workmen engaged in unloading and hauling goods, although they announced that they did so with reluctance. Many violent speeches were made and hard feelings expressed, but there was comparatively little disorder. Work on the docks is largely unskilled labor, and there were many men out of employment who were secured temporarily to fill the places of the strikers. Amidst much bitterness and dire suffering, therefore, the men were gradually starved out and the strike was an entire failure.

633. The New Unionism. — The principal influence that led to the occurrence of these great strikes just at this time, as well as many lesser ones, was the rise of a more active and radical element among the trade unionists. Among the men belonging to the more poorly paid trades and among unskilled laborers, there was a general feeling that the older trade unions were no longer doing much for the great mass of workingmen. It was believed that the older unions were strong, comparatively rich, well settled in their ways, satisfied with what they had already obtained, and under the influence of their older and more prosperous members. The older unions were looked upon as, in a certain sense, aristocratic and more interested in their insurance funds than in wages and hours of labor. More radical men, therefore, in certain unions, in new organizations that were now formed, and in the annual trade-union congresses, advocated making higher demands upon the government and upon their employers. A split occurred among trade-unionists;

the new unionists threw off what they considered the existing apathy of labor, brought about many contests, and adopted much more vigorous methods of seeking their ends.

634. **Socialism.** — Much of the greater activity both of the government in its social reforms and of workingmen in their labor struggles was no doubt due to the partial acceptance during recent years of that general group of principles that is known as socialism. These principles, and plans based on them, have been partly the teaching of certain French, German, and other writers, partly such as have been thought out by Englishmen themselves. For more than a hundred years there have been men in England who have believed that the entire direction of the industry of the country ought no longer to be left in the hands of the men who own its land and capital. They consider that the possession and use of capital by individual men gives them too great control over all other men. Since the industrial revolution, manufacturing, mining, trade, and agriculture have been on so large a scale, industry has become so complex, and ordinary workmen are so dependent on their employers, that those who possess capital are practically a ruling class, and the affairs of the country have been carried on in accordance with the needs and interests of this class. This in the belief of socialists has had many bad results, especially for the lower classes, who have continued to suffer from hard work, low wages, frequent lack of employment, and a failure to obtain a full share of the advantages of the progress of civilization. They believe also that many wars and much waste have been due to the commercial and manufacturing interests of the capitalist classes.

The simplest plan for avoiding the subjection of the lower and middle classes to the interests of the possessors of capital would be to arrange for all production to be carried on by society at large through the government. Then there would be no privately owned factories, mines, stores, ships, or farms. All would belong to the government and be carried on by men in the employment of the whole community, just as the post office is carried on.

All men would be government employees. Most socialists believe that these changes are so great that they must be brought about gradually, and all serious modern socialism consists in the adoption of measures intended either to overcome some of the evils of the private use of capital or to prepare the way for the introduction of community ownership.

635. Organizations for extending Socialism. — Robert Owen and others early in the nineteenth century tried to introduce reforms which were of a socialistic nature. Later, about the middle of the century, Charles Kingsley and the so-called Christian Socialists encouraged coöperation and other plans for eliminating some of the evils of private business, and much of the teaching of Carlyle, Ruskin, and other writers tended in the same direction. But the first considerable body of men and women who advocated socialism in any definite way were those who in 1883 formed the society they called the Social Democratic Federation. Many of its early members were prominent in literature and art, the best-known perhaps being William Morris.

At about the same time another organization was formed, also largely drawn from the intellectual and well-to-do class, whose object was not so much to strive for the immediate adoption of socialistic reforms as to spread as widely as possible a knowledge of the principles of socialism. The most prominent, probably, of its early members was George Bernard Shaw. Since they proposed to follow a policy of awaiting a favorable time they called themselves the Fabian Society, after the Roman general Fabius, who adopted this plan of overcoming the Carthaginians. This society gradually grew from about thirty members to two thousand. For the purpose of extending its ideas it published the *Fabian Essays*, and its members have written several hundred tracts, delivered numerous lectures, and spread their principles through newspapers, in conversation, and in every other practicable way.

Somewhat later, socialism took a more definite hold on the working classes. A number of the more aggressive labor leaders,

who have been spoken of as the representatives of the new unionism, especially John Burns, Tom Mann, Ben Tillet, and Keir Hardie, brought about the organization of the Independent Labor party with the object of securing separate representation in parliament, and in 1893 this body adopted a platform declaring for a distinctly socialistic policy. It obtained many adherents and secured large votes for representatives in parliament. These have risen in number from eleven to forty-three, and now form, as already stated, a strong and well-organized section of the party in power. In addition to these and other socialist societies, there is a widespread acceptance of many of the same ideas by men who do not call themselves socialists. This is shown by their willingness to support recent social reforms which limit the rights of private property, extend the functions of government, and make conditions more favorable for the mass of the people.

636. Syndicalism. — During the years from 1910 to 1915 a great many among the working classes have declared their dissatisfaction alike with the ordinary action of trade unions, with the results of labor representation in parliament, and even with socialism. Most of their ideas have come from France. This is indicated by the name "syndicalism" usually applied to this movement, that word being derived from the French *syndicat*, a trade union. But the leaders of this movement are not merely trade unionists. They consider that no reforms brought about or likely to be brought about by any of the methods so far suggested are of any great advantage to the real masses of the people. The masses are still paid low wages, have irregular employment, and are required to follow the orders and submit to the requirements of those who manage the business of the country, whether these are private capital owners or officers of the government. They claim that if they can choose the officials of their trade unions and elect those who carry on the government, they can just as well choose the managers, buyers, salesmen, and other persons necessary for carrying on business. Their plan is therefore

not merely to obtain social legislation, such as has recently been carried through parliament, nor greater strength for trade unions, such as the older union leaders have worked for, nor even control of industry by the whole community, as advocated by the socialists, but what they call "direct action." This means such action, usually through frequent strikes, as will force the present employers to give up business and leave the laborers in each occupation in control of that occupation. Syndicalism so far has tended to embitter labor struggles but has not been a movement with a clear program of its own, or an organized party to support it.

637. Disestablishment of the Welsh Church. — There was much opposition in Wales to the privileged position of the church of England in that province, and an agitation long existed to take away its official powers there, just as it had been disestablished in Ireland in 1869. Members of the church of England in Wales were only about one quarter of the church members of all denominations there, and three other religious bodies had each as many adherents. It seemed absurd therefore that the one body should have control of all the old religious and charitable endowments and occupy a specially favored position. Almost all the members of parliament from Wales demanded the disestablishment and disendowment of the official church, and a bill was introduced for that purpose in 1895 but failed of passage. Another was introduced in 1909 but withdrawn. In 1910 a royal commission of investigation reported, showing that on the whole the church of England in Wales was doing its work well and growing, but not more than the other denominations. In 1912 a new disestablishment bill was introduced. It provided that a large part of the ancient endowments of the church, which were considered as public property, should be turned over little by little to a body of commissioners. These commissioners were to hand this property over to the county councils and Welsh colleges, to be applied to libraries, hospitals, dispensaries, free public halls, and other philanthropic objects. The Anglican church would have to organize as a voluntary body

and must in the main, like other churches, look for its support to private contributors, but to it were left all the cathedrals and parish churches. The bill was warmly debated and finally carried by a small majority only, many Liberals sympathizing with the Welsh churchmen and voting reluctantly against them for the sake of party allegiance.

638. Irish Home Rule. — The most difficult internal question in recent times has been the old problem of Irish home rule. But, however difficult it might be, the ministry was bound to take it up, because the Irish Nationalists, the party organized especially for the purpose of securing it, made up a substantial part of the majority on which the Liberal ministry had to rely. Moreover, it was a part of the Liberal party platform, and it was clearly understood at the elections held in 1910 that, if that party should obtain a majority, home rule for Ireland would be a part of their policy. Their success in the elections required them to carry out their pledges.

A home rule bill was, therefore, introduced into parliament in the spring of 1912. It provided for a separate parliament for Ireland, to consist of a Senate and a House of Commons, both to be elected. Certain representatives of Ireland would also continue to sit in the imperial parliament. The Irish parliament could make laws for Ireland, although certain subjects were excepted, and the ordinary government of Ireland would be carried on by ministers subject to the control of the Irish parliament. A lord lieutenant would continue to represent the king in Ireland. A large number of provisions were made concerning money and other matters. Although the bill was debated almost continuously through the year 1912, interest in it in England was not nearly so keen as it had been when the subject was up before. In Ireland, on the other hand, feeling on the subject was intense. An Irish national convention held in Dublin accepted the bill in the name of the Irish people, and the societies of Irish Nationalist sympathizers in the United States and the colonies sent over their approval and congratulations.

639. Opposition of Ulster. — Strong opposition, however, showed itself in Ulster, the group of counties in the north of Ireland whose inhabitants were mainly descended from the Scotch and English settlers of the seventeenth century.[1] There are many differences between Ulster and the other parts of Ireland. Its inhabitants are mainly Protestant, while the rest of Ireland is mainly Roman Catholic; its interests are largely commercial and manufacturing, while the rest of the country is principally agricultural; it is somewhat more wealthy and enterprising. The ministry tried to meet the difficulties arising from these differences by including in the bill provisions that no religious distinction should ever be made by the Irish parliament, and reserving a number of other points for the control of the Imperial parliament. Nevertheless, although all the rest of Ireland, including the Catholics of Ulster, — all together making up about four fifths of the population of the whole island, — was strongly desirous of the passage of the home rule bill, the Protestants of Ulster withheld their agreement, fearing that they would be at a disadvantage if subjected to the rule of the Roman Catholic and agricultural majority in a parliament at Dublin. The opposition on the part of Ulster was strengthened by the active support of the Conservative and Unionist leaders in England, who not only sympathized with the opposition to home rule but saw in the contest a possible opportunity to secure the defeat of the ministry and bring their own party into power. They therefore encouraged the Ulster opposition in every way.

Threats of armed resistance to the authority of a home rule parliament if it were formed were widely made. In September, 1912, a "Solemn Covenant" was signed by more than four hundred thousand men and women, in imitation of the agreement sworn to by their forefathers in the seventeenth century. They pledged themselves to do everything possible to defeat the plan of setting up a separate parliament in Ireland, and if this were done, to refuse to recognize its authority. The principal leader in this

[1] See p. 405.

agitation was Sir Edward Carson, one of the representatives in parliament from Ulster. Later the "Ulster Volunteers" were organized, drilled, secretly provided with arms, and took their oath to oppose any attempt to introduce any government in Ireland except that of the imperial parliament. The Roman Catholic portions of Ireland were spurred to activity by this threat to prevent home rule. The "National Volunteers" were soon formed there, and civil war in Ireland became a serious danger. In December, 1913, the ministry prohibited the introduction of more arms into Ireland, but both bodies of Volunteers secured additional supplies by "gun-running," that is to say, unloading cargoes of guns at unusual places on the coast and at night. In September, 1913, the leaders of the Ulstermen organized a "Provisional Government" which was to take charge of Ulster as soon as any attempt should be made to put Ulster under the authority of an Irish parliament.

There was much sympathy with the Ulster opposition among the officers of the army, and when early in the year 1914 some regiments were ordered to the north of Ireland to put down possible disorder, a number of the highest officers demanded guarantees from the ministry that they would not be called upon to force home rule on Ulster. Disputes in connection with this led to the retirement of about a hundred of the officers and to the resignation of the minister of war. The officers were subsequently restored, but the government issued an order forbidding officers in the future to inquire what service they were to be called upon to perform.

640. Passage of the Home Rule Bill. — Notwithstanding the opposition and danger of armed conflict in Ireland and long and bitter debates in parliament, the home rule bill was carried by a substantial majority in the House of Commons in January, 1913. It then went to the House of Lords, where it was, as was anticipated, immediately defeated by an overwhelming majority. It was again carried through the House of Commons in the summer of 1913, and an attempt was made to secure better success in the House of Lords by introducing at the same time an amending bill

providing that the counties of Ulster might take a vote and, if the majority wished, remain outside of the home-rule arrangement for six years. The House of Lords did not accept this plan, but passed a substitute amendment of an entirely different character.

Still another attempt was made to reach some agreement by a conference of prominent advocates and opponents of home rule called by the king at the suggestion of the ministry, but they could not reach any satisfactory compromise. The bill was then again passed by the House of Commons, and as this was its third passage, it was signed by the king and became law in September, 1914; by this time, however, other events had occurred that made its immediate enforcement undesirable, so parliament passed at the same time a bill for suspending its operation for one year, and the ministry promised before that time to introduce another amending act which it was hoped would gain general acceptance.

King George V

641. Accession of George V. — Edward VII died in May, 1910. His only surviving son succeeded him with the title of George V. The new king had been trained on the sea, and was not very well known. Although apparently not a man of high mental powers, he was honest and devoted to duty, and showed himself straightforward, simple in his manner, and willing to conform to the requirements

of his position. The part taken by the king in ruling the country is now but small, as shown by the slight part taken by him in the acts for social reform described at the beginning of this chapter, and even in such fundamental changes as the parliament act and the home-rule bill. The same thing was soon to be shown with regard to questions of war and peace. The king embodies the national unity, exercises a certain amount of personal influence, and serves as a center of national patriotism and a medium for relations with other governments. All other political power is exercised by the ministry in office at the time, and by the majority in parliament on which their right to act is based.

One of the few ways, however, in which the new king has been able to exert an effect has been by drawing the various parts of the empire closer together. Immediately after his accession he made a series of visits with the queen, the Prince of Wales, and his oldest daughter to Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, where numerous festivities were attended by the royal party, and new libraries, colleges, hospitals, and other public buildings were hurriedly finished in order to be opened by the king.

The next year a more distant journey was made. This was the visit of the king and queen to India, where for the first time an English ruler in person was crowned emperor of India. The Durbar, or meeting of the Indian princes for this purpose, was held at Delhi, the old capital of the early emperors. The ceremonies were carried out with oriental magnificence, and proclamations were issued by the new emperor for various changes in the government of India, the most important of which was the transfer of the central government from Calcutta, the principal commercial city, to Delhi.

642. Advance of Imperial Federation. — Following upon the Boer War, with the increased interest of the colonies in the mother country and that of the mother country in the colonies, due to the share they took in that struggle, a second imperial conference of the prime ministers or other representatives of the four great colonies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, was called to

meet in London, the first having met at the queen's golden jubilee, in 1887. Since then there has been such a conference every four years. In 1911 a new step was taken, when Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, took the colonial representatives into the confidence of the ministry by appearing before them and giving a full and official explanation of British international relations. A naval defense system was also adopted, by which war ships should be built by each of the colonies, and a navy maintained on the model of that of Great Britain in time of peace and put at the disposal of the mother country in time of war. The next year there was a special visit to England of Mr. Borden, prime minister of Canada, and some of his colleagues, for discussion of the whole subject of naval defense. The conference of 1911 also recommended the adoption of a common system of imperial naturalization, the establishment of government communicating wireless stations in all countries of the empire, and a commission for the development of the productions and natural resources of the whole empire. It was also resolved that in future the colonial governments should be consulted when agreements which affected the colonies were being entered into by Great Britain with other countries.

643. The Army and Navy. — The serious attention given in the colonial conferences to military and naval affairs indicates the gravest danger felt by the government of Great Britain in recent times, that of being plunged into an extensive war. The condition of the British islands is peculiar. Their small size and large population make them very dependent for their food supply on foreign countries. The occupation of the greater portion of the people in manufactures, commerce, mining, and personal service rather than in agriculture increases this dependence. Of every five bushels of grain or barrels of flour used in England, four come from abroad, only one is produced in the country; of the meat, more than one half is imported. Of lesser articles of food, like eggs, fruit, and fresh vegetables, a very large proportion is brought from France, Holland, and Denmark. In order to get her food,

therefore, England must preserve control of the sea. If during a war any foreign nation was in a position to prevent vessels with grain, meat, and other food from coming into English ports, she would soon be brought to the edge of starvation and would have to submit to any terms the other country cared to impose upon her. She has, besides, colonies in all parts of the world, which must be protected against foreign aggression.

It has therefore been the policy of all parties in England to keep her navy stronger than any probable combination of enemies. This was made especially difficult by the steady increase in the strength of the fleet of Germany, with which England felt herself more likely to come into conflict than with any other country. For a long time it was England's ambition to keep her navy as strong as those of any two other countries. This plan has been given up, partly because it was too expensive, partly because she could always count on help from her allies in case of war. Nevertheless, in order to keep up her preponderance, she has felt it necessary to build a great number of naval vessels of all kinds, to enlist a constantly increasing number of men in her navy, and to pay enormous sums for naval equipment. She has built within the last ten years about 60 battleships, 130 cruisers, 200 destroyers, and 75 submarines, and naval expenditures have risen to about $250,000,000 a year. A naval war staff was created in 1912 to strengthen the organization of the navy.

To her army England has not paid nearly so much attention. Instead of making all men serve for a certain number of years, as is customary in most of the countries of Europe, she has kept up a standing army of less than two hundred thousand men. There has been, however, much feeling that this is insufficient, and in addition reserves, a territorial army, and a militia have been organized for use in case of war. Much of Salisbury Plain, the wide, barren upland in southwestern England, has been purchased by the government for use for camping, training, and manœuvring the troops, and as a possible battle ground in case of invasion. In drill, experience, and

equipment these reserves and territorial troops are, however, necessarily inferior to the standing armies of the other principal countries of Europe. England has relied on her fleet to protect her from invasion, and on her disinclination to war to avoid the necessity for the use of troops as an attacking body.

A new branch of military activity has arisen with the invention and development of airships of various kinds. In 1912 a Royal Flying Corps was organized, with a branch for the army and one for the navy, a government manufactory and many stations, and a training ground on Salisbury Plain. The military, naval, and other similar interests of England are controlled by a Board of Defense consisting of the highest officers of each branch. The total annual expenditure for national defense amounted in 1912 to about $375,000,000, an average of about $8 a year for each man, woman, and child in Great Britain.

644. The Triple Entente. — The foreign relations of England were deeply influenced by the formation of what came to be known as the *triple entente*, a French expression meaning an agreement or understanding among three countries. It was formed in 1904 by the entrance of England into an agreement already existing between France and Russia. These two countries had made a close alliance in order to make themselves as strong as the Triple Alliance, the union of Germany, Austria, and Italy. These two alliances were intended to preserve the balance of power in Europe, the smaller states either being guaranteed their neutrality by treaties among the larger countries or being so weak in a military way as not to count. England had long remained isolated, but more and more felt the need of some alliance in case she must go to war. She was on notably good terms with the United States, but that country was very distant. Like England, also, the United States had a strong navy but not a strong army, and was disinclined to war. Moreover, the United States was not involved in the international disputes of Europe. England therefore turned naturally to the two powers which were opposed to her most probable antagonist, Germany.

The connection of England with France and Russia was merely an "understanding" that their international interests were very similar and that in a general way they would support one another, not a regularly signed alliance. Nevertheless it was strengthened by support given from time to time by one country to the other. In 1911, when a difficulty arose between Germany and France concerning their interests in Morocco, the English government indicated that she would not leave France isolated in its settlement. In 1912 the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy was renewed for a period of seven more years, and various opportunities were taken in France, Russia, and England to remind the world and one another of the continued existence of the *entente* among these three great powers.

645. The Japanese Alliance. — A still closer alliance, although affecting a more distant region, was the defensive treaty between Great Britain and Japan, entered into in the first place in 1902, expanded into a formal alliance in 1905, and strengthened and continued for ten years more in 1911. It bound the two countries to act together for the purpose of keeping the peace in eastern Asia, preserving China from seizure by other countries, and defending their own special interests in that part of the world.

646. The Great War. — In July, 1914, the great war which all the countries of Europe had been dreading for years, trying to avoid, and yet preparing for, suddenly broke out. Some statesmen and many lovers of peace had long sought means to prevent the growth and constant readiness for attack of the great armies and navies of the various countries of the world. The socialists and some other parties had constantly protested against war and preparations for war. A series of conferences had been held at The Hague in Holland, not only to agree upon rules for diminishing the barbarities of war but to find means of making the outbreak of war less likely. But the nations were suspicious of one another and were not willing to trust the settlement of their differences of interest to peaceful means. Wars among lesser countries in more distant

parts of the world still occurred. Their interest in these conflicts and other disputes brought the larger countries of Europe over and over again to the very verge of war. This time they went over the brink.

The immediate occasion for the war was a dispute between Austria and the little adjoining country of Servia. In June, 1914, the crown prince of Austria and his wife were assassinated at the capital of one of the provinces of that empire. The Austrian government held Servia responsible for this murder and for the many plots among Austrian subjects of the same race as the Servians. She therefore made certain harsh and peremptory demands upon Servia which that country refused to accept. Austria thereupon declared war upon her. Russia, which looked upon herself as the protector of Servia and other small states of the Slavonic race to which her people belonged, and which was, moreover, unwilling to see Austria's power increased by the probable conquest of Servia, immediately protested, threatened to declare war on Austria, and began the mobilization of her troops.

Germany, claiming that Russia with her army once in the field might attack her, declared she would support her ally Austria, proceeded to mobilize her vast army, and on August 1 declared war on Russia. This involved France, which immediately prepared to put her army in the field. Germany then declared war on France. Thus two of the countries of the Triple Alliance were at war with two of the Triple Entente. For a few days it was uncertain what England would do. Her foreign minister tried to bring the hostile countries to agree to a conference for the settlement of their differences without going to war, but unsuccessfully. Germany offered England various terms if she would remain neutral during the war, but none that the English government felt that they could honorably accept. Germany then announced that she had reason to believe that France was preparing to attack her through Belgium, that "necessity knows no law," and that she would have to disregard the treaties by which Belgium, which lay on the easiest route

between Germany and France, was protected from invasion. England then inquired from France whether she would respect the neutral rights of Belgium, and France agreed to do so. When Germany began to march her armies through Belgium, England, on August 4, declared war upon her. The great war was therefore begun, so far as England was concerned, mainly because she was not willing to see Belgium invaded without coming to her help, but partly also, no doubt, because she felt that she must aid her two allies and because she dreaded the results to herself of German success. Three of the ministers resigned rather than take the responsibility of carrying on the war, and Lord Kitchener, although a Conservative, became Secretary of State for War.

647. The Attitude of Other Countries. — Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, claiming that her own interests were not involved, that her allies were the attacking, not the attacked, parties, and being at heart antagonistic to Austria, refused to support that country and Germany and declared herself neutral. All the other countries of Europe, the United States, and other American countries also declared their neutrality. In the far East, on the other hand, Japan, on the ground that she was carrying out the principle of her alliance with England, that of keeping peace and protecting China from other foreign influences, demanded that Germany withdraw from Kiao-chow, her one foothold in China, and dismantle her few ships of war in the East until the war was over. Germany sent no reply to this demand; Japan thereupon declared war upon her, sent a military and naval force, in September, 1914, to attack the harbor and defenses of Kiao-chow, and in November captured them, as well as a number of scattered islands in the Pacific formerly in the possession of Germany. In the same month Turkey also entered the war on the side of Germany and Austria.

648. The Battles in Belgium and France. — The Germans apparently believed that Belgium would not resist when they demanded a passage across that country to the French border, and offered to restore her territories to her unharmed or with compensation for

losses when the war was over. But the Belgians, deeply stung in their national pride, unwilling to participate in this violation of international agreements, knowing that they had strong forts and a well-prepared, even if small, army, and trusting to the help of France and England, refused their consent. When Germany then declared war upon them and began to march across their borders they resisted in a series of brave, hard-fought, and destructive battles. The enormous mass of the German army and its equipment of siege guns were too powerful, and their allies were too far away, for the Belgians to have more than temporary success against the invaders. Step by step they were forced to fall back, leaving their country, with the exception of a narrow strip in the extreme west, in the possession of the Germans. There was vast loss of life in the armies, and most deplorable suffering and destruction of the peaceful people, their private possessions, houses, cities and towns, churches and other public buildings.

Early in August the first detachment of English troops crossed the Channel and united with the French army. Later others were sent over as they were recruited, drilled, and equipped in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. As in the Boer War, the great self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa immediately offered troops and supplies, and the native princes of British India likewise offered their troops, money, and their own services. All of these were accepted by the home government and gradually brought into the field. But the non-military character of England, and still more of the colonies, made the preparation and equipment of these troops a slow matter. By common consent all conflict between parties on questions of internal policy, such as home rule, women's suffrage, and labor questions, was suspended, and unanimous action took place for the financial and other support of the ministry in carrying on the war.

In the meantime the Germans fought their way through Belgium and northern France until they almost reached the suburbs of Paris. Then the fortunes of war changed and they retreated about

fifty miles to the northeast, pursued closely by the French and British armies. This first victory of the Allies, won between September 5 and September 10, 1914, is known as the battle of the Marne. The Germans, after their retreat, established themselves in entrenchments carefully prepared in favorable locations along the ridges of eastern France, and successfully withstood further efforts of the French and British to drive them back. Thus began the long war of the trenches, which has continued on this western battle front for more than three years. The year 1914 closed with a series of stubbornly fought battles along this line and in Belgium.

649. The Western Front, 1915–1917. — During the next year there were numberless engagements between these armies facing one another, but nothing decisive was accomplished, although asphyxiating gas, liquid fire, hand grenades, machine guns, high explosives, and other destructive devices were largely used. Great Britain gradually increased her number of men in France. By the close of 1915 she is supposed to have had more than a million men, and by the end of 1916 more than two million men, on the fighting front. There was a still greater increase in cannon and ammunition, partly imported from America, but more and more, as time went on, produced by British munition works. By the middle of 1917 there were five million men and women in Great Britain engaged in work connected with the war, a great part of them working in munition factories. As a result of this increase in men and equipment the British took over from the French a larger part of the battle line, and undertook with them the task of driving the enemy from France and Belgium.

From February to August, 1916, the Germans made a terrific but unsuccessful attack on the French forces around the great fortress of Verdun. When this was over, the British and French began a long-continued and frequently suspended but never abandoned drive forward against the Germans, sometimes on one part of the line, sometimes on another. The battle which extended

from July to September, 1916, is known as the battle of the Somme, a later movement was directed against the Ancre Valley and still another against the Vimy Ridge, another takes its name from the city of Arras, and another big advance was made east of the city of Ypres. As a result of these repeated attacks and of those made by the French along their part of the line the Germans, early in 1917, withdrew a considerable distance to new and stronger positions known as the Hindenburg Line. This left to the British and French a broad strip of France formerly occupied by the German army, but left in absolute devastation, cities, villages, farmhouses, roads, bridges, and orchards all being destroyed deliberately and completely. In November, 1917, a surprise attack was made by the British against a broad stretch of the German line, and in a few days they had broken through and approached Cambrai.

For the purpose of advancing against the entrenchments, especially those on ridges, the English invented and put into use "tanks," which were immense armored motor trucks filled with men with machine guns. They ran on long "caterpillar treads" in place of wheels, which enabled them to pass over trenches and deep holes, to break their way through barbed-wire entanglements, and to climb up the ridges even against concentrated fire from the enemy. These attacks against the front of the German lines cost a terrible price in life, suffering, and ammunition, but they are gradually pushing the invaders out of that part of France and Belgium which had been conquered, and are helping to destroy German self-confidence and hopes of victory.

650. Other Fields of War. — Immediately after the outbreak of the war, British, colonial, and allied troops invaded the German colonial possessions, and have successively conquered them all. An expedition organized for the most part in India was sent to Mesopotamia against the Turks. It was, however, badly equipped and ill supported, and in April, 1916, the commander with all his forces was compelled to surrender at Kut-el-Amara. A year later,

however, a larger British expedition followed the same route, and in March, 1917, captured the ancient city of Bagdad. About the same time an army of British, Australians, and Indians, which had been defending the Suez Canal against a threatened attack from the Turks, marched northward into Palestine and, after much fighting with the Turks, entered the city of Jerusalem, December 10, 1917. As against these comparatively successful expeditions the year 1915 saw the calamitous Gallipoli expedition. A combined British and French fleet tried to force its way through the Dardanelles to capture Constantinople. Several vessels were sunk by the shore batteries. An army was then collected in Egypt and landed in the Gallipoli peninsula; but notwithstanding some months of heavy fighting and much suffering from lack of water and from disease and exposure, nothing was accomplished. The campaign was a complete failure, and in January, 1916, what remained of the troops were withdrawn. The encampment of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps which fought so gallantly in this campaign was called from their initials "Anzac," and Anzacs has since become the familiar name of the troops from those colonies.

While these expeditions in which the British were engaged were taking place, a series of campaigns in which Britain was interested through her allies was taking place in eastern Europe. The final result, at least to the closing months of 1917, was that Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were overrun and occupied by either Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, or Turkey. In November, 1917, a sudden advance of a combined German and Austrian army swept through the defenses of northeastern Italy, deprived the Italians of all their recent conquests, and carried their invasion almost to Venice.

651. Maritime and Aërial Warfare. — On the sea the German fleet remained for the most part in harbor, and the British fleet occupied itself in keeping the seas open for British commerce and for that of her allies and of neutrals engaged in commerce with her.

Nevertheless a number of both war and merchant vessels were destroyed by raiders, by sunken mines, and by torpedoes; and several minor naval battles in the North Sea and in distant parts of the world resulted in the destruction of large battleships of both the British and the Germans. German cruisers also repeatedly slipped across the North Sea, and, contrary to all international law, bombarded unfortified English coast towns.

Only one large naval engagement has taken place between the British and German fleets. This was the battle of Jutland, May 31, 1916. An English fleet of fast cruisers came into conflict with the German warship fleet. The English vessels, being smaller, suffered so severely that they sailed away till the larger warships should come up. When the combined English fleets returned to the scene of action, the Germans had steamed again into harbor. The German fleet has not since appeared in the open sea to give battle. The destruction of British merchant vessels by German submarines, however, increased very greatly in 1916 and created fear in Great Britain that her food supply might be cut off and the transport of troops and supplies seriously interfered with. By July, 1917, some thirty-two hundred British merchant vessels, amounting to more than eight million tonnage, had been sunk. But this destruction diminished during the latter part of 1917, many of the submarines were themselves destroyed, and much new shipping was built.

Airships have played a large part in the war, aëroplanes being constantly used in vast numbers in scouting work over the battle lines and for dropping bombs on hostile positions back of the lines. England has suffered severely from destruction and loss of life in London and other places from bombs dropped from German Zeppelins and aëroplanes. In thirty-six separate raids across the Channel and the North Sea more than eight hundred persons have been killed and twenty-five hundred wounded. The slaughter of women and children in these atrocious attacks served only to strengthen popular enthusiasm for the war.

652. Entrance of New Belligerents, 1915–1917. — During the early part of the war long and severe disputes broke out between Great Britain and neutral countries, especially the United States, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries, concerning the British extension of the claims of contraband, her interference with cargoes of goods consigned to neutral countries which she claimed would finally reach her enemies, and her stoppage of mails in vessels on the high seas. She declared her action justifiable and explained that she was using her right of seizure of contraband with as little injury to neutrals as possible.

Germany, on the other hand, protested to the neutral states against Great Britain's laying of mine fields in the open North Sea, her policy of using her command of the sea to keep all food supplies from reaching Germany, thus threatening German women, children, and noncombatant men with starvation, and her general interference with world commerce. As a measure of retaliation, as she claimed, Germany declared all the seas surrounding the British Isles a closed zone and proceeded to sink with torpedoes from her submarines all vessels, British or neutral, which passed through those waters. This inhumane and reckless policy of submarine warfare caused an ever-growing hostility to Germany on the part of all countries which had vessels on the sea.

One country after another joined in the war on the same side as Great Britain. In May, 1915, Italy declared war against Austria, and a year later she declared war against Germany also. In February, 1916, Portugal fulfilled her old treaty arrangements with England by seizing all German ships in her waters. Germany then declared war upon her. Rumania entered on the side of the Allies in August, 1916; Siam and China declared war against Germany in 1917; and many lesser states in distant parts of the world broke off friendly relations with her. By far the most important new opponent of Germany, however, was the United States, which entered the war in April, 1917. From her unlimited resources she began immediately the loan of large

sums of money to Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and Russia. A fleet was sent to European waters in May, and the first American troops arrived in France in June. Since that time others have been steadily added to the allied fighting force on the battle line in the east of France.

653. Internal Changes Due to the War. — After the war had been in progress about eight months, criticism of the ministry became so severe that in May, 1915, Mr. Asquith reorganized it as a coalition ministry, including almost as many men from other parties as there were Liberals. A new office was also created, the ministry of munitions, in which Lloyd George was placed, as being the most energetic man in public life. In this position he achieved great results, inducing parliament to give authority to the ministry to take all munition industries under their control, and gradually increasing their number and transforming them into government works. By July, 1916, there were four thousand establishments under government control. Later Lloyd George became minister of war.

By December, 1916, the ministry was so divided that Lloyd George threatened to resign unless certain changes were made. Mr. Asquith would not agree to these and resigned, leaving Lloyd George to make up a ministry in which he was prime minister, most of the ministers Unionists, and the real power lodged in a small group, or "war cabinet," of five men. A number of members of this new cabinet were heads of large business organizations, and among the most influential members were men who had been bitter opponents of Lloyd George before the war. Since all these changes in the ministry were made without any corresponding change in the House of Commons, it is evident that the ministry was less representative than it had previously been. Much of the criticism that led to the changes was made in a group of newspapers owned and controlled by Lord Northcliffe, whose influence was thus very large, though he had himself no connection with the cabinet and seldom spoke in parliament.

None of these changes indicated any weakening of the ministry in the prosecution of the war. It was obviously the wish of the great majority of parliament and of the people that the war should continue to be fought until what Lloyd George described as a "knock-out blow" should be given to Germany.

Ever since the beginning of the war, however, there has been a small but earnest group of "pacifists" in parliament, with a considerable party behind them in the country, who have used every opportunity to urge entering into negotiations to bring the war to an end. In February, 1915, the Labor party at its convention demanded that peace should be made as soon as possible, and at several periods influential bodies among the trade-unionists have declared for an early peace. But as the war has progressed, the organized laborers have agreed more generally to fighting it out "to the bitter end." In February, 1916, the pacifists forced a debate in the House of Commons on the whole question of war aims and the possibility of peace. On the occasion of the German peace offer and the note of the President of the United States, in December, 1916, they again brought the matter up in parliament and made it the subject of debate.

On the breaking out of the Russian revolution, in the spring of 1917, and the demand of the new government of that country for an early peace "without annexations and without indemnities," a Workers' and Soldiers' Council was formed in England on the Russian model, hoping to bring about peace. At the same time a peace resolution was introduced into parliament but was defeated by a vote of 148 to 19. The general discussions concerning the possibility of peace that have characterized the year 1917, the noble address of President Wilson before the Senate in January, the proposed international conference of socialists at Stockholm, the renewed intimations of a desire for peace from Austria and Germany, and the letter sent by the pope in August to all the belligerent countries have each awakened some echo in England and received at least a partially sympathetic response.

November 29, 1917, these possibilities of attaining peace were suddenly brought anew into discussion by a letter published in the newspapers by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had repeatedly served as minister of foreign affairs but was not now in office. He declared that an attempt should be made to bring about peace before "the prolongation of the war leads to the ruin of the civilized world," and urged a clearer and more liberal statement of the war aims of the British Empire to the people of Germany. Whatever may be the influence of this appeal or the extent of peace sentiment in Great Britain, the overwhelming majority of men are to all appearance still determined to carry on the war to a complete victory over Germany.

During 1914 and 1915 recruiting for the army was carried on by seeking volunteers, and 5,000,000 volunteers for government service and an active army of 1,500,000 soldiers were secured. The need for additional men, however, led to an agitation for compulsory military service, as was required in the continental countries. Although this proposal was at first strongly opposed by a great part of the Liberal party and by almost the whole Labor party, opposition to it became less and less, and in February, 1916, partial conscription was adopted; in May a still more complete conscription act was passed, making all men from eighteen to forty-one years of age liable to military service. Ireland was not subject to this act, and conscientious objectors to war were also exempted. Early in the war a bill had been passed for registering all men and women from fifteen to sixty-five years of age, to learn how they could be most usefully employed. This was extremely unpopular, and the ministry was forced to explain that it did not signify the "conscription of labor." In March, 1917, however, a National Service Bill was passed, enrolling all men between the ages of eighteen and sixty-one, those not called for military service being subject to call, though not by actual compulsion, in any trade to which the government should assign them, none to be paid less than $6.25 a week. This was agreed to

with great reluctance by the Labor party, who feared that all standards would be lost by the abolition of trade-union rules and by the introduction of women and unskilled workmen into skilled industries.

654. Ireland. Although the Irish Nationalist party gave their adherence to the war, there was much opposition to it among the people, and in its early months several newspapers were suppressed by the government for urging Irishmen not to enlist. A society known as Sinn Fein, whose object was Ireland's complete independence from Great Britain, was having a rapid growth at this time. On April 24, 1916, an insurrection of volunteers belonging to this society suddenly broke out in Dublin. They seized the Post Office and several other buildings, issued a proclamation declaring Ireland a republic founded on universal suffrage, religious and civil liberty, equality, and fraternity. They adopted a green, white, and gold flag and announced a provisional government under Pearse (a man of high character and attainments and principal of a Dublin school) as president. For a few days they had control of the center of Dublin, and the revolt threatened to spread through the country; but Major General Sir John Maxwell, with overwhelming forces of British troops and artillery, was sent to Ireland, and attacked them, a warship shelled the rebels from the harbor, and five days after the rising President Pearse, who had never been really in favor of revolt, ordered a general surrender, and his men laid down their arms. Several thousand were taken into arrest. The president and some fifteen others were immediately tried by secret court martial and shot in groups within the next three or four weeks; others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and a great number were still held under arrest.

Just at the time of the insurrection Sir Roger Casement, an Irishman who had held a position of some prominence in public life, was captured as he was landing from a German submarine accompanied by a munition ship on the Irish coast. He was

imprisoned in the Tower and subsequently tried by a regular court, found guilty of treason, and hanged. Although the Nationalist party did not support the insurrection or sympathize with Casement's efforts to obtain German support, they were dissatisfied with the series of military executions, with holding prisoners without trial, with the hanging of Casement, and with the long delay in the introduction of home rule. Lloyd George was therefore appointed by the ministry to consult all parties in Ireland and suggest some action by way of a compromise. This he did, but his agreement was later disowned by the Unionists in the ministry. The Sinn Fein began again to grow rapidly in numbers, and the Nationalists appealed against the government to the United States and to the self-governing British colonies in the name of the rights of small countries to liberty. In May, 1917, the ministry called a convention of Irishmen intended to be made up of representatives of all classes in Ireland, inviting them to draw up some kind of government short of entire independence. This convention met at Dublin in July and is still in session in December.

General Reading. — It is always difficult to find the facts of very recent history. The latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* brought many matters down to 1910, and the *Britannica Year Book*, issued in 1913 and written largely by the same contributors, is a very useful review of events of the years 1911 and 1912. *The New International Encyclopædia*, a new edition of which is now in progress, brings most of its entries down to a very recent date. *The New International Year Book*, which has appeared annually since 1907, gives an annual summary of occurrences of great value and fullness. More purely political events are described in the *Annual Register*, which has been published yearly for more than a century and a half. *Hazell's Annual* is especially devoted to matters of social and economic interest. There are weekly summaries of occurrences in the *Nation*, the *London Times*, and many other journals. Valuable summaries and discussions of recent occurrences will frequently be found in the current numbers of the monthly or quarterly journals. GRETTON, R. H., *A Modern History of the English People*, 2 vols., 1913, covers the period 1880–1910. GOOCH, G. P., *History of Our Time* (1885–1911), is a small volume in the Home University Library, published in 1912. ALDEN, PERCY, *Democratic England*, 1912, is a popular account. FAWCETT, MILLICENT G., *A History of Women's Suffrage*, a small but excellent book. OGG, F. A., *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, contains some valuable information, and excellent bibliographical lists on most of the subjects taken up in this chapter. BROOKS, J. G., *The Social Unrest*, 1909. ARNOLD-FOSTER, H. O., *English Socialism of To-day*, 1908, is valuable. CROSS, J. B., *The Essentials of Socialism*, 1912, although a small book, gives valuable outlines and a full list of books on socialism. The circumstances of the outbreak of the present war are well described in *The American Year Book* for 1914, and its events are detailed in the *London Times' History of the War*. A moderate statement of the British side, with many documents, is *Why we are at War, Great Britain's Case*, by MEMBERS OF THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF MODERN HISTORY. Among the many books giving the German side of the case, one of the most moderate and suggestive is *What Germany Wants*, by EDMUND VON MACH.

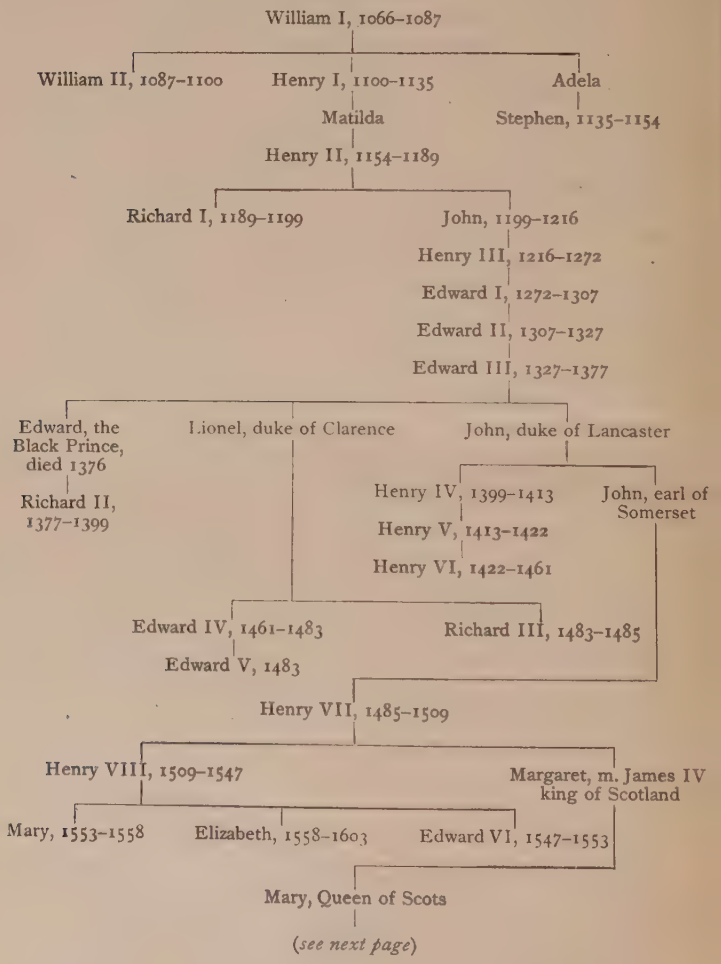
Contemporary Sources. — HAYES, CARLTON, *British Social Politics*, is a collection of documents illustrating many of the reforms described in this chapter. The documents have valuable introductions. *The Minority Report on the Poor Law* is separately published. ENSOR, R. C. K., *Modern Socialism*, 1904, is a collection of documents with extracts from the writings of leading socialists. THE FABIAN SOCIETY, *Fabian Essays in Socialism*. All the documents concerning the outbreak of the great war and the early

months of its continuance are to be found most conveniently in PRICE, M. P., *The Diplomatic History of the War*, London, 1915. This is necessarily a somewhat large book; the four most important documents are printed in smaller and more convenient form as No. 83 of the monthly publications of the American Association for International Conciliation, New York, October, 1914.

Poetry and Fiction. — *Songs and Sonnets for England in War Time*, published by John Lane, London, 1915, contains about fifty poems called forth by the present war. WELLS, H. G., *Tono-Bungay*, gives a glimpse of changes and proposed changes in modern English life, and many other stories by the same writer are suitable. SNAITH, J. C., *Broke of Covenden*, is a fine study of the contrast between the old and the new. BENNETT, ARNOLD, *The Old Wives' Tale* and *Clayhanger*, give an insight into ordinary English life. HEWLETT, MAURICE, *Rest-Harrow*, *Halfway House*, and *Open Country*, describe rural England and an interesting man. Many of the stories of GEORGE MOORE and JOSEPH CONRAD are good reading and belong to this time. GALSWORTHY, JOHN, *Strife*, is a drama based on modern labor struggles. ROBINS, ELIZABETH, *The Convert*, is a suffrage story. SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD, *John Bull's Other Island*, especially the *Preface*, deals with home rule. The plays of SYNGE, as well as others by SHAW, belong to this period. Poetry characteristic of this time has been written by GIBSON, W. W.; NOYES, ALFRED; and PHILLIPS, STEPHEN.

Special Topics. — (1) International Arbitration, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. II, pp. 327–331, and Vol. X, pp. 4–17; (2) Airships, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 260–270; (3) Anarchism, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 914–918; (4) State Insurance against Sickness, ALDEN, *Democratic England*, pp. 122–142; (5) Minimum Wages, *ibid.*, pp. 62–86; (6) Pacifism, JANE ADDAMS, *Newer Ideals of Peace*; (7) Insurance against Unemployment, BEAUCHAMP, W., *Westminster Review*, March, 1911; (8) The National Insurance Act, PORRITT, E., *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1912; (9) The Progress of Surgery, KEEN, W. W., in WALLACE, A. R., *The Progress of the Century*, pp. 232–261; (10) The Theory of Evolution, *ibid.*, pp. 3–29.

An Outline List of English Kings since the Norman Conquest with their Relationship and Dates[1]



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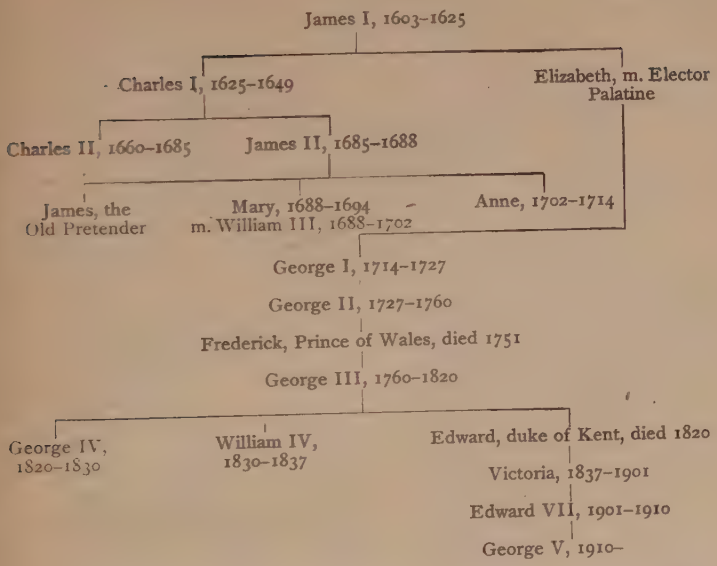

[1] Names given without dates indicate not rulers but men or women through whom the claim to the crown was transmitted. More generations sometimes intervened between two successive rulers than are here indicated; the circumstances can be found by referring to the proper places in the text, or to the more detailed genealogical tables on pp. 113, 145, 270, 278, 383, 384, 529, 543, and 632.

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All unmarked vowels are short. Other vowels are marked either long or ä *as in* fär. *French* ṅ *as in* boṅ

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